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INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARINGS

BEFORE A

SPECIAL

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

H. Res. 282

TO INVESTIGATE (1) THE EXTENT, CHARACTER, AND OBJECTS OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES, (2) THE DIFFUSION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES OF SUBVERSIVE AND UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA THAT IS INSTIGATED FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES OR OF A DOMESTIC ORIGIN AND ATTACKS THE PRINCIPLE OF THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AS GUARANTEED BY OUR CONSTITUTION, AND (3) ALL OTHER QUESTIONS IN RELATION THERETO THAT WOULD AID CONGRESS IN ANY NECESSARY REMEDIAL LEGISLATION

VOLUME 5

MAY 18, 22, 23, 24, 31, AND JUNE 1, 1939
AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

Printed for the use of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities



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WASHINGTON, D. C.

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INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The committee met at 10 a. m., in room 532, Old House Office Building, Congressman Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present: Congressman Dies (chairman), John J. Dempsey, Noah M. Mason, J. Parnell Thomas, and Jerry Voorhis.

Also present: Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee.

[H. Res. 282, 75th Cong., 3d sess., Rept. No. 2319]

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the Speaker of the House of Representatives be, and he is hereby, authorized to appoint a special committee to be composed of seven members for the purpose of conducting an investigation of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

That said special committee, or any subcommittee thereof, is hereby authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, by subpoena or otherwise, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas shall be issued under the signature of the chairman and shall be served by any person designated by him. The chairman of the committee or any member thereof may administer oaths to witnesses. Every person who, having been summoned as a witness by authority of said committee, or any subcommittee thereof, willfully makes default, or who, having appeared, refuses to answer any question pertinent to the investigation heretofore authorized, shall be held to the penalties provided by section 162 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (U. S. C., title 2, sec. 192).

[H. Res. 510, Rept. No. 2665, 75th Cong., 3d sess.]

RESOLUTION

Resolved That the expenses of conducting the investigation authorized by H. Res. 282, incurred by the special committee appointed to investigate un-American propaganda in the United States and related questions, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, not to exceed \$25,000, including expenditures for the

employment of experts, and clerical, stenographic, and other assistants, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House on vouchers authorized by such committee, signed by the chairman thereof and approved by the Committee on Accounts; and the head of each executive department is hereby requested to detail to said special committee such number of legal and expert assistants and investigators as said committee may from time to time deem necessary.

SEC. 2. That the official committee reporters may be used at all hearings held in the District of Columbia if not otherwise officially engaged.

[H. Res. 26, 76th Cong., 1st sess.]

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Propaganda and activities is authorized to continue the investigation begun under authority of H. Res. 282 of the Seventy-fifth Congress, and for such purposes said committee shall have the same power and authority as that conferred upon it by said H. Res. 282 of the Seventy-fifth Congress and shall report to the House as soon as practicable, but not later than January 3, 1940, the results of its investigations, together with its recommendations for necessary legislation.

[H. Res. 81, 76th Cong., 1st sess.]

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the expenses of conducting the investigation authorized by H. Res. 26, incurred by the special committee appointed to investigate un-American propaganda in the United States and related questions, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, not to exceed \$100,000, including expenditures for the employment of experts, and clerical, stenographic, and other assistants, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House on vouchers authorized by such committee, signed by the chairman thereof and approved by the Committee on Accounts, and the amount herein appropriated is to cover all expenditures of said committee of every nature in completion of its investigation and filing its report not later than January 3, 1940.

SEC. 2. That the official committee reporters may be used at all hearings held in the District of Columbia if not otherwise officially engaged.

SEC. 3. The head of each executive department is hereby requested to detail to said special committee such number of legal and expert assistants and investigators as said committee may from time to time deem necessary.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Gilbert, please.

TESTIMONY OF DUDLEY PIERREPONT GILBERT, AMERICAN NATIONALISTS, INC.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gilbert, will you make your answers responsive to the questions, and not volunteer information?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; and if I think of anything that you have forgotten to ask, afterward will you ask it?

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right, surely, tell us the full facts with reference to this matter and make your answers responsive. A lot of witnesses want to go off on tangents.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your residence address?

Mr. GILBERT. At the present time, Mayfair House, Park Avenue and Sixty-fifth Street, New York City.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your business or occupation, Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. GILBERT. I am in the real-estate business. I haven't been active for several years. My father had some buildings and I help him out. My father is an old man, 78 years old.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Gilbert, several years ago, as I understand it, you were connected with an organization known as the American Nationalist, Inc.?

Mr. GILBERT. May I add an "s"? That is quite true; I still hold the charter of that corporation.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you state briefly, for the information of the committee, the manner in which that was organized, and the officers?

Mr. GILBERT. That was organized, which the records of the State of New York, secretary's office, will show, in April 1935 and a charter was granted, and there are now in the possession of the members of the committee the reasons and purposes for the foundation of that organization. The corporation papers were drawn up by Col. Edward C. O'Thomas, an attorney, and also a colonel in the Reserve Artillery. He was assisted by the late Paul Thomas Kammerer, in the drawing up of the papers.

There were at that time the following incorporators of the organization, in addition to myself:

Lewis Gouverneur Morris; Pierson Scott, of Charlottesville, Va., who also lives in New York; Andrew Bibbey, who also acted as treasurer of the organization—he is an elderly gentleman around 70—and another man, Clarence Chauncey, whom I forgot, couldn't remember; and one, Herbert Bottman, who was at that time president of the New York Produce Exchange. In fairness to Mr. Bottman, after he helped us get started, due to his business he did not remain active, and resigned a couple of months later. But he was kind enough to help us get started.

Does that answer your question?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Is this a copy of the preamble to the constitution?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; a copy of this I offer in evidence, and the original is filed with the Secretary of the State of New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. That sets out the purposes of the organization?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be received in evidence.

(Exhibit No. 1 received in evidence.)

Mr. WHITLEY. You were the president of that organization?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And as I understand it, the moving spirit behind the organization itself?

Mr. GILBERT. That is quite right, sir. I take all the blame for anything that may have been done wrong or otherwise.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the source of the finances?

Mr. GILBERT. Well, largely from myself. We had the intention of interesting various people, wealthy people, and so forth, to help us get started, but nobody was interested, and outside of a few very small contributions, which I think you will find some list of in the bank files, we never had much funds, and I got a little money from my family, and so forth, and kept the thing going along.

We also were helped in our office rent by the fact that we were in a building, partly vacant, and run by an old school friend of mine,

Thomas Sperry, New York, and in which he allowed me to have an office, about two rooms the size of this, for \$75 a month, which is very cheap if you know New York rates.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was that address?

Mr. GILBERT. 2 West Forty-fifth Street, in the Putnam Building.

Mr. WHITLEY. What year was the organization incorporated?

Mr. GILBERT. 1935, and I moved into the Putnam Building about December 1936, and stayed in it to February. No, it must have been the end of 1935, change that to December 1935, until February 1937.

Mr. WHITLEY. In February 1937, was the corporation formally dissolved, or did it just cease to operate?

Mr. GILBERT. It just became inactive, and maintained no offices.

Mr. WHITLEY. As I understand it, you still have the charter?

Mr. GILBERT. I still have the charter, and I still have a few people interested in it, but they are more or less interested in collecting information, rather than going very much beyond that.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the nature of the activities engaged in by the corporation while it was in existence?

Mr. GILBERT. While we were in existence we tried chiefly to collect information, much as this committee is doing now, and also to get publicity for that type of thing. I might say that I was not very successful in getting publicity. I got quite a little myself, in the beginning—you can look in the old newspaper files in the summer of 1935, and you will find I contacted most of the editors throughout the country, altogether about 2,500 dailies, and about 7,500 weeklies, bi-weeklies, and triweeklies. I sent a copy of what the gentlemen are now reading to each of the newspaper editors. I received quite a few favorable comments. A great majority did not reply, and a few were unpleasant about it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Gilbert, reading from volume 3, page 2354 of the hearings of the committee's previous session, the witness before the committee at that time made reference to your organization, the American Nationalist, Inc.

Mr. GILBERT. With an "s" on it again—I don't want to be mixed up with the rival organization who does not have the "s" on the end, and has the name "party" after it.

Mr. WHITLEY. The reference made there, while it is brief, very brief, was in connection with anti-Semitic and antireligious organizations or groups. Do you consider that was a proper reference or fair reference on the part of the witness?

Mr. GILBERT. Well, I don't get the full question. If you wouldn't mind putting that question to me before the committee, I will answer it.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, was your organization in any way engaged in the dissemination of antiracial or antireligious propaganda?

Mr. GILBERT. The answer to that is that it was not, decidedly no. In fact, had I been willing to do so, I would have been able to have made much greater progress and had considerable funds.

May I add something to that which is right in line? I believe the coolness of certain members of my own committee at that time was due to the fact that I did not share with them the ideas that it ought to have been a little more anti-Jewish, or something like that. I said, "I will accept people, regardless of who they are; if they are wrong

they are wrong, but I won't decide that they are wrong simply because they are members of that race."

Mr. WHITLEY. During the existence of the corporation, did you have any contact with the officials of so-called Fascist organizations such as the Silver Shirts, or the Bund?

Mr. GILBERT. Neither one, but I did have people approach me, and I will name the three that I recall.

A Colonel Sanctuary wrote me, who I found out afterward was interested in putting out that type of anti-Semitic propaganda, which I turned down, and then I was also approached by one Hyatt Dane, who came to see me twice and was decidedly pro-German and called me three kinds of a fool for not handing my outfit over to some friend of his, who, he would not tell me, and I finally almost threw him out of the office bodily.

And there was also John B. Snow who came to see me, who is a man that publishes various kinds of literature of that type, who insinuated that I was wasting my time and ought to tie up with some good people. In fact, he said he thought all organizations of that type ought to be pushed into one big unit, and I believe that is the same thing that was attempted in Kansas City in 1937 by one George Deatherage. I can't prove that, but I believe that that was the idea that they had.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you ever approached by any representatives of the Communist group or any other so-called left-wing group?

Mr. GILBERT. I had people come in my office at different times, and threaten me, who I presumed to be left-wingers, and I had things sent me through the mail, and telephone conversations, all more or less of a threatening nature, and telling me to get the hell out of the business.

Mr. WHITLEY. How do you account for the fact that, or have you any explanation for the fact that certain Fascists or Nazi groups approached you with reference to cooperative agreement, and none of the so-called leftists or left groups made such an approach?

Mr. GILBERT. That is quite easily answered. I had gotten enough publicity, gentlemen, to show that I was anti-Communist, and these people on the other side of the fence, which are more or less covered up as being pro-American, thought I would probably be a good person to pull into their sphere of influence.

Mr. WHITLEY. While you were active as head of the American Nationalists, Inc., did you meet the leaders of any of these groups, such as the Silver Shirts? Have you ever met Pelley?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir; I have not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you met Fritz Kuhn?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir; I have never even seen him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you met, or had any dealings, with George Deatherage?

Mr. GILBERT. I met the man once, and didn't like him.

Mr. WHITLEY. During that period did you meet a man named James E. Campbell?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where did you meet him, under what circumstances?

Mr. GILBERT. I met him for the first time in the city of Newport, R. I., in the summer of 1937, when he came there with one George Deatherage, and I was introduced by a third party, a resident of

Newport, summer resident. I was impressed with Mr. Campbell as being fair and square. I did not like Mr. Deatherage. He struck me as the typical type of Klan organizer, or the kind of a fellow that goes out for that kind of a thing as a business. I never saw Deatherage before or afterward, but I saw Campbell at a later period.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they at that time make any proposal to you with reference to cooperating or working with your organization?

Mr. GILBERT. No; they were under the impression at that time that I might have some money to give to something they were organizing, and when they found I hadn't, Mr. Deatherage, at least, lost all interest in it. In fact, he was there with the idea of collecting money from people in that town, and I might say that I think I stopped him from collecting any money because I spoke to most of the people up there that I thought would give him anything, and said, "I don't think you should give anything to this fellow, I think it is one of these 'nut' movements."

Mr. WHITLEY. You did continue, though, your relationship or contacts with Mr. Campbell?

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Campbell approached me again, later in the winter, a couple of times, and I was too busy to see him, and in fact declined to see him. After I closed my office, I saw him for the second time, which must have been toward the spring of 1937.

Mr. WHITLEY. At the time you met him, he was associated with, and as I understand from your previous statement was working for, George Deatherage?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't know whether he was working for him or not, but I know he was with him then. When I met him the second time, he told me he had no longer any contact with him.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was Mr. Campbell's connection with the Service, the armed forces?

Mr. GILBERT. I understand, gentlemen, that Mr. Campbell is a captain in the Reserve Engineers. He did a tour of duty at Fort Knox last summer. I believe he is in good standing in the Service. He is a war veteran and was wounded overseas in the Second Division. He is of Scotch extraction, and his family originally came to South Carolina and moved, in the old covered-wagon days, to the Midwest, and he was born in California.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you state for the record, Mr. Gilbert, how your association, or contacts, with Mr. Campbell were continued, and led up to the present arrangement whereby you are financing him in his activities?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; I was impressed—Campbell and I had this thing in common, we had both been kicked around, and we both felt that we had been taken in by certain people, and rather badly treated, and I felt he was sincere from the first meeting with him, and we said, "Can't we do something?" I said, "They have kicked me in the pants, they have interfered with me, and I can't do anything. Do you think together we might accomplish something; something must be done along these lines, and I have wasted all this time." And he told me that he had wasted a lot of money that he had saved up, and that he was almost bankrupt, and that he had ruined himself in a business way, and also caused a break in his relations with his wife.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't want to interrupt, but when you say "they," I wonder if we could find out what is meant by "they"?

Mr. GILBERT. He said the leftist opposition had done a job on him to that extent.

The CHAIRMAN. That is very general. Did he specify more than that?

Mr. GILBERT. I think if you will get him down here he will tell you in plain English what he means. I don't know much of Mr. Campbell's personal life before that. I am trying to help as much as I can.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, that is the manner in which the association started?

Mr. GILBERT. That is the reason. Two fellows came together, they had one thing in common, they were both strongly interested in exposing these activities, anti-American activities. Secondly, they were both war veterans, and thirdly, they had a sort of comradeship of that type of those who have been through much the same type of experience, and feel they have been more or less hurt and kicked around.

Mr. WHITLEY. You spoke about being "kicked around"—in what way or by whom?

Mr. GILBERT. If it interests the committee, I will say in detail what I think was done to us. In regard to myself, every time that I tried to get anywhere with my organization, they let me go so far and then something would happen.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who let you go?

Mr. GILBERT. The people who I felt were working against me. I would get to the point where someone was about ready to give me a little money to go on, and go out and hire a publicity man, and do some real work, and about the day it was to happen, somebody would step in the picture whom I trusted, and believed to be friendly, and would kill the whole thing.

There were two occasions of that. On one occasion I went to see a manufacturer who was quite interested, and then he told me very frankly that a friend of mine had been over there and had said, "You are no damned good" and not to give me a cent, that I was honest, but didn't know where the hell I was going. And Campbell had had the same experience with him. Campbell had been to many people throughout the country, and always about the time he thought he would get a little money, they would interfere with him in a similar way.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who do you mean by "they": was it individuals or groups or representatives of groups?

Mr. GILBERT. Well, we felt this much—it is fantastic to say so—but we felt that the left opposition wasn't merely the open type that you see, but there was also a subtle, fellow traveler type, that posed as not being a leftist, but worked along on the outside of organizations like mine, as soon as they got any publicity, and did their best to prevent them getting anywhere. You remember that in those days there was no committee such as yours in existence, and we were trying to get publicity for what you have gotten now.

Mr. WHITLEY. So the opposition that you found you would classify generally as leftist opposition?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Any particular group?

Mr. GILBERT. That I wasn't able to prove, I only knew that these individuals would crop up, would pose as friends for a while, and seemed uncannily to torpedo me at the psychological moment where I was getting a chance at a little financial help so that we could go places and amount to something. And Campbell had had a similar experience. He will tell you about it much better than I. He had the same experience in Detroit and Chicago and other places in the Midwest. They would get him right to the point where he thought he was going to accomplish something, and then clamp down on him.

Mr. WHITLEY. As I understand it, Mr. Gilbert, it was about this time, that is, after you had met Campbell and you had talked things over and found that you saw eye to eye on certain problems, that you ceased the activity of the corporation and began to work with him?

Mr. GILBERT. Campbell and I began to work together—I had already stopped the corporation work, I closed my office, and you can find on Mr. Sperry's files, on February 1, a record of that, and I discharged the man that was working for me.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of what year?

Mr. GILBERT. 1937, and I began working with Campbell in the spring of that year. I don't know the exact date.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that strictly a personal, two-party arrangement?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; that was. I didn't give him any money—I had been taken in before and I didn't intend to give anybody any money until I was sure they were all right. And we worked along together and I don't think we started on any financial basis much before, shall we say, June 1937.

Campbell and I then went out to the Mahoning Valley together, to study radical activities during the steel strike out there.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you and Campbell arrive at a definite arrangement or plan whereby you could carry on the work which you were interested in?

Mr. GILBERT. It was one of those things, gentlemen, that starts; there wasn't a definite business contract, it started out by Campbell telling me that he was pressed for a little money for his wife, and that he could do a little if I would pay his traveling expenses, and it worked up that way; that was the way it started.

You may think I am very foolish, I admit probably I am, but it didn't start on a business basis, but merely as him saying, "My kid needs something, and can you give me 50 or 75 bucks?" or "I am pressed for alimony from my wife," or, "If you want me to get certain information you will help me with this creditor in Evansville."

Mr. WHITLEY. You started financing him approximately in the summer of 1937?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; about the middle of the summer, after he had gone out with me on a trip and I spent probably 10 days with him and figured him to be on the level, because I was really suspicious myself in those days. I had had too many unpleasant experiences.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you start furnishing him with information which he was to disseminate?

Mr. GILBERT. Well, in the beginning that was largely clippings from newspapers, much as your office has in here now, and things that I could pick up, notes at radical meetings, and things of that kind.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you pass those on to him?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; and he explained to me that he had headed a committee in, I think, gentlemen, it is the Fifth Corps Area Reserve officers, that had an association, either the fifth or sixth, I am not sure, and that they had done quite a bit of investigating before he had met me, and then the Government had asked them to stop their activities, that they did not think they were proper activities for Reserve officers to pursue, and that he had a few of those friends of his still left who wanted to, as individuals, continue doing that kind of work unofficially; whereas they were not allowed, as Reserve officers, to do so.

In fact he claims to have in his possession a copy of an order sent out from Washington forbidding him to do any more antisubversive activity. I hope he still has it and can show it to you.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you, Mr. Gilbert, first come in contact with the informant, or the source of information through which you have been receiving the data that you have sent to Campbell in recent months, the last year or so?

Mr. GILBERT. I came in contact with that man back, I should judge, as far back as 1934. I have only known him under the name of George Rice, and I don't doubt that that is not his right name. His means of getting in contact with me has always been—I have never sent for him or written to him—he has always called me on the phone and said, "Can I see you?" And then he comes to see me.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he first contacted you about 1934, before you knew Campbell?

Mr. GILBERT. Before I even had this organization, he contacted me back in 1934.

At that time I had joined an outfit at the suggestion of Mr. Morris, whom I mentioned, run by Royal Scott Gulden. I resigned after 2 months, because I found it was anti-Semitic, and nothing but. I was led to join it and paid a dollar, on the ground that it was anticomunistic. I met this George Rice; he used to come to the office at different times, and I didn't see him again until after I set up my own outfit, and then he came into my office sometimes for information; said he was interested in radical activities, and then later, toward the latter part of the time that my office was open, before it closed up, he came in two or three times and insisted that he had some vital information that he would like me to give out, and insisted that it came from a certain place he was employed at as a waiter.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was that place?

Mr. GILBERT. That was a club in New York, on Sixtieth Street.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the name of the club?

Mr. GILBERT. The Harmonie Club.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the address of the club?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't know the exact address. It was opposite the Metropolitan Club on Sixtieth Street.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is East Sixtieth Street?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir. I didn't believe him; I thought he was a little bit of a "nut," and when you have an office like I had, and a certain amount of publicity, all the "nuts" in the world are going to drop in to see you. I suppose I had a hundred a day, almost.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know why he happened to come to you in the first place, Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't know why he should have come, unless he thought that I had an organization that possibly had the facilities to give out some information that he wanted to give out.

Mr. WHITLEY. When he first got in contact with you in 1934 did he tell you that he was employed in the Harmonie Club?

Mr. GILBERT. No; he didn't at that time, sir; he merely at that time said that he was interested in coming to this office on East Fifty-seventh Street—Gulden's outfit—and I knew no more about him than that he was just one of several people that came in, like I did, to look at literature.

Mr. WHITLEY. You said Gulden's office was an anti-Semitic organization?

Mr. GILBERT. I found it out to be at the end of 2 months, and got out of it. I felt they were doing no good; they were doing Jew-baiting, but no real job on Communists.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long has this party whom you know as George Rice been employed in that club?

Mr. GILBERT. I wouldn't know, sir, he said he had been there some time, and when he came to see me at my office and tried to give me this information, or shall I say hoped that I would take it—of course, he expected a few dollars in return for his trouble, but he has never been paid higher than \$25 at any time by me—at that time he said he was employed there, and to prove it he asked me to come up to Sixtieth Street, and I saw him on two different occasions, once when he didn't know it, and once when he did it for my benefit, walked into the servants' entrance of that club. I could see that because I belonged to the Metropolitan Club opposite, and I went and stood in the window and looked out and saw him enter it. I didn't see him come out again. If he had wanted to fool me he could go in and stay a little while and then come out, but I waited fully 5 minutes, and he did not come out again.

Mr. WHITLEY. Other than that, do you have any other information, or do you know for a fact whether he does or does not work in that club?

Mr. GILBERT. To be very frank with you gentlemen, I know nothing about it other than what he has told me, and having seen him go in twice.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have never made any attempt to ever check up on him as to his background or who he is?

Mr. GILBERT. I only know that he was around those things, and the only reason I sent this literature to Mr. Campbell and his friends, was for the purpose of having them check up on other angles of the thing. I did not want publicity for it because I wasn't sure definitely. As I told you, it is only the testimony of one man, uncorroborated.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did he bring the first report, supposedly out of that club, to you, approximately?

Mr. GILBERT. Well, I think he brought a couple to me, as I remember, in the early summer of 1937. I thought they were fantastic as hell, and I showed a couple of them to Campbell, and he thought they were crazy, and we in fact discouraged the fellow from giving us any. A few months later he returned, and then gave me a report which I sent to Campbell, who was then in the West, and certain things by that time had happened in the papers to prove his previous statements, as I recall it. We then gave him some credit, and Campbell said that maybe it would be just as good to give this fellow 10 bucks and see what he has to tell us, that it might lead somewhere.

So from that date on we have never known when this fellow would call up. Sometimes he will go a month, and sometimes 2 weeks, and sometimes twice in a week, no definite time that he would appear with one of these things, and I would copy it and he would either see me destroy it in his presence, or take it back himself.

Mr. WHITLEY. In what manner does he give those reports to you, verbally or in writing?

Mr. GILBERT. In writing.

Mr. WHITLEY. Typewriting or longhand?

Mr. GILBERT. Longhand.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Whitley, do you want to develop that statement that the witness made relative to certain information?

Mr. GILBERT. Well, these reports are now in the possession of the committee.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you want to develop that?

Mr. WHITLEY. We will get him to identify the reports.

Mr. THOMAS. He made the statement that certain things afterward happened——

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). Certain newspaper articles subsequently proved these reports, or at least if they did not prove them, they were coincidences. They did appear in the press afterward, so I began to take him more seriously than before.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you cite some of those instances?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't remember offhand, but if you have Mr. Campbell's files and newspaper clippings, you can see that for yourselves much better than I could a couple of years back, than I could go in and show you. For the later days I could show you how those things happened, and if you will give me some of those things to read to the committee, I will show you where they did appear in the press afterward.

Mr. WHITLEY. It appeared to you that he was predicting things that later did happen or become public knowledge?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes. In the beginning we felt that this fellow might be just a lucky guy, that he was just getting something that just so happened, but when they began to appear regularly and more frequently, we began to give him credit for doing an honest job, and then I began really paying him for these things; instead of 5 or 10 bucks, I would pay him 15 or 20 or 25. I didn't want to give him any more as I was afraid the fellow might make a racket out of it and invent things, and I didn't want to make it on that basis where it would be to his advantage financially to invent stuff.

Mr. WHITLEY. As I understand the procedure as it has existed, and still exists at the present time, he would call you up on the telephone and arrange to meet you some place?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You met him and he would give you a longhand report?

Mr. GILBERT. We usually go into a hotel some place where I can sit down at a desk and I write the stuff out, I copy it, and he sees that I tear it up, or takes it back.

Mr. WHITLEY. You copy his longhand report?

Mr. GILBERT. Then he usually walks into a lavatory in a hotel and flushes it down the toilet after he has torn it up into little bits.

Mr. WHITLEY. Those meetings take place at different locations?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes. One time he will say, "Meet me at the Waldorf," or at the Astor. I have met him in the St. Moritz. I have met him in so many New York hotels—I met him twice in the Grand Central Station at the information desk.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know how to get in touch with him?

Mr. GILBERT. No; he has always approached me.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't know where he lives or how you could get in touch with him?

Mr. GILBERT. No; I don't know anything about his background.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his nationality?

Mr. GILBERT. He is an American-born and speaks perfectly good English.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he of German descent?

Mr. GILBERT. I couldn't tell what descent he was. Mr. Whitley asked me if he could be partly Jewish, and I said that if he was it would be a very small amount.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you for identification only, Mr. Gilbert, I don't want them put in the record, but I do want you to identify some of these reports.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I wonder if it could be agreed that the reports—could be agreed generally for the record—that the reports contain information dealing with revolutionary statements made within a club, supposedly made within a club?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. These statements deal with the overthrow of our present form of Government?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the establishment of the Communist state?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; or certainly a different form of government.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show in a general way that that is the content, in other words, that it comes under our jurisdiction because of that fact.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

I would say that a broader word would be, broader than Communist, would be a leftist state, similar to the recent government in Spain.

Mr. THOMAS. What are you going to do with these exhibits, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. I am going to keep them under lock and key.

While we are waiting on that, I think the committee will agree that we don't want to put in the record something that is wholly unsupported, nothing but a piece of paper. There is no evidence

that there is any truth whatsoever to it, so I don't think we will want to put that in the record. All we are interested in is the dissemination of it.

Mr. GILBERT. That is the reason I didn't try to get any publicity for it, because I realized, even if I produced this man before a committee, it is one man's testimony, uncorroborated, and a man of that status would not be believed, and it wasn't sufficient just to show the newspaper clippings afterward.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Gilbert, I show you a longhand report, dated March 1, 1939, and ask you if you will identify it as one of the reports which you sent to Mr. Campbell for dissemination?

Mr. GILBERT. I want to make sure it is all my own handwriting. [Examining document.] Yes, sir; these five pages are.

Mr. WHITLEY. And this is typical of the manner in which you forwarded the reports, and also typical of the type of report?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; it is typical of them. They were sometimes much shorter, but rarely any longer. That I would consider a long one.

The CHAIRMAN. With reference to the reports, if the gentleman of the committee want to read these reports, so that we can agree that they are highly inflammatory as a matter of fact, here they are.

Mr. GILBERT. May I state for your information, if Mr. Whitley has not already told you, that I saw this George Rice in the May Day parade this year, in the International Workers' Order section. I saw him marching in it, and was very much amused to see him going in that. He had told me before that he would be in it because, he said, he had to cover himself up and appear strongly leftist in his ideas.

May I say also, if I am allowed to, that I have 700 feet of reel of that parade which I will be very glad to make a present of the committee if they want to use it.

The CHAIRMAN. We would like to get it. Of the last May Day parade?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir. Mr. Campbell has the films, and we would be more than happy to give you that thing, as you can stop it at anytime you want and you will be able to pick out people in that parade that you would like to see.

Mr. THOMAS. Could you identify this man Rice from the picture?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't know whether my cameraman got him or not. It is very difficult to get everything in that parade. We only had a 700-foot film for a parade 6 hours long, and I doubt very much if he got him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Your man Rice was marching with the I. W. O. group?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; and that group took about an hour and a half to pass. I recognized him, and he grinned at me as he went by.

Mr. WHITLEY. I will ask the stenographer to identify this report as confidential exhibit No. 1.

(The document referred to was marked as "Confidential Exhibit No. 1.")

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you believe the material which this informant has been furnishing you for the last couple of years?

Mr. GILBERT. May I say that in the beginning I did not believe it. After seeing the things proven in the newspapers of the United States a hundred times, I did believe it. How could I do otherwise?

Mr. WHITLEY. Was his information confirmed that many times, would you say?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; I should judge—well, it may not have been a hundred, but it certainly is 70 times anyway that it has been confirmed, and I couldn't any more deny what I saw with my own eyes in the public press of the United States.

As an example, this is the kind of things that we got. He had information in one of his statements about an order that was to come out from the War Department affecting the personnel, the officers of the United States Army, and also of the Reserves. It was not known in the service at that time, sir. Not only was the order put out by the War Department within a short period thereafter, but it was also printed in the press, in the New York Times, and, I think, in the Herald Tribune. That may have been 11 days to 2 weeks ahead of time.

When things like that kept happening and rehappening, I no longer could refuse to believe the things that he was giving me, and Campbell and myself both tried to trip him up several times on things, and thought he would make a mistake, but we haven't been able to trip him up on anything.

Mr. WHITLEY. As I understand it, this informant is known to Mr. Campbell?

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Campbell has never met him, no; I am the only one that knows him personally.

Mr. WHITLEY. But he knows the source from which you got these reports?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; and if he made that statement, that misstatement out in Tennessee, that you told me he made, it was undoubtedly to cover this fellow up. He did not want to give the true picture of the thing and gave them some "horse feathers."

Mr. WHITLEY. That is, his explanation about this informant previously having been a student at a certain university?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; I think that was to cover him up and satisfy the boys at that meeting.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Gilbert, when did you first start sending these reports to Mr. Campbell?

Mr. GILBERT. Well, Campbell and I looked those over first in the summer of 1937, and didn't believe them, and I think toward the end of the summer of 1937, as I remember, when we began to believe there was some substance and truth to them, I began sending them to Campbell.

The purpose of that was not to cause trouble, but feeling that if these things were true that these various people that he had who helped work with that kind of uncovering un-American activities, would be in a position to check on these different things and all working together as a voluntary committee, with no money involved, we would be able to figure out the truth of these things a great deal more so from different sections of the country than we could by just taking his report.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us, offhand, from memory, a few other examples of things that you say he predicted?

Mr. GILBERT. What date is that last confidential report?

Mr. WHITLEY. March 1.

Mr. GILBERT. That would probably be the easiest way to convince you.

Well, now, take this thing here——

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). Here is one, maybe you will find something in that, Mr. Gilbert.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; here is one here that I couldn't believe myself.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the date of that report?

Mr. GILBERT. Your date on it is January 25, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. What year?

Mr. GILBERT. 1939.

It speaks here of arranging for equipment to be bought for the French Government, and that the stabilization fund, or something of that sort, would be used in helping finance the thing. Shortly thereafter, you gentlemen remember, the great excitement about the purchase of French airplanes. That is another example.

Mr. WHITLEY. Approximately, from your memory, how long afterward did that become public knowledge in the press?

Mr. GILBERT. Well, I don't know, but you have those exact dates, but I should say a week afterward, at least.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have any instances where the informant's information was confirmed relating to information other than War Department or military information?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; I think you will find in one of those scores information that the Pacific Fleet was to be ordered back to the Pacific.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is one of the service organizations?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; but I mean he knew that before it was published in the papers, and before the Navy knew it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you remember the details?

Mr. GILBERT. If you will get that score for me, I will be glad to read it to the gentlemen and explain it to them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall any instances at all where information outside of military or naval information was confirmed, later confirmed by developments?

Mr. GILBERT. I think that in certain of those things there was talk about the Neutrality Act, considerably, and then there was another thing there; yes, sir—this was on the week of January 25, gentlemen, and the informant states: "—— also said Welles would bait the Japs again this week."

Several days afterward, the latter part of that week, Assistant Secretary of State Welles came out with a very strong statement against Japan.

Mr. WHITLEY. Any other instances that you recall?

Mr. GILBERT. That is what he said, and if you will look up in your files, you will find that Mr. Welles did, toward the end of that week, make a strong attack on the Japanese.

Mr. WHITLEY. Any other instances that you recall?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; I think if you will bear with me a little while I go through this stuff, I can find many.

The report of January 25 says:

——— was assured by Frank that ——— had permission to interfere in Army or Navy any time he so saw fit. ——— ended by saying that the generals and admirals were of no more importance than the big, stupid gentile uniformed doormen that stood outside Jewish-owned apartment houses in New York, and like the doormen we can fire them if they do not please us. Watch what happens to them this year.

Shortly after that, you gentlemen in Washington know that Mr. ——— interfered in regard to Navy and Army plane secrets in the Department, over the heads of those departments. That is a matter of record. And you also know that since then an order has gone out removing and forcing many officers, high officers of the Army and Navy, to take physical examinations, which will retire them long before the time they would ordinarily have been retired. That is a matter of record, and you can find it better than I can.

Mr. WHITLEY. Those are typical examples?

Mr. GILBERT. Those are examples.

The CHAIRMAN. May I suggest that you ask what percentage of all the predictions he estimates came true?

Mr. GILBERT. I will leave that to you, sir, you have checked up on it, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Give us your best estimate, Mr. Gilbert, of the percentage of predictions that this informant has made that have subsequently been confirmed?

Mr. GILBERT. I should say that up to date they practically all have come true. There may be possibly a few things yet that will occur in the future.

Now when I first started getting these reports from this gentleman we would wait a month or two months before the thing would happen. Recently, since last fall, these things have been happening anywhere from 10 days, or 4 or 5 days, to 2 weeks at the longest, afterward.

The CHAIRMAN. Right there, if I ask to clarify this—are there any members of this club who are connected with our Government who would be in a position to get information?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't know, only from what that man writes. You can judge for yourself.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, generally speaking, does it show that?

Mr. GILBERT. It shows that certain members of that group, who met in that group—I wouldn't say all the members—that certain of the group that met in that club were very close in Washington to the Government and had access to various departments of the Government, were apparently in a position to know things before the constituted authorities should know, and apparently were ahead of you gentlemen in Congress in knowing things.

Mr. THOMAS. By being close to the Government, do you mean that some of them held positions in the Government?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't say that, but they were in a confidential or very close to those who held positions. You will find in those reports a statement that Mr. Winchell was in a position to walk down to Mr. Hoover's office, of the F. B. I., and look things over.

MR. WHITLEY. That is not in the nature of a prediction?

MR. GILBERT. No, no; that was just said there. You see, they are asking me about the contacts of these men in certain things. That is nothing against Mr. Hoover, but merely to illustrate that these men were in a position to walk into various Government departments, and that they had influence from other people that enabled them to get around the ordinary red tape which anybody like myself would probably have to go through.

MR. THOMAS. The point I want to develop, and it is not clear in my mind, is whether or not some of these people who are mentioned by this man Rice, and then rementioned by you in the report, hold positions in the Government?

MR. GILBERT. Well, I should say Mr. ——— certainly does.

MR. THOMAS. Never mind the names, but are there some that do hold positions?

MR. GILBERT. He mentions Colonel ———, a Reserve officer.

MR. WHITLEY. Answer the question generally,—some of them do?

MR. GILBERT. I should say that most of them do not hold Government offices.

MR. WHITLEY. But some of them do?

MR. GILBERT. Some of the people mentioned in this thing do hold Government offices.

One man that is mentioned in his reports quite frequently is a judge in the New York Supreme Court, and formerly the personal attorney of the President years ago, when he was Governor of New York, I mean ———.

MR. WHITLEY. All of the instances that you have cited had to do with military or naval affairs, or did you mention one having to do with neutrality?

MR. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

MR. WHITLEY. Apparently the information is along those lines primarily?

MR. GILBERT. Apparently these people, as far as I can judge, if you gentlemen will bear with me a minute, as far as I can judge from these reports this group of men, we will call them plotters, are interested in two things. They are interested in plans that are known as No. 3 and No. 2. Put those down very clearly.

No. 3 plan is achieving their aims by involving the United States in a foreign war, out of which war will come a Soviet form of government, as a result of that war.

They prefer No. 3 plan. It is the easiest, it can be less resisted by the people of the United States, and they put the position of everybody who might oppose them as being unpatriotic.

Whereas, in plan 2, which apparently they are reluctant to use, only if No. 3 does not work, in plan 2 they can definitely use the same methods that were attempted in Spain, sir.

MR. WHITLEY. You mentioned two plans?

MR. GILBERT. Yes; No. 2 and No. 3. In the earlier of these reports, you will find there was a No. 1 plan which was a gradual taking over of things, but due to their reverses in the Midwest, and in the election last year in the States of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, and the defeat of Jerry O'Connell in Montana, they lost hope of putting over No. 1 plan.

No. 1 plan contemplated a gradual breakdown of things until they got to the point where the American people would have another bank holiday, and in desperation they would open up and take over. Now they planned a Farmer-Labor Party along those lines, and another incident that might be interesting is that the May Day parade, for the first time this year, left out all reference to the Farmer-Labor Party. Previous to that, probably every fourth sign or banner carried in the parade demanded that, but because of their defeat in certain sections of the country, they no longer were interested in forming such a party, or didn't think it practical, which bears out our information that plan No. 1 was scrapped because they found the American people were not reduced to the stage where they could put that over, and they could not wait, and therefore had to rely on No. 3, which is pushing us into war, or No. 2, which is direct action, such as in Spain.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to know a little more about what you mean by "direct action as in Spain"?

Mr. GILBERT. I mean, precipitating a direct revolution by the Lefts, as was done in Spain. Their method of doing that would be a series of strikes first, and perhaps coupled with that an attack on Government bonds, which would cause great damage to banks and insurance companies, and in the excitement they would grab control of communications and stampede the people into a revolution.

They have here at this present moment a very strong nucleus for direct action. They have some 12,000 men who fought in Spain, and are damned good soldiers, as good as any we have got in the Regular Army; and they also have in Mexico, and have had filtering into this country for the last few months, numerous veterans of the Red War from other countries; and if you will remember it was stated in the New York papers less than 2 weeks ago by former Premier Negrin of Spain that he was trying to arrange with the Mexican Government to transport 100,000 men, now temporarily quartered in France, to Mexico. Also they would have the assistance of certain C. I. O. outfits throughout the country. They really could, in communications, do a great deal of harm. If you want to investigate the Maritime Union, and certain communistic outfits, you can see that they are in a position to really get a big start on us at such a time. It isn't hot air, all hot air, by any means.

Mr. WHITLEY. The information you have just furnished about that situation, is that from your own knowledge or is that furnished by your informant?

Mr. GILBERT. Furnished by him, and we afterwards checked it up to the best of our limited ability.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you gentlemen want to develop that angle any further?

The CHAIRMAN. I think we have enough for the time being. I think we ought to go now into the question of Mr. Gilbert and Mr. Campbell.

Mr. WHITLEY. When you first started sending these reports to Campbell, during the summer of 1937, was there any understanding between you as to what he was to do with them or how he was to use them?

Mr. GILBERT. He simply said:

I am in touch with a number of Reserve officers, and friends of mine that will be able to spread these things around to the right people who in turn will check up on them; we will keep it under cover and try to do the best job we can of finding out and going to the bottom of this thing without publicity. Publicity is hurtful and will only cause interference, and you will be laughed at in any case and told they are fantastic, and therefore, if anything is to be done we must go at this thing slowly.

We thought they were fantastic also in the beginning.

Mr. WHITLEY. Realizing the seriousness of the information contained in those reports, if it were true, did it occur to you or Mr. Campbell that they should be turned over to the proper officials so that it could be handled through official channels?

Mr. GILBERT. Some of the men we worked with, and I will not divulge their names—you can put me in jail if you want to—are men who worked for the G-2 section of the Army and Navy, and they were of the opinion that where operatives in the past had given information of a certain type, they had not received cooperation when it got to Washington, and in some cases the reports had been lost, and they advised us not to go through the ordinary channels as they figured it was either stopped or mislaid or somebody was in a position to put the information in what might be called the newspaper morgue; that it wouldn't do any good. And in fact some of them expressed the fear of being punished, that men who did it were thought too overzealous in that line and that other men had been punished, and people promoted over them.

With regard to you gentlemen, I will be perfectly frank. I knew you gentlemen were in politics and I also believed you didn't yet know enough of the inside of this thing. I think you do now, but I didn't think you did then know enough of the inside of this thing to give the information to you. You would probably last summer have gotten me a lot of wrong publicity, or booed me out of the room and thrown the information in the wastebasket. Now you know so much that you probably wouldn't, but in those days you probably would have.

Mr. WHITLEY. What did you and Mr. Campbell think would be accomplished by circulating these reports through the channels through which you did?

Mr. GILBERT. We felt that these people were all in a position—we knew first of all that they were either war veterans or Reserve officers, people who were beyond any doubt Americans, before they were anything else, and we felt that with their cooperation in checking up in the local sections of the country, we would eventually be in a position to get something that would come before your committee or some other committee of Congress that would stand up and not be knocked down. You have got us here a little before our time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did it occur to you that if the information was incorrect you would be doing a group of people a great injustice and a lot of individuals in that group a great injustice?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes. I don't think we were doing anybody a great injustice, we were checking up on the thing. You might as well say that a district attorney, investigating every phase of the case, is doing a lot of people an injustice. We were going to go to the bottom of

the thing and if it wasn't true we were going to forget about it, and if it was true we were going to see that it got the right publicity before the right people, which in this case is yourselves. It wouldn't have been in any newspapers, and it hasn't gotten out, and the proof that it hasn't is that none of these so-called radical organizations have ever gotten a line of our stuff to publish—I mean such as the Pelleyites.

The CHAIRMAN. The Silver Shirts?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; if we had been hurting people they would have grabbed at that and spread it through the country, and the proof of that is that none of them have gotten it.

Mr. MASON. That is a pretty good point.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Gilbert, you and Mr. Campbell apparently took very careful precautions to see that this material was not brought to the attention of officials or the public at large?

Mr. GILBERT. Well, the public at large; yes, sir. With respect to the officials, for the time being we didn't feel we had a right to go to court until we had all the evidence; we didn't want to be laughed out of court, and when you have got us here now, it is a little before the right time.

Mr. WHITLEY. What efforts did you and Mr. Campbell make during the 2 years you have been sending this material out to verify it or check up on this informant?

Mr. GILBERT. We couldn't check on this fellow very much. We got the proof from the press, as I told you, of what he said, and then when things indicated local situations we would write to a fellow in Texas, for example, or Missouri, or some other State, and find out whether the local situation bore out what we had heard in these reports. In several cases they did. One of them was in San Antonio about the election which afterward proved Mr. Maverick's reelection. And there was another case in Missouri. Our men out in that State proved that certain attempts were made to stampede certain ignorant people down there—chiefly Negroes from the southern part of the State—into a disturbance which happened the middle of this winter, and which had been predicted in one of these reports.

So we did get cooperation from our State men that that existed to that extent.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is your understanding that Mr. Campbell has been circulating these exclusively through veterans' organizations and through Reserve officers' organizations or units?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; and may I say that he sent them to individuals, not organizations.

Mr. WHITLEY. Individuals in those groups?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes. We spoke to high officials of veterans' groups and Reserve officers' groups, and determined, because we did not want to hurt any of the veterans' organizations or Reserve officers' associations, that we would send those reports to individuals within those organizations, so that no blame would be put on the Veterans of Foreign Wars or the American Legion or any other organization. We weren't 100 percent sure of this thing yet, we didn't want anybody to be blamed for it, and we were doing what any natural, common-sense person would do, we were trying to piece this thing together and build up something.

Mr. THOMAS. I think there was an answer there that might do some harm without development. The witness said he spoke to high officials.

Mr. GILBERT. I didn't, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Then I misunderstood you.

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Campbell spoke to certain high officials.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know that he spoke to them, he told you that he did?

Mr. GILBERT. He told me that he had, and that when he had done this, they said, "We can't have anything to do with it as an official organization, but if you gentlemen want to give us the information as individuals, we are happy to have it."

Mr. WHITLEY. During the period you have been sending these reports to Mr. Campbell, since 1937 approximately, how many have you sent?

Mr. GILBERT. I wouldn't know. I kept no count. When I got one I would copy it and would send that. He could tell you that better than I, as to details, he has them all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Gilbert, you are out of New York City quite a bit?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. In various parts of the country?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And during the periods that you are out of New York you still continue to send these reports to Mr. Campbell?

Mr. GILBERT. No; I don't when I am out of New York. You will find when I am out of New York there are no reports to Mr. Campbell.

Mr. WHITLEY. Didn't you send in quite a few reports to him while you were in Atlantic City this winter?

Mr. GILBERT. I had certain things mailed to me at Atlantic City by that gentleman. That I forgot to tell you. That was the only case where I ever have gotten a thing from him that I have not received personally, handed to me by him. He did mail certain things to me.

Mr. WHITLEY. To the Hotel Haddon Hall?

Mr. GILBERT. That is correct. I am sorry I didn't tell you that before, but that is the only case I didn't tell you about.

Mr. WHITLEY. What did you with the longhand reports that he sent you?

Mr. GILBERT. I tore them up.

Mr. WHITLEY. After you had copied them in your handwriting?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; that was my agreement with him, and I lived up to it honorably.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever send any reports to Campbell while you were in Newport, R. I.?

Mr. GILBERT. I sent some from Newport, R. I.

The gentleman came to Newport by bus on several occasions and brought them to me personally. There is a bus from Providence. He took a train to Providence and came down by bus.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean Mr. Rice by "gentleman"—let's get the record straight.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; Mr. Rice.

Mr. WHITLEY. As I understand it, then, Mr. Gilbert, this arrangement which has existed since the summer of 1937, wherein you received the information, forwarded it to Mr. Campbell, and he in turn disseminated it to the sources, has been strictly and entirely a two-man arrangement, you and Mr. Campbell?

Mr. GILBERT. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. No one else has any part in it?

Mr. GILBERT. No one else has any part in it, and I don't know the names of the men that Campbell sends it to. I couldn't honestly tell you who they are. You would have to get that from him.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he in turn doesn't know your source of information, Mr. Rice?

Mr. GILBERT. That is quite true. I would rather have that come out of Campbell.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether Mr. Campbell has been in touch with any organization on a cooperative basis in connection with this proposition?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he has ever been in touch with Mr. Pelley of the Silver Shirts?

Mr. GILBERT. I am sure he hasn't.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he has been in touch with Mr. Deatherage?

Mr. GILBERT. I am sure he hasn't. At one time I was worried about Campbell and Deatherage, but I no longer am. I feel that Mr. Campbell, as well as myself, have the same dislike for these people.

Mr. WHITLEY. The fact remains that Mr. Campbell was associated with Mr. Deatherage before he went with you?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; because I believe that Deatherage came along in those days when we were all very innocent and didn't know our way around, and told Campbell he was doing a good work for the Reserve officers and Campbell went along with him until he found out that he was being fooled.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who has furnished the finances which have made it possible to carry out this activity, Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. GILBERT. I should say I have, but to be more truthful, my wife, because I am pretty hard up financially, and she didn't get cleaned out as I did in 1932. Her father died and left her some money.

Mr. WHITLEY. To what extent have you financed Mr. Campbell in connection with this proposition?

Mr. GILBERT. There have been different things, and I will explain it to you in detail so that you will know, but please stop me if there is anything you don't understand.

In the beginning I started helping Campbell in just a small way. As he became more useful in finding things out and in building up this system, we will say, of information, I gave him more money, which I think is only just. Campbell then got in some trouble with his creditors, which he will tell you about in detail, what they did to him in Evansville, Ind., and I have to, for a period of 4 or 5 months, give him two or three hundred dollars a month, or otherwise he would be declared bankrupt. He is going to pay that back. You laugh at me, but I think the man is honest and can be depended on to pay me back when he gets on his feet.

There is another large thing that your committee will probably get very excited on seeing. There is a sum of \$1,000 in this last month of April. I am going to say something that will make you laugh at me, but it is true. I have feared so much for the safety—in the event of an outbreak, a civil war in this country—for my three children and wife, and old father and mother, that I had arranged through Campbell for the construction in western Kentucky of a small house there which my family could go to as a refuge. If we never had to use it, we could use it as a hunting lodge, a place for fishing. I have got two boys.

Now, I gave Campbell \$1,000 to start the foundation for that house. He is a competent engineer and he is now doing the construction of that, and you can go out on the ground and see where the money went to. It is about an hour and a half back of Owensboro, Ky., near Calhoun, and we got the place from another friend of ours, a veteran, who has a farm down there, and we are very happy that he would let us have it at a nominal amount, that is the land. It is in Campbell's name because I, as an easterner, didn't want to frighten the natives by suddenly bouncing in from the east coast and building a house, and Campbell will be likely to use it if I don't have any use for it.

I expect to put about \$4,000 into it. That seems to be ridiculous to you, but in the event of trouble, the South and the Middle West will be all right, the east and west coasts will be the enemy territory, and if I am going to do any fighting for America, I would like to put them in the Middle West, or Middle South.

MR. WHITLEY. Mr. Gilbert, do you have any evidence whatever of the loans that you have made to Mr. Campbell from time to time?

MR. GILBERT. I don't have, offhand, but you can check up with me; I think the bank still keeps those records, don't they, the banks they are cleared through?

MR. WHITLEY. I mean, did you take a note from him or any security of any kind?

MR. GILBERT. No; his word was good enough for me. A man that you can trust your life to, his word is good enough.

MR. WHITLEY. And you have just advanced him money?

MR. GILBERT. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. Over a period of time, since 1937, as he needed it?

MR. GILBERT. Yes, sir; I have helped him pay his alimony to his wife, and I may help him in an operation on his little girl when she gets out of school. She is threatened with appendicitis. If that is a crime, all right.

MR. WHITLEY. Mr. Gilbert, I show you for identification a photostatic copy of six checks. All the checks are drawn on the Bank of New York, Madison Avenue Branch, signed "Dudley P. Gilbert."

MR. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

MR. WHITLEY. And the checks are dated April 14; three checks dated April 17; one dated April 18; and one dated April 24.

MR. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

MR. WHITLEY. These checks are all made payable to James E. Campbell, and the total amount of the six checks is \$1,800. Will you identify those please?

MR. GILBERT. Yes, sir; I will. That is my writing in all six of these checks. Of the \$1,800, you see there the \$1,000 was for the

starting of the construction of that house; \$200 was a temporary loan I told you about; the other \$600 remaining is partly a loan to help him out and partly to try to pay expenses he may have in doing this work for me.

Mr. WHITLEY. Those checks are all dated in April 1939?

Mr. GILBERT. They are, sir; I believe. If you will let me look through them, I will confirm that. Yes, sir; they are.

(Six checks, marked "Exhibit 2").

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Gilbert, do you know whether Mr. Campbell, in cashing these checks which he received from you, takes any precautions to cover up or to conceal the fact that he is receiving them, or the number that he is receiving from you?

Mr. GILBERT. Only to this extent. I would imagine under common sense that Mr. Campbell doesn't want to attract attention in a small city and would not probably put them through the same bank. You know small town gossip is sure to cause trouble, and if there is somebody around from the leftist side, they can take you up quickly. He will tell you that an attempt was made on his life a year ago. He has good reason to be careful.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether that attempt on his life, or alleged attempt on his life, was in connection with his activities in disseminating this information?

Mr. GILBERT. I think it was his activities in connection with me, his antisubversive activities, definitely so.

At another time he had a rock put through the windshield of his car during some labor trouble. He was not going into the labor trouble but was merely going through a section, and the crowd held him up on a United States highway and told him to get out, and he stepped on the gas and said, "As a United States citizen I will go through, you are not running the country."

Mr. WHITLEY. You state, Mr. Gilbert, that the \$1,800 you sent Mr. Campbell during the month of April 1939, was unusual in that it was considerably more than you usually sent him?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; it will not be unusual for the next few months because I have to build that house up. I am not taking any chances. After that there will be no thousand dollar item in there. Also this \$200 is only temporary. He will give you his creditors' names in Evansville, and the attempt to force him into bankruptcy there, if you want him to.

Mr. WHITLEY. What have been the average sums, monthly, which you have sent Mr. Campbell since the summer of 1937?

Mr. GILBERT. Oh, I would say that he didn't get more than a couple of hundred dollars. I should say that he has run 5 and 6 hundred. Some months he has run as low as four. There hasn't been any definite amount.

Mr. WHITLEY. Would you say that the average during that period has been as high as \$500 a month, approximately?

Mr. GILBERT. Well, say \$500. I think that is fair. They have been, sometimes, a little less or a little more.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you say that all of this money is either yours or your wife's?

Mr. GILBERT. It is my wife's chiefly, sir. She is sold on this as much as I am, although she doesn't take any part in it.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you or Mr. Campbell are receiving no financing from any outside source?

Mr. GILBERT. No; I don't enjoy carrying the load and I wish to God we would receive something, some help, from the outside.

Mr. WHITLEY. The investigation of this matter down in Kentucky indicated that some people down there were under the impression that Mr. Campbell, at times, at least, was in the possession of a number of post-dated checks, signed by you; is that correct?

Mr. GILBERT. I can explain that. The reason for that is that we would get our income only on certain dates; twice a month, for instance. Now, I would postdate checks. Campbell needed the money, and I would give them to him in advance, and he, through intimate friends, would be able to borrow against those. Say there was some money coming in to us on the 20th of May. I would postdate the thing the 24th, and I would have plenty of time for that thing, if it were a day late, to clear the bank. I didn't want them to bounce. In the meantime, to convenience Campbell, I would give him that, and he had an intimate friend who would loan him the money on that, using that as security. It was merely a matter of convenience. I am not John D. Rockefeller, and I couldn't give him a large sum of money.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Gilbert, the joint account which you and your wife maintained at the Bank of New York, Madison Avenue branch, reflects an average of two large deposits in that account each month.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; they come from my wife's estate, and you will find that the income taxes are duly paid on that. You will find a few little things in there by me that were probably given me by my father or mother, but I have been busted since 1932.

Mr. WHITLEY. Those are routine payments made from the estate?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; and they have all been filed with the income-tax department.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the amounts are usually deposited by Smith, Chambers & Clare?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; they are attorneys for us and do all the work for the estate. They are at 60 Broadway, New York City. Mr. Clare knows all about it. He will show you the source of those things, if you want to go down and see the different trust funds.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gilbert, don't you feel that you have been taken in by this fellow Campbell; or do you feel so?

Mr. GILBERT. No; I don't feel I have been taken in by Campbell. I think he is an honest man, and I think you will be sold on him. I may be mistaken and he may be, but at least the man is honest.

The CHAIRMAN. All the names mentioned in these reports which I saw happen to be Jews.

Mr. GILBERT. Well, I believe some of them are not; you will find a number that are not.

The CHAIRMAN. You say some of them mentioned in the reports are not Jews?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that a group of prominent people would talk in the manner in which these reports indicate they do in a public meeting?

Mr. GILBERT. I believe those meetings were not public; even that the majority of the members of that club knew nothing of them; that

they would call meetings of 20 or 30 men. It is the hardest place in the world to hold a meeting, in a club, gentlemen. If I hold it in my apartment, somebody is going to notice it. If I hold it in a large club, nobody makes any comment whether they are members or guests running in or out.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think these men, occupying the important positions as they all appear to do, would make such statements as are contained in these reports in the presence of a waiter?

Mr. GILBERT. The waiter was not in the room, sir; he was on guard duty outside; but I believe several other men who could be trusted——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). You mean that Rice reported to you that these men met behind closed doors?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; and he and two or three other men, who, he said, were out-and-out leftists, were used to keep other people away from annoying them and were covered up by acting as waiters to serve them when they needed it; they were waiters if anybody wanted anything, and, if not, they were guards.

The CHAIRMAN. And they stood outside the door?

Mr. GILBERT. At the door or close to it.

The CHAIRMAN. And overhead the conversations?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know where we can locate Mr. Rice?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you help us locate Mr. Rice?

Mr. GILBERT. If I could, I would. In fact, I might add that I tried to help you yesterday. The gentleman did call me up and said he had thought he would have something pretty soon again, and would I be in town, and I said that I would and spoke to him, and I asked him, "Would you be willing to go before a certain committee and state things?" And he got very angry at me and accused me of betraying his trust, and a few other things. I hope it isn't going to scare him off.

Mr. THOMAS. Could you give a description of Mr. Rice?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; he is of medium height and, I should say, weighs 160 pounds. I am not a good judge of weight. I couldn't judge your weight, for instance. His hair is darkish brown, clean shaven, and I should judge he was in the late thirties or early forties.

Mr. THOMAS. What is the color of his eyes?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Has he any distinguishing mark on his face; a scar or anything?

Mr. GILBERT. Not that I know of.

Mr. THOMAS. You don't recall the color of his eyes?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't.

Mr. THOMAS. Is he married or single?

Mr. GILBERT. Married, I understand.

Mr. THOMAS. Is he a citizen or a native of New York?

Mr. GILBERT. I think so: he is certainly a native American, not born abroad.

Mr. THOMAS. What is the color of his hair?

Mr. GILBERT. I should say it was a very dark brown.

Mr. THOMAS. Has he much hair?

Mr. GILBERT. Quite a bit.

Mr. THOMAS. How does he part his hair?

Mr. GILBERT. Well, his hair isn't so different from the chairman's, the way he parts it.

Mr. THOMAS. He parts it on the right side?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Has he got sideburns?

Mr. GILBERT. No; he has no sideburns. I did my best to try to produce him for you.

The CHAIRMAN. To be perfectly frank with you, you seem to have been very frank with the committee here; of course I am personally very much concerned with so many business people, and people who have money, being taken in by racketeers. Don't you feel that there are a lot of racketeers in this business?

Mr. GILBERT. What do you mean "this business"?

The CHAIRMAN. I mean in the dissemination of antiracial and anti-religious propaganda. Don't you think Sanctuary is a racketeer?

Mr. GILBERT. I feel, gentlemen, that there are two sources. One of them are the out-and-out racket propositions, and I think others of them are subsidized by the German Government.

The CHAIRMAN. You do?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any proof—

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). No; I have no proof of that.

The CHAIRMAN. But they approached you?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; not directly, but through these other people who, as I testified further back in my testimony, told me I was three kinds of a damn fool for not playing ball with them.

And I also feel this way about it, that this outfit that tried to get a name near mine, this Stanley Smith outfit, headed by Stanley Smith—and George Andrews Moriarity is associated with them, an attorney—they called themselves the American Nationalist Party—and I believe those are the people that a former witness before you said used a swastika. Those people do meet with German groups and have been mixed up with riots in northern New Jersey, with German groups, and in New York. I believe they are a German set-up. They tried to make me come over with them, and when I wouldn't, they made it impossible for me to continue in any way, and then they go out and form an organization as nearly as they could to mine; that is, using my name as nearly as possible, because it is a good name.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they indicate to you that if you went along with them you would get German money?

Mr. GILBERT. They didn't say "German money," but that I wouldn't have to worry.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they indicate to you that anti-Semitic propaganda was one of the most effective—

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). They said, "You are altogether too damn easy on the Jews." I said, "I don't know any reason why I should be any harder on them than anybody, if they are wrong, they are wrong, and if they are Jews, that does not necessarily make them wrong."

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that the Jews are behind the Communist movement?

Mr. GILBERT. A certain element, to the same extent that a certain element of the Germans are behind the Nazis.

I believe there are racial fanatics among the Jews that believe that they have been badly treated throughout the world, and what have they got to lose in a new deal all around, and many of them feel that while they have been curtailed in religious freedom in Russia——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). The reason I am asking these questions is to get your point of view. I want to get the way your mind works along these lines. You don't believe that the majority of Jews in this country are in favor of overthrowing our form of Government, do you?

Mr. GILBERT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think men as prominent as the Jews mentioned in these reports would want to overthrow this form of Government?

Mr. GILBERT. I believe so. I believe men as prominent as that have shown themselves to be mixed up in international things for years back. I think if you get Father Coughlin down here, who I am in no way connected with, he will prove to you that some of the same members of the banking outfits these men are connected with, were involved with the Russian Soviet.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever meet Father Coughlin?

Mr. GILBERT. No; I never did. I wrote one letter to him.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Bob Harris, from New York?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir; I don't.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever met with any of these anti-Semitic groups?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir; I have avoided them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you know Mr. Campbell was sending out certain of Father Coughlin's speeches in the envelopes with this material that you sent out to him?

Mr. GILBERT. May I answer that question in this way? I think that I have cut things out of the Brooklyn Tablet, chiefly, which probably that man down in Tennessee thought were Father Coughlin's speeches. The Tablet is the official paper of the diocese of Brooklyn. In addition I have found a few things in Father Coughlin's Social Justice, that I thought would interest Mr. Campbell, and I took the liberty of cutting them out and sending them to him, and I have taken the liberty of asking Mr. Scanlon, the editor of the Tablet, to put you on his mailing list.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever been associated with Mr. Campbell in any business enterprise?

Mr. GILBERT. Never in my life.

Mr. WHITLEY. This is the only association?

Mr. GILBERT. The only association I ever had with him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you go down there with him in June 1938, when that office was opened in Owensboro?

Mr. GILBERT. I went with him to Louisville first and he figured on an office there. He figured he wanted to open a little business and he figured he wanted to do some of our work on the side, both things together, and we figured that there was quite a foreign element in Louisville, more so than you would think, and that there

might be certain people of a leftist nature, and it would be safer for him to go to a real American town like Owensboro. He could travel around from there and have a secretary at Owensboro.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you go to Owensboro with him?

Mr. GILBERT. I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know the name under which he was opening the office?

Mr. GILBERT. The Business Engineering Associates.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it your understanding or belief that he has actually been engaged in any activities down there other than the dissemination of this material?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; he has told me, he said, "I really have several bona fide clients, and I am not altogether working for you. I don't know what is going to materialize from them; I have approached a man for work in Indianapolis, and another one in Cleveland." He said, "I hope to do a little business and sustain myself so that I won't be dependent on you."

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you move any of the files or records of the American Nationalists, Inc., down to Owensboro when this office was opened?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you turn over any of those files or records to Mr. Campbell at any time?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir; I destroyed most of them when we closed shop. I have a few left that I told you about when you and your assistant were in New York, that we would hunt for and get out.

Mr. WHITLEY. You still have the charter of the corporation?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; that is in the place I told you you would find them, and the original incorporation papers, and a list of a certain number of legal meetings when we set up the idea, and I told you I might have some newspaper clippings and possibly replies from different editors to things I sent out.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is the present activity in which you and Mr. Campbell are engaged in any way a continuation of the activities of the inactive corporation?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; I would say that it was carrying out the same thing in a more practical way.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the plan that you tried to operate the corporation under didn't work, so then you are trying to accomplish the same purpose through this new set-up?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; without perhaps brass-band tactics which didn't go over.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you in the service during the war?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was your rank?

Mr. GILBERT. Buck private. I went in the Army when I was 18, went down to the Mexican border at the time of the so-called war with Mexico, and went in the One Hundred and Seventh Infantry in the World War, and there is my American Legion card [indicating].

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have any overseas duty?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir; I was sick and didn't get over. I had paratyphoid and also pneumonia, and I was underweight, and they

didn't send me over for that reason. In fact, I was under the draft age.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't have a commission?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir; I was under 21. I am a life member of the Sons of the Revolution of the State of New York.

Mr. THOMAS. When did you leave the One Hundred and Seventh?

Mr. GILBERT. Just before they went overseas.

Mr. THOMAS. And you went from the One Hundred and Seventh to where?

Mr. GILBERT. I took a physical-disability discharge for a few months and then went back into what was known as the First Provisional Infantry, organized at New York City for people who were going to college and for men like myself who had been discharged from different outfits. Then a group of about 20 men were picked to go to Camp Lewis to go on the expedition to Vladivostok. Naturally the Armistice stopped that, and we were kept in New York until discharged. I think altogether I spent nearly 3 years in the service.

The CHAIRMAN. How many other men of your acquaintance are doing similar work, work similar to this?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't know, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know of a few men there in New York who have embraced the same idea you have?

Mr. GILBERT. I kept away from them because I found out they were all either fanatics on the Jewish proposition, or they were connected with outfits I didn't quite approve of.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do know of businessmen in New York who are contributing funds?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't know of any such men, but I knew of men represented in the thing, and I didn't like their point of view.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you know that your plan has been adopted by others and they have men stationed in different parts of the country disseminating information?

Mr. GILBERT. No; I did not know that. I believe there are organizations that follow the original idea, but I think they are more or less humbug on collecting information. Those fellows cut out clippings from papers, and then send that out to a sucker list soliciting contributions. If I had stooped to methods like that I could have made a go of it.

Mr. VOORHIS. How can you be sure, Mr. Gilbert, where your information is really coming from? I mean, How can you be certain that Mr. Rice gets his information from these club meetings?

Mr. GILBERT. If you want to put me on an absolute basis if you are going to talk law you know and I know that a witness uncorroborated, is useless—won't stand up in a court of law. You know also that the ordinary press clippings would not be sufficient, and that is the reason I have kept in the background and not tried to put something out. I wanted to have it stand up.

Mr. VOORHIS. But the fact of the matter is that this stuff has gone out?

Mr. GILBERT. Only to our own group who are trying to compare the information they get with what is happening in their own States, and I have given two names to the chairman of where they did check

back in Texas and Missouri and show what did happen, show that it actually did happen.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Did you send any of this information out until you were convinced by things occurring that it was right?

Mr. GILBERT. No; we didn't. Campbell and I turned the thing down; we kept it, but we didn't send it out; we thought it was too fantastic at first.

Mr. DEMPSEY. And afterward, you were convinced?

Mr. GILBERT. Afterward, we were convinced by newspapers.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You say "newspapers"?

Mr. GILBERT. Clippings.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Giving the information that had been predicted?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes. In the beginning, those results were probably a month to 2 months afterward. More recently they have been very quickly afterward.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, I know you are going to be absolutely frank with us, you are under oath here, are you absolutely positive that no one has ever contributed any money to you or to your wife, or that any of the funds from any outside source have ever gone into this work of Campbell and you?

Mr. GILBERT. You can look up my wife's account and see where the money comes from, see for yourself.

The CHAIRMAN. You haven't accepted one dollar from any other source?

Mr. GILBERT. Not one.

The CHAIRMAN. And she hasn't accepted a dollar?

Mr. GILBERT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. And there never has been any promise from anyone to reimburse you?

Mr. GILBERT. No; and we have never asked anybody for a red cent in regard to this thing of Campbell and myself.

The CHAIRMAN. You really fear a revolution in this country?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; if you want me to be perfectly honest with you, I fear a revolution in this country before snow flies. That is why I am working like hell on this house down in Kentucky. I feel they are going to fall down on putting us into a World War, because I feel there are too many good Americans in Congress to let them get away with it. I feel that when they find themselves licked on that score that they are going to try to pull direct action, and I think they are doing it now in these various strikes and things. I think they are tests of what they are going to pull later on.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever forward to Mr. Campbell for dissemination any data concerning activities of Fascists or Nazi groups?

Mr. GILBERT. No; before—or because I can frankly say that they don't amount to a hill of beans in my estimation, and I think have been pretty well covered by your committee. Let me tell you what I think of both those groups.

I have already told you what I thought of the so-called phony patriotic societies from investigation that I made of Fascist activities, I feel that they are localized to small groups of Italians, who more or less just want to have a spaghetti party on Columbus Day, acting like a lot of damn fools, running around with their hands in the air around Columbus Circle. I don't take them seriously.

I take the Germans seriously, but I believe the German bunds are now about where the Communist Party was in 1922; they are not a menace. If we had taken hold of communism then, there wouldn't be any. I think we could put them out of business in a week, the German bunds; I don't think they are any great menace and I think probably the leftists would like to have them continue so they would have something to yell about and take the curse off themselves. When you go after them they can say, "Why not catch the little boy down there, he is more dangerous than we are?"

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, we are trying to determine the difference between sincerity in a man. To be frank, the thing that is revolving in my mind is to determine whether you are absolutely sincere about this. You are doing it through patriotic motives?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; I may be a patriotic fool, but I believe it.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Gilbert, has your investigation brought you in contact with an organization in New York City called the New York Patriots, Inc.?

Mr. GILBERT. No; but I received literature from those people.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know of a man by the name of Allen Zoll?

Mr. GILBERT. I have reason to believe that Mr. Zoll is a complete humbug, and Mr. Campbell will tell you a lot about him.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you talked to as many people in New York who feel the same way about this that you do?

Mr. GILBERT. When I first started in this thing, I used to do a lot of talking. I learned through sad experience that it is bad to talk. I now keep my mouth shut.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you hear among members of your club and others, with reference to this Jewish question?

Mr. GILBERT. I find that among the New Yorkers of that class of people they are inclined to play it down and say it is "boloney," and hot air being exported from Europe. If you want any anti-Jewish feeling, you have got to go among the masses to get it, I think. I don't think the so-called wealthy people believe it.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What about the masses in New York City?

Mr. GILBERT. I think the masses are pretty riled up about it, and I think the reason, whether it is unfair or otherwise to Jews, is that the Jews are taking the lead in these radical demonstrations and for that reason they resent it, and are beginning to be very bitter.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you belong to any organizations or groups other than purely social?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; I am a member of the Elks, I am not probably in very good standing on my dues; I belong to the Knights of Columbus and the Holy Name Society. I belong to the Center Club, which is a club for Catholic college men. I don't belong to anything outside the American Legion and the Sons of the Revolution, and the Society of Colonial Wars. I happened to have an ancestor in the French and Indian wars which entitled me to belong to that.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you acquainted with General Moseley?

Mr. GILBERT. I have never met him. Mr. Campbell served under him.

Mr. THOMAS. You mentioned the newspaper called the Tablet?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; it has a circulation of 100,000, and the name of the editor is Patrick Scanlon, and he would be more than delighted to come here at any time.

Mr. THOMAS. The reason I asked that question is that I was afraid there might be some misunderstanding in the record. Isn't it your belief that the Brooklyn Tablet is doing a very good job in suppressing or bringing to the attention of the people these subversive activities?

Mr. GILBERT. I believe they are doing a mighty good job, and I believe they are perfectly impartial and fair. They have done a pretty good job on the Nazis as well.

Mr. DEMPSEY. The Brooklyn Tablet didn't start, having in mind having anything to do with people who were doing all these subversive things, it is a regular religious newspaper.

Mr. GILBERT. That is quite right.

Mr. DEMPSEY. And is gotten out and sponsored by the Catholic Church, Diocese of Brooklyn.

Mr. GILBERT. The Bishop of Brooklyn is responsible for the paper.

Mr. THOMAS. The reason I brought that up is that I was afraid, from the earlier testimony, that someone might get the impression that it was associated or in any way connected with Father Coughlin. It is absolutely on its own.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes. I merely brought that in because I think this man in Kentucky or Tennessee, what he thought were Coughlin's clippings were the Brooklyn Tablet's which I sent to Campbell. I really send him things from Coughlin's paper.

Mr. THOMAS. It is my belief that the Tablet does a very good job.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions, gentlemen?

(Discussion off the record.)

The CHAIRMAN. This involves the question of where your wife's money comes from, and what State it comes from, and how much. I don't know that at this stage of the proceeding we care to go into that.

Mr. GILBERT. You can go to the attorney's office and he can read that to you, and you can go to the income-tax office.

The CHAIRMAN. Unless there is some evidence that the witness is getting money from some other source, we don't want to pry into anybody's personal affairs.

Mr. THOMAS. What is the name of your attorney?

Mr. GILBERT. James Leo Clare, of Smith, Chambers & Clare.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to know briefly what you meant by something happening in San Antonio in connection with Maury Maverick's election?

Mr. GILBERT. In these reports we heard of the activities these people were carrying on to put Maverick over, and some of the methods they were using to divide the opposition to make sure he got in.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean that you believe that this action was steered—by whom?

Mr. GILBERT. I believe that this group up in New York were pushing that election of Maverick to put him back in there. I believe that they helped financially somewhat in that, and I believe that they also, from the reports sent Mr. Heywood Broun down there. Heywood Broun admits in his article in the papers that he was in San Antonio and his delight with Maverick's return, and it is a matter of record that he wrote several articles on the horrible conditions in San Antonio under the former mayor. He spent considerable time down there,

and you know he is tied up with the left-wing element. That, to me, is sufficient proof.

The CHAIRMAN. We will recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12 o'clock noon, a recess was taken until 2 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The hearing was resumed at 2 p. m., at conclusion of the recess.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you take the stand, Mr. Cooke?

TESTIMONY OF JAMES F. COOKE, DEPARTMENT COMMANDER, AMERICAN LEGION, STATE OF TENNESSEE

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Cooke, your full name is James F. Cooke?

Mr. COOKE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your residence address, Mr. Cooke?

Mr. COOKE. Athens, Tenn.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your business or profession, Mr. Cooke?

Mr. COOKE. Manufacturer.

Mr. WHITLEY. Your manufacturing business is in Athens?

Mr. COOKE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your connection with the American Legion?

Mr. COOKE. At the present time I am department commander, Department of Tennessee.

Mr. WHITLEY. Department commander of the State of Tennessee?

Mr. COOKE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long have you held that position?

Mr. COOKE. Since last August; August 1938.

Mr. WHITLEY. In connection with your duties as department commander, have you heard of or come in contact with a man named James E. Campbell?

Mr. COOKE. I know a J. E. Campbell; I don't know his first name.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you explain to the committee your contact with him, and your relations with him, Mr. Cooke?

Mr. COOKE. Some time—I have forgotten whether it was in December or January, December of last year or January of this year—I received what was supposed to be a copy of a report of a meeting of some organization in New York City. I had never heard of this man Campbell before. I didn't pay much attention to the first two or three reports that I had received from him, they were just typewritten copies. But after a while—oh, I guess I received probably four or five of these reports, I didn't pay much attention to them to start with—but after a while I noticed, just happened to notice in the paper an event that had happened that had been mentioned in one of these reports. And then I came to read them a little more closely and paid a little more attention to them and there were several things happened after I had received these that had been predicted in these reports. So then I began to kind of sit up and take notice of things, and tried to establish some personal contact with Campbell. We made dates on several different occasions, but something happened, either he was unable to come or I was not able to be there

at the appointed time. So I never met him until April 17 of this year, I guess it was.

This telegram is dated April 12 that I have here, and we met at the Hermitage Hotel in Nashville, Tenn., on a Saturday morning, the Saturday morning following, it was Saturday following April 12.

Mr. WHITLEY. 1939?

Mr. COOKE. Yes, sir. I had, previous to this meeting, received a letter from him asking me what I was going to do about all these reports that he had been sending me. I wrote him and told him I wasn't going to do anything at all at the time, because I didn't know him, didn't know anything of his background, didn't know anything about his responsibility, nor did I know the origin of these reports or anything about it, and that I couldn't afford to stick my neck out on just such things as this because to me they weren't worth the paper they were written on as far as I understood evidence.

But I told him that I would like to meet him and talk to him, and if he cared to do so, he could tell me where these things originated. And this meeting was the result of that letter that I wrote him.

A day or two before I was to go to Nashville—that is, the day or two before the 15th of April—I was in Chattanooga, Tenn., and I met Mr. (Committee investigator), and in the course of our conversation I mentioned having these papers in my possession, and that I was to meet this man in Nashville the following Saturday, and he said he would like to be present at the meeting. So I told him it was all right with me.

So we met Mr. Campbell that morning in my room at the hotel. He proceeded to tell me then where these reports came from.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was in the presence of the investigator?

Mr. COOKE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was his explanation concerning the source of the reports, Mr. Cooke?

Mr. COOKE. Do you mean as to where he got them?

Mr. WHITLEY. As to where he got them and where the information contained in the reports came from?

Mr. COOKE. That was one of the first things that I asked him after he had given me a partial history of himself, you know, trying to establish some sort of a background for himself. It was rather a long story that he told. Do you want me to go into the details?

Mr. WHITLEY. If you can indicate as briefly as possible, to cover the source of it, that will be all right.

Mr. COOKE. He told me that he was an officer in the United States Army Reserve—

Mr. MASON (interposing). We don't want all that background.

Mr. COOKE. Well, I am going to lead up to that—and that was his connection with the thing. It seems that his tale was to this effect, at any rate. I am not quoting him verbatim or anything, but there was a young man in the R. O. T. C. unit at the College of the City of New York came to the lieutenant colonel who is in charge of that unit one day and asked him what they would do to him if he killed four or five of those "damn Jew Communists" out there, meaning, I suppose, out there on the ground. Probably they were falling in for drill, or whatever it was. The colonel kind of laughed and said, "What do you mean?"

He said, "I mean it; I am serious." He said, "I am in earnest." And the lieutenant colonel said, "Well, they do hang people occasionally for things like that—what do you mean?"

And this boy is supposed to have replied to him, saying, "My daddy was killed in France, and I am getting damned tired of having his memory insulted, the United States of America insulted, and the United States Government insulted."

So, to make a long story short, this colonel talked to this boy and the boy seems to have had more or less of a Semitic appearance, dark complexioned. This boy had stated previously that he was working for a commission in the Officers' Reserve Corps, that he had been turned down for West Point, but he wanted to follow in the footsteps of his daddy.

So this colonel said then, "You are going to get your commission, but you are going to leave this school cussing me, cussing the R. O. T. C., cussing the United States Government, and everybody connected with it."

He went ahead, got his commission, as I understand it, and then in some way it was manipulated around so that he got a position, or became a member—I don't know which—but I believe it was a position in an organization in New York which was known as the Harmonie Club. He told me the address of that club, but all I remember was that it was on Sixth Avenue, I don't remember the number; and that he had worked himself into the confidence of the head of this organization so that he was able to attend private meetings out at individual homes, and that he had gone to night school, studied shorthand, and would make notes of the speeches and conversations that he would hear, both in the public hearings—that is down at the club, and also out at the private meetings, and that that was the origin of these reports.

MR. WHITLEY. Mr. Cooke, as I understand it, those reports were sent to you without any solicitation whatever on your part?

MR. COOKE. Absolutely. I never heard of this man before or anything about him.

MR. WHITLEY. For the purposes of identification—we don't want to put these in the record—I show you 13 original envelopes addressed to Mr. James F. Cook, Athens, Tenn., containing material, type-written material, and also material clipped out of newspapers, and ask you if you will identify those as the envelopes which were mailed to you by Campbell?

MR. COOKE. Well, now, there are two here that weren't, these two. All of these envelopes without a return address in the corner, upper left-hand corner, were received from Campbell.

MR. WHITLEY. Those envelopes are all postmarked "Owensboro, Ky.?"

MR. COOKE. That is right.

MR. WHITLEY. And they were received by you over what period of time, approximately?

MR. COOKE. Well, to be on the safe side, I would say from the first of this year up to the present.

MR. WHITLEY. From the first of this year?

MR. COOKE. Yes; I don't remember just exactly the time.

MR. WHITLEY. That is approximately.

Mr. COOKE. I don't remember the exact time I commenced to receive them.

Now, these two here [indicating] are from the department adjutant of the American Legion in Tennessee. It seems that Campbell sent these same things to him, but he just forwarded them to me, so these may be duplicates of some of the things that are in there [indicating].

The CHAIRMAN. We will mark all of those. We are not receiving them in evidence but we will mark them as exhibits.

Mr. WHITLEY. Confidential exhibit No. 2—and we'll keep them all together in a large envelope.

(The envelopes referred to were marked "Confidential Exhibit No. 2.")

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Cooke, earlier in your testimony you stated that you paid very little attention to these reports at first.

Mr. COOKE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. But that when you noticed that certain events which had been referred to in the reports were later confirmed in the public press, you began to become more curious about them and take more interest in them?

Mr. COOKE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall the particular event that attracted your attention?

Mr. COOKE. One was—now, I am not sure that this particular report that I am referring to, well I know it isn't in the papers that I brought with me today, it may be that the investigator has it, that it is among the papers that I turned over to the investigator some 4 weeks ago—one was that there had been a sum of money sent to Leon Trotsky in Mexico City. If I remember right it was something like \$50,000, sent to him to be used by him as he saw fit.

A week or so later it just happened to come to my notice in one of the daily papers that I get, just a little paragraph, maybe about 2 inches, stating that Trotsky had admitted spending that same amount of money, whatever it was, in the elections in Chile, South America.

Then there was another report there regarding the French mission that came to this country to buy airplanes, which wasn't disclosed until the crash of the airplane in Los Angeles, as you will remember. That was mentioned in the report prior to the time of that crash.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Did those things, did you just notice those yourself over a period of time, or did he send in the material, pointing out the coincidence to you?

Mr. COOKE. No; I never received anything from him except just this kind of stuff.

Mr. WHITLEY. The envelopes that he transmitted the typewritten reports or carbon copies of typewritten reports to you in, did he include any other material in those envelopes?

Mr. COOKE. Just newspaper clippings. I didn't read the clippings, because most of them were, as I recall, speeches by Father Coughlin.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was your impression, Mr. Cooke, after you had met——

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). May I ask a question there?

Why do you say they were "speeches by Father Coughlin"?

Mr. COOKE. That is what the paper said, the clippings said.

Mr. THOMAS. The clipping itself says that it was a speech by Father Coughlin?

Mr. COOKE. I think so.

Mr. THOMAS. Not a newspaper report—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). They were newspaper reports of speeches made by Father Coughlin, is that right?

Mr. COOKE. That is right. I don't know what paper they were from, because the date lines have all been cut off. I haven't looked at some of them at all, because I wasn't interested in them.

Mr. WHITLEY. The date line identifying the paper was cut off in each instance?

Mr. COOKE. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. So there is no way of telling what papers these clippings were from?

Mr. COOKE. No; not that I know of.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Cooke, look at the bottom of the paper you have in your hand on the other side—does that indicate the newspaper?

Mr. COOKE. No; this is just an advertisement.

The CHAIRMAN. They purposely cut that out.

Mr. COOKE. I think you will find in one of those somewhere, I don't know—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). What is the materiality of what paper it is?

Mr. THOMAS. I just want to, if I can, bring it out in connection with what another witness has said.

The CHAIRMAN. About the Brooklyn Tablet?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes. You remember the previous witness said that these articles were taken from the Brooklyn Tablet. This is not from the Brooklyn Tablet. That is the reason I brought that out.

Mr. COOKE. I was just going to say that I believe there is one little clipping in the bunch somewhere, that on the back of the clipping it does say, "Tablet." What it is, I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't think that is material what paper it is printed in. A paper has the right to print anybody's speech.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes. But the other witness said that these newspaper clippings were from the Brooklyn Tablet. Apparently they are not, at least all, from the Brooklyn Tablet.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not the printing of the Brooklyn Tablet.

Let's proceed, gentlemen.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Cooke, after you had talked to Mr. Campbell in Nashville, what was your impression then concerning the authenticity of the material at least that he had been sending out—did he convince you that it was correct or accurate?

Mr. COOKE. In some ways he did, and in other ways I am not convinced yet that it is accurate.

Mr. WHITLEY. He did try to convince you, though?

Mr. COOKE. I told him this, I said, "It would be hard for you to make me believe that people whose names are mentioned in these reports, those men, would put such things as this down in black and white," I said, "They have got sense and they are not going to do that; you can't make me believe that they will do that."

He said, "No; it is fantastic; and I wouldn't believe it myself if it were not for the fact that I know the origin of the reports and know them to be authentic."

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he indicate in his conversation with you that day whether he was working alone or whether he was working with an organization or a group?

Mr. COOKE. I never could figure out just exactly what his connections were. He was connected with somebody, but just what I never was able to figure out. I don't know just what he was doing, but he suggested to me that he might throw some business my way in the manufacture of boxes, because he and General Moseley were working together on a prophylactic for the Army and also for the civilians, and I do know that he arranged the speaking date for General Moseley in Nashville some time in the latter part of February, I believe it was. Now, what his connections were with General Moseley, I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he make any suggestions as to what you should do with or about this information he was sending you?

Mr. COOKE. No; not particularly. As he was leaving my room there in Nashville that day, I walked to the elevator with him, just the two of us, and he said, "What do you think about it, Cooke?"

"Well," I said, "if these things are true, as you say they are, I think they should be made public and let the people know just what is going on, it shouldn't go on any further."

He said, "Well, you think the same way I do," he said, "I will write you about it later."

Mr. WHITLEY. He indicated he thought they should be made public?

Mr. COOKE. He said that we think along the same lines.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he explain or state whether he had brought the material or the information in those reports to the attention of the proper authorities?

Mr. COOKE. No; not to me.

Mr. WHITLEY. During your conversation with Mr. Cooke, or rather Mr. Campbell, on that occasion, did he indicate in his conversation any racial or religious prejudices?

Mr. COOKE. Well, along racial lines, in a vague sort of a way, you could tell that he was a little bit prejudiced against the Jews. He told me some things, not in connection with these reports, but just in a general conversation, he told me of some activities that the Jews had been engaged in such as caring for a certain number of refugees being sent over, and some of these big department stores firing Americans and hiring Jews, and things of that sort that would more or less indicate to me at any rate that he wouldn't care about sleeping with any of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he say anything about the extent—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Let that type of testimony—what is the purpose of that? That doesn't necessarily show that a man is prejudiced from what you said.

Mr. COOKE. No; there was no definite prejudice expressed or anything like that.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, a lot of people are opposed to refugees coming here.

Mr. MASON. It wasn't so much the words he used as the inference he left?

Mr. COOKE. That is right.

Mr. THOMAS. Of course, there might be some other people living in the South that wouldn't care to sleep with them either.

Mr. COOKE. Yes; several.

Mr. WHITLEY. On the occasion of this meeting, Mr. Cooke, with Campbell, who else was present beside yourself and the investigator for the committee?

Mr. COOKE. Well, part of the time there were two other prominent members of the Legion, the chairman of our Americanism committee, Bascom Jones, and Leonard Sisk, past department commander.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was the identity of the committee investigator known during that conversation to Mr. Campbell?

Mr. COOKE. I don't think so; I am pretty sure it wasn't. I introduced him as Mr. Roberts, and told him he was a friend of mine, and he could speak as freely before him as he could to me.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is all the questions I had in mind, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Cooke, do you find in your section of the country much anti-Semitic feeling?

Mr. COOKE. It is growing, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. It is growing?

Mr. COOKE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not the information contained, or the purported information contained in these reports was ever disseminated by word of mouth to other people?

Mr. COOKE. To start with, I did show them to some of my friends, just to get their opinion on the thing, but as for general dissemination; no.

The CHAIRMAN. But you did show them to some of your friends?

Mr. COOKE. Yes; two or three of them right near my own home town.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know where Campbell got your name?

Mr. COOKE. No; I don't.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you started receiving the reports did you ever have any communication with him or anyone connected with him?

Mr. COOKE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever agree to keep secret these reports when you received them?

Mr. COOKE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he ever tell you to keep them secret?

Mr. COOKE. I think there is one letter in there, or rather it is a glossary, of the names referred to in these reports. They refer to people and organizations by nicknames and so on, and this glossary sent me was explaining or identifying the people indicated.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, to get it straight, he sent you a glossary so that when you got the reports and the reports had initials, that you could look up in the glossary and determine who he was referring to?

Mr. COOKE. That is right, and on top of this it said "For your own personal use."

The CHAIRMAN. So you would gather the very definite impression that it was to be entirely secret?

Mr. COOKE. Well—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). That is, insofar as you making it public through the newspapers?

Mr. COOKE. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It would be all right for you to disseminate this information to your friends, that would be naturally expected, anything as sensational as that you would naturally tell, or show it to John Jones, and he in turn would tell it to Bill Smith, and it would spread by word of mouth, rather than any other means of communication?

Mr. COOKE. I wouldn't consider it was meant to be published in the paper. To a certain extent it was confidential.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a good level-headed man; you appear to be, and I think this committee is very much impressed with the fact that you are straightforward and absolutely frank. Don't you think this is the most effective method of propaganda that anybody could think of?

Mr. COOKE. I thought that is what it was to start with.

The CHAIRMAN. The very fact that it came to you in that way impressed you, didn't it?

Mr. COOKE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And the fact that partially some of it was true raised a doubt in your mind as to whether or not all of it wasn't true?

Mr. COOKE. That is right. At first I didn't believe any of it, and then, as I said awhile ago, certain events happened that had been mentioned, and they got me to thinking that maybe there was something to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know General Moseley yourself?

Mr. COOKE. I have just seen him; that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Is General Moseley spreading this anti-Semitic propaganda very widely, or are you in a position to say?

Mr. COOKE. Just from hearsay; that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. You understand that he is?

Mr. COOKE. Yes, sir. I wasn't at the meeting, at the meeting in Nashville. I had intended to go, but I wasn't able to attend at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, may I ask you this—I don't want to get on any partisan questions, and if any of you gentlemen think this is partisan, just speak up and say so—but in this whispering campaign, does it seem to be for the purpose of convincing the people that the Jews are running the Democratic Party?

Mr. COOKE. I haven't heard that mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it assume the complexion of partisanship? Is it for the purpose of—or what is your impression of that?

Mr. COOKE. That hadn't occurred to me at all.

The CHAIRMAN. You haven't heard anything about that?

Mr. COOKE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What I was trying to tie up was if there was any scheme—I don't want to get into the question of partisanship.

Mr. THOMAS. No; the question was perfectly proper.

But don't you think that this kind of propaganda that this man Campbell has been spreading inclines to incite racial and religious animosities and hatreds?

Mr. COOKE. It might have that effect.

Mr. THOMAS. Now, I would like to ask you one more question—you mentioned that the original informer attended private meetings at homes of individuals?

Mr. COOKE. That is what Campbell told me.

Mr. THOMAS. That the individual informer attended private meetings at individual homes?

Mr. COOKE. Yes; in addition to the meetings of the entire organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is the point I am trying to clarify. You admitted in your testimony that anti-Semitic feelings, insofar as you have been able to see it, are growing?

Mr. COOKE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what would be a more effective way of increasing that than such stuff as this?

Mr. COOKE. Just more talk, I suppose.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you admit that you have talked to some of your friends and told them about these reports?

Mr. COOKE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In fact, you showed them to some of your friends?

Mr. COOKE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't exact any promise from them that they wouldn't tell others, did you?

Mr. COOKE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no way of knowing how many people they in turn talked to, have you?

Mr. COOKE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Isn't it your experience and observation that when you surround anything with secrecy or mystery, like they did in the South when we had the Klan, that it is much more effective and appeals to the people more than it does if it is open and aboveboard; isn't that true?

Mr. COOKE. I think that is more or less true.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, have you any idea how many people in your section have been reached by this propaganda, how many people, I mean key people?

Mr. COOKE. You mean through me or Campbell?

The CHAIRMAN. Through Campbell.

Mr. COOKE. I don't think there is anyone.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean around Owensboro?

Mr. COOKE. I don't know, I have never been up in that section, I don't know what goes on up there.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Cooke, could I ask you a question? Has it occurred to you that while the fact that these pieces of information have been given out and in some cases things have happened that apparently were predicted, that that wouldn't necessarily follow from that, that the information was gleaned in the way that it was represented to you that it was gleaned? In other words, what I mean is that there might be, apparently is, a leak somewhere around that lets this information out into somebody's hands that apparently shouldn't have it, but does it necessarily follow that the people that put out these reports get the information in just the way they say they do?

Mr. COOKE. I wouldn't know as to that, all I know is just what I was told. As far as that information is concerned, that is all I know.

I don't know whether it is an organization or what it is that gets these reports. All I know is just as I stated a while ago, what Campbell told me was the origin of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions, gentlemen?

Mr. WHITLEY. One other question.

Was it your observation, Mr. Cooke, that most of these predictions, which later were possibly verified in the newspapers, had to do with military affairs or activities?

Mr. COOKE. A good many of them. There was one other event that was predicted in the reports which you will find there if you go through them, and that was that a certain man's son was to be sent to England, ostensibly in the interests of the moving-picture concern with which he is connected at the present time, but in reality to contact foreign friends of this organization in New York, and that happened.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean it happened that he went to England?

Mr. COOKE. Yes; probably 10 days after this report.

Mr. VOORHIS. But that doesn't mean why he went there?

Mr. COOKE. No; not a bit.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Cooke, did any of these envelopes you received contain copies of address which had been made by General Moseley?

Mr. COOKE. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is all.

Mr. DEMPSEY. This trip to Europe you are telling us about, that was predicted before the newspapers had said anything about it?

Mr. COOKE. That is right.

(Off the record discussion.)

The CHAIRMAN. If we are going to leave this in, you ought to say whose son it was, you mean the President's son?

Mr. COOKE. The way the report says it is, "Frank's son James." That is the way the report reads.

I have always tried to be fair about these things and I don't want to get anybody involved that shouldn't be, or try to cast any reflection on anyone.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Brodie.

TESTIMONY OF REID BRODIE, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL DEPOSIT BANK, OWENSBORO, KY.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your residence address, Mr. Brodie?

Mr. BRODIE. Owensboro, Ky.

Mr. WHITLEY. And your business or profession?

Mr. BRODIE. President of the National Deposit Bank at Owensboro.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long have you lived in Owensboro?

Mr. BRODIE. Born and raised there.

Mr. WHITLEY. What size town is Owensboro.

Mr. BRODIE. Thirty-five or forty thousand people.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Mr. J. E. Campbell, who has been in business or supposedly been in business in your town for the past year, approximately?

Mr. BRODIE. I never knew him until last month.

Mr. WHITLEY. As I understand it, Mr. Campbell opened up offices in your town, approximately a year ago, under the name Business Engineering Associates?

Mr. BRODIE. That is right, as I understand.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you first have occasion to inquire concerning Mr. Campbell or to try to find out something about him or his activities?

Mr. BRODIE. On April 17, 1939, a gentleman came in and introduced himself as an investigator, and had his credentials with him, and asked me if I knew a James E. Campbell. There was a young Campbell that worked up at the Glenmore Distillery, but he rather believed that it wasn't the man he wanted to know about. He asked if this man Campbell had an account with our bank, and I was quite sure he did not, but I looked to see, and then called three other banks to ask them. This gentleman said it was a very confidential matter and so I thought I would go out of my way to offer any assistance that I could. None of the banks knew anything about him.

Then I called the credit bureau and they said that they knew there was a James E. Campbell that had an office on the third floor of the Odd Fellows Building, an engineering office, but they didn't think I would be able to find any information about him. Well, it worked out just like they said, I wasn't able to find out much about the man.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you contact any of the other usual or routine sources of information on a businessman in a town?

Mr. BRODIE. I checked every way I knew how, and I couldn't get any information about the man at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did it seem rather unusual to you that a man who had opened up offices in a new town, supposedly engaged in a legitimate business, was keeping his presence secret instead of advertising it and making it known?

Mr. BRODIE. It seemed very strange, and I was very much ashamed of myself that I hadn't been after him soliciting his business, so I got on my clothes right then, and after the investigator left tried to sure enough look up this Campbell, and I never did find out any authentic information about him, at least.

Mr. WHITLEY. Unless he had been taking precautions to conceal his presence and activities, do you think that in ordinary routine contacts around there, his presence and business would have become known?

Mr. BRODIE. I am quite certain it would.

Mr. WHITLEY. In business channels?

Mr. BRODIE. In business channels; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In your efforts to obtain information regarding Mr. Campbell for the committee investigator, did you contact Mr. Campbell's office?

Mr. BRODIE. Yes; I called a number, 160, and a young lady answered the phone and said—I asked for Mr. Campbell and she said, "Mr. Campbell is not in."

I said, "Could you tell me where I could locate him?"

She said, "Mr. Campbell is not in."

That was the end of the conversation. She wouldn't give me any information about him.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, if Mr. Campbell had been engaged in any business engineering project, he was not engaged in them in the vicinity of Owensboro?

Mr. BRODIE. I couldn't find out anything about him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you also, Mr. Brodie, get in touch with the bank at Calhoun, Ky., to inquire about Mr. Campbell?

Mr. BRODIE. Yes; in some of my contacts someone suggested—and I don't know who it was—that I might get some information from them at the bank at Calhoun, the Citizens Deposit Bank, so Mr. Scott, the past president of the bank, is one of my directors, and I thought I could get information from him, and I called Mr. John Carey, who is the cashier of the bank at Calhoun, and he said, "Yes; we have a Mr. Campbell, James E. Campbell, a depositor with our bank."

He said, "He lives in Owensboro."

I said, "It is strange that I have to go to a little country town to find out about him, but I can't find out a thing about Mr. Campbell."

"Well," he said, "he travels out of Owensboro and has an account here."

So that is all I knew about him.

Mr. WHITLEY. How far is Calhoun from Owensboro?

Mr. BRODIE. Eighteen miles.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is in the same county?

Mr. BRODIE. No; in an adjoining county.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, Mr. Campbell had what purported to be a business office in Owensboro and was keeping his bank account in another county?

Mr. BRODIE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Those are the only questions I have in mind, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I have nothing else.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you contact some prominent Legionnaires around Owensboro inquiring about Mr. Campbell?

Mr. BRODIE. Yes; I called Mike Callas and Charles Astell, both very active Legionnaires, and they understood that he was in Owensboro organizing the Veterans of Foreign Wars, but further than that they knew nothing about him.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is all.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Campbell.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES E. CAMPBELL, BUSINESS ENGINEERING ASSOCIATES

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. May I ask you, Mr. Campbell, is there any reason why you will not be willing to give us the full facts in connection with this matter?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; there is no reason except what I told Mr. (committee investigator), that it was a protection, and he assured me that they would see that the boy in New York was protected, and

I said I would be perfectly willing to go ahead because I was as anxious to clear up the situation in this country as you are to find it out.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your residence address?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Owensboro, Ky. I did stay at the Hotel Owensboro until recently, when my mother came to Owensboro, and now I live at 1200 West Third Street.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your business address?

Mr. CAMPBELL. 304-306 Odd Fellows Building.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your business or profession?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Engineering, sales, and market analysis.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the name of your concern?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Business Engineering Associates.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long have you been in that business?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, I followed engineering work, sales work, since the war. I was a salesman when I came back from France.

Mr. WHITLEY. What outfit were you with during the war?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Three Hundred and Nineteenth Engineers.

Mr. WHITLEY. Overseas duty?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you remain in the service after you returned?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; I came out of the service in August 1918. I went back into the Reserve, though; I don't remember whether it was 1926 or 1927.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your present commission?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Captain, Engineer Corps Reserve.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you active, then, or affiliated with various veterans' groups?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; I am. I have been active in my Legion post, I am post commander of my Veterans of Foreign Wars post, and Americanism chairman of the Department of Kentucky of the Veterans of Foreign Wars; also I have taken a very active interest in Reserve affairs, attend camp, and keep up on my Army work.

Mr. WHITLEY. Working for promotion?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you organize the Veterans of Foreign Wars group in Owensboro?

Mr. CAMPBELL. With two other chaps; yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. What has been your business and professional experience since you came out of the Army after the war, where have you been in business and what was your connection or connections, briefly, Mr. Campbell?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The first job I had was with the Schwartz Electric Co. in Indianapolis, and it went out of business along in 1921 or 1922. Then I went from there with the Sunbeam Electric at Evansville, Ind. I was with them from 1922 until 1927. Then I was with George Wilman in Chicago, and he sent me out on a job with the Leopold Desk Co., out in Burlington, Iowa, on sales analysis, in which we developed a sales program, and taught their salesmen to sell office furniture. I was in Burlington 2 years on that job. Then I went with the Sherman Corporation, also on sales analysis work, industrial engineering, and I was with them until 1932. Then I went over with George S. May.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where is that concern located?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Chicago, and I was there until the fall of 1932 or the spring of 1933, I don't remember the exact date. I moved back to Evansville, and started my own business, and I stayed on that, that was in 1932 that I went back there, and I worked there until 1935, when I closed my office, business got bad.

In the meantime I had started with the Reserve officers on subversive activities work. In 1932 a group of us started to make an investigation of subversive activities in the Fifth Corps Area. In 1933 we continued that, and made a report to the Fifth Corps Area counsel, at the request of the department officers, and in 1933 that was all presented in a closed meeting at the National Reserve Officers' Association Convention at Memphis.

Col. Kemper Williams appointed the national committee and I was named chairman of it. Col. Frank Low was elected president of that association. Colonel Low has reappointed me as the chairman, and we appointed a corps area chairman in each of the nine corps. They in turn appointed a department chairman. That committee functioned, it started securing a tremendous volume of evidence on subversive activities.

My business kept getting worse and worse. You gentlemen know what the industrial engineering business was during that time. I began to give more and more time to that, and in 1935 we gave a published report at the national convention at Minneapolis. I think the investigator has a copy of that report.

We started to accumulate more and more evidence, and the thing began to get bigger and bigger. I sent some of that information through channels, military intelligence, and we got slapped down in two or three cases. We were told that it was no province of the Reserve officers because that investigation of communistic activities in this country was the province of civilian departments of the Government. So we stopped sending things through.

Mr. THOMAS. Could you develop that a little bit?

You said you got slapped down in two or three instances?

Mr. CAMPBELL. In one particular case I sent some stuff over to G-2 of Governor's Island and asked them to make an investigation. This was in 1936, on the sale of some trucks from Philadelphia that were going to the Royalists in Spain. We figured that we had neutrality laws in this country and we had investigated and found that they were purchasing equipment in America. I have forgotten the officer's name now who was G-2 of Governor's Island at that time, and he said he didn't care for any of those reports because they had no money to investigate anything of that kind, had no men, and it would bother him, and at the same time it was without our province, and that in 1935 that had all been withdrawn from them, that is, men and money.

So we tried the Navy the same way, and didn't get to first base with them, so we just merely continued to go along and accumulate this information ourselves.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you working at this as a full-time job?

Mr. CAMPBELL. About two-thirds of the time, and even borrowing money to go ahead with it. I went through this thing and spent 3 years on it, borrowing money, and lost my home as a result of it, because it got into my system, I guess.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you, during that period, affiliated or connected with any private organizations?

Mr. CAMPBELL. In 1934 Colonel Methiney and a group organized the Constitutional Protective League which lasted about 6 months and then went out of the picture because it was construed as being a Republican organization because they made an attack on the New Deal.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where was that organized?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Chicago and Indianapolis.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were affiliated with that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. In what capacity?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Vice president. They never functioned, and didn't even get to first base because it was construed as being political. It never secured any membership, most of the starters were Reserve officers or Legionnaire friends of mine, and when the campaign started out as a political campaign it was decided to drop it because it was construed as being partisan and Republican.

Mr. WHITLEY. During that period—I am referring to the period now between 1932 and 1933 and the present, or up until 1937, the summer of 1937—were you affiliated or connected with any individuals or organizations outside of service circles?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. That were engaged in subversive investigation?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir. Let me carry this thing further. During this time, I think, I ran into about every subversive organization in the country.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean you personally came in contact with them?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; but I was not a member of them, nor did I join any of them; but I would, if you came in and said that you had an organization to combat, Nazi or Fascist, and invited me to go to a meeting, I would go.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Pelley of the Silver Shirts?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Deatherage?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I met him in 1936.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you ever officially connected with him in any way?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; I went out with him on two or three occasions. When I found out what his organization was—he had one purpose, and that was to use our group to make a penetration into the contacts that we had all over the country, of Reserve officers—and we dropped that thing right away.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long, approximately, were you associated with him?

Mr. CAMPBELL. It took me possibly 60 days to find out what he had, the set-up and the whole thing. It was some time in the summer of 1936, I can't tell you the exact date, I know it was in the late summer of 1936 because it was after the convention in Springfield.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever have any contact or association with the German-American Bund, or its forerunner, the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I never met the Friends of New Germany, I didn't know anything about them. I went up to Yorkville one time to see what the German-American Bund was like. I got in the office and someone told them I was a Reserve officer, and I got a very cold reception.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you see Fritz Kuhn?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He was in his office and they introduced him to me, and when they found out who I was I was not so hot.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the purpose of that visit?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I wanted to find out what they were, the same as I would do today if I had an opportunity to do it.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you first come in contact with Mr. Gilbert, Mr. Dudley P. Gilbert?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The late summer of 1936 or the fall, rather. Was that before or after the Legion convention? I can't say.

Mr. WHITLEY. How did you happen to come in contact with him?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I met him in Newport, R. I., when I was chasing into this Deatherage outfit and was running that down, so it must have been in the late fall because I had about 2 months running that thing down.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Deatherage with you at the time that you met Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what activity Mr. Gilbert was engaged in at that time?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; I did not at that time, but Mr. Gilbert told me I was with the wrong kind of a fellow, and I said, "You are not telling me anything I don't know."

Mr. WHITLEY. Trace your association with, and relation to, Mr. Gilbert from that first meeting, briefly?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, after that first meeting at Newport I didn't see anything more of Mr. Gilbert until—oh, it was some time either late in October or early in November of 1936.

At that time he had an office in New York City and I was there and knew he had this office, and called him up to see what he was doing, and he asked me to have lunch with him.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the name of the office?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, it was on Forty-eighth Street. At that time he was called the American Nationalists, but they closed that office some time right after that. I only had his telephone number and didn't know at the time in Newport that that was what he belonged to.

Mr. WHITLEY. Continue your contact with Mr. Gilbert, a discussion of it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. We had lunch together that day, and we just discussed the general situation. It was either just before or just after election. Then I didn't see anything more of Mr. Gilbert; I think I saw him one time more before the first of the year. And then I didn't see anything more of him until some time in January of 1937. At that time I gave him a résumé of what I had personally gone through, which we don't have to put here. It had cost me not only finances but a break-up at home because I stayed in this thing and let my business go to pot. I went back to Indiana; it was just be-

fore the flood, and I drove back to New York and I had pneumonia out there, and I kicked myself into a nice case of pneumonia and stayed in New York. Things were pretty tough at that time, in fact so bad that I didn't know which way I was going to turn next.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean financially?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; and I didn't get the proper medical attention, and finally I called Mr. Gilbert and he said, "You can't stay like this, I don't care what you are up against," and so he gave me enough financial assistance so that I could take care of my hotel bill and the medicine and the doctor. Then I went on back to my grandmother in Indiana. That was along in March of 1937, and he and I began to have more and more increasing contact from there on up.

He knew all I had gone through in the way of developing the Reserve Officers Subversive Activities Committee, the contacts we had made all over the country, that I had stuck my nose into practically every organization we could find, and I didn't care whether they were Communists, Nazis, Fascists, or Americans, or what they were, because I was after all the information I could get.

I realized a long time ago that communism was moving into this country and later that nazi-ism and fascism were also, although not on a comparable degree like the Communist activities that we had already unearthed. Well, then, he had this American Nationalists movement of his, and we tried to see what could be done with that. That didn't develop until 1938. I made a trip around with that, it was a splendid idea, but the idea was all wrong.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean a trip trying to promote the idea of that organization?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; and the idea of that organization, while its preamble and everything was right, the idea was all wrong because it was an organization that they weren't asking for any dues, and that don't go in America today. If you want to go out and develop an organization, charge them dues, and you will get some members, even if it is only 5 or 10 cents a week, like the Workers Alliance, or something else. But to develop it on the basis of patriotism, it couldn't be done.

In the meantime we had seen what was happening, and he started getting these reports which we have termed "music scores." Now in all that time I have made a pretty thorough investigation, as far as I was capable, of Mr. Gilbert's background and family and American record. I had asked a couple of friends of mine to do likewise, and he had never done anything but what had proven him to be a perfect gentleman and an honorable American. So when he said he would give some financial assistance to open an office, I accepted the financial assistance. I told him I wanted to get back into the engineering business. I had one very good client which I am working with now.

We had seen this other thing not develop because of the fact that there were no dues charged. Then these music scores, as we called them, began to come through.

Mr. WHITLEY. By "music scores," you mean the reports that Mr. Campbell was getting from his informant?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Campbell didn't get them.

Mr. WHITLEY. I mean Mr. Gilbert.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; he sent them to me.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did they first start coming through?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, the first ones I saw were in 1937. We didn't do anything about them.

Mr. WHITLEY. The summer of 1937?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; the summer or fall of 1937.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know how this source of information contacted Mr. Gilbert or started furnishing him with this information?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know the identity of this source of information?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. WHITLEY. How much do you know about it as to who he is or where he gets this information that he furnishes Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't know the man, I don't know his name, nor did I ever see him.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is his connection supposed to be through which he gets his information?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I was told that he was an employee of the Harmonie Club.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the address of that club?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Four East Sixtieth Street.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't know anything about this informant's background?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall that in a conversation which you had with Mr. Cooke, the departmental commander for the State of Tennessee, American Legion, in Nashville, you explained to him the antecedents and background of this source of information?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; and I did that purposely because Mr. Cooke wanted to know who the other chap was in New York, and I didn't want to uncover Mr. Gilbert. I remember that very distinctly.

Mr. WHITLEY. So you just pretended to Mr. Cooke that this source of information was reporting to you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. To eliminate Mr. Gilbert.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, because I didn't think that Mr. Cooke should have that information because it might jeopardize Mr. Gilbert or his sources of information.

Mr. WHITLEY. That information that you gave Mr. Cooke at that time about the source of information was incorrect?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That was incorrect; yes, sir; because I did not want to uncover the other.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know how long Mr. Gilbert had been in contact with this source of information prior to the time he started furnishing you with the reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't know whether he had been in contact with him some weeks or some months or even several years previously?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That I would not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. The first you knew of the source of information was when Mr. Gilbert started showing you the reports which he obtained from that person?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that was in the summer of 1937?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Either the summer or fall of 1937.

Mr. WHITLEY. Continue with your story from there, Mr. Campbell, particularly with reference to what kind of a plan was worked out between you and Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Then after we saw that this other thing—and I had gone over the country and could see it was impossible to build large posts like the plan that they had, I limited my contacts to, oh, I would say, 35 or 40 fellows, like Jim Cooke, and fellows whose names you have in the file here, and told them that I had that information and would send that information through for their personal guidance. There were many reports that I received in the office that I didn't send out.

Mr. WHITLEY. Why didn't you send those out?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, I will tell you. Some were irrelevant to the particular situation that seemed to be confronting us at the time. Some of them seemed too fantastic, and I tried to pick the reports—for example, one that I followed very closely was the one, some time in 1938, in which it said that we would have to eliminate from the Army World War officers because they were nationalist-minded and were uniting with the war veterans to oppose any war in this country.

I couldn't see that, and I couldn't see that, and I followed that thing through pretty closely, because I had studied national defense. I am not an expert on it, but I believe in it; otherwise I wouldn't be in the Reserve. The idea of eliminating from our Army the men of experience is just as asinine as eliminating all you gentlemen from the House of Representatives and putting in 535 people that have never had any experience.

And then I saw the Gasser report. General Gasser headed up a committee along in the summer to start the plan of eliminating officers, ostensibly to take out the peak of officers in grade. I watched that thing develop, and that is one phase that I have paid particular attention to.

Mr. THOMAS. May I ask a couple of questions on that? What summer was that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That was last summer.

Mr. THOMAS. That was last summer?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. And when did this report come through relative to this particular subject?

Mr. CAMPBELL. If you will get me that bound book [indicating], I think I can show you the date; and I think was in February of 1938; and General Gasser was appointed on the committee in either June—you have probably got those newspaper clippings all mixed up—well—

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). We will get the date in a minute. Do you happen to know the present status of that situation?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Only what I had read briefly in the Army and Navy Journal of Saturday before I left, and I have been following the present status, and I noticed in the paper that they planned to eliminate some 2,300 officers, and I think there was also a report came through awhile back, published in the New York Times, that 2,300 officers would be eliminated.

MR. THOMAS. It may interest you to know that the present status of that is that the bill has just been given hearings by the Military Affairs Committee of the House, public hearings. General Gasser spoke in behalf of that bill. Of course, I have no way of telling whether the bill will be reported out by the committee or not, but my guess is that the bill will be reported to the full House within the next few days.

MR. CAMPBELL. That, in particular, was one I followed. Of course, the House can decide what they want, but my opinion is that I think it is a rather suicidal move in the light of present circumstances to eliminate intelligent brains from commissioned personnel of the Army. They are experienced men.

MR. WHITLEY. Mr. Campbell, getting back to your relationship with Mr. Gilbert, and the plan you all worked out to get these reports into the hands of certain of your friends and associates, when and how did you and Mr. Gilbert decide that these reports were authentic and deserved to be or should be sent around, circulated?

MR. CAMPBELL. Well, late last summer or early fall, after keeping reports and looking them over, and then watching the newspapers closely, as of subsequent dates to see if some of the things that were predicted in those reports were brought out in the press, we found that they did, and that is the basis from which I sent that material out. I told those boys when I saw them, I said, "Now, some of these things that we are going to give you it is up to you to decide for yourselves whether they are correct. We have got the radio, the motion picture, and the press, and let subsequent events prove whether or not they are correct."

MR. WHITLEY. In other words, you and Mr. Gilbert didn't make any plans with reference to disseminating those reports until you were convinced in your own mind that they were correct?

MR. CAMPBELL. That is right.

MR. WHITLEY. Did you and Mr. Gilbert ever discuss the possibility of turning those reports over to the proper authorities who would be interested in such a plot, if it did exist, to overthrow this Government, or did you ever consider making that information public?

MR. CAMPBELL. We never considered making it public because it was his idea that if we did it would dry up his source of information, and in the light of the experience that I have had with G-2, over at the island, and the reaction from G-2 in the Indiana military area, or the Fifth Corps Area, we didn't see any particular reason to do so.

MR. WHITLEY. You and Mr. Gilbert thought you would handle the situation yourselves, even though this overthrow of the Government was being planned, at least you believed from the reports that it was being planned?

MR. CAMPBELL. That wasn't exactly it, because those reports had been reaching up into official channels; I think some of them had gone to certain gentlemen who should have been in a position—I gave one of the reports, I discussed it with and I went to Atlanta, Ga., to see General Moseley this spring—it was either February or March—about Auramin compound. That is a product that this client of mine has developed for the cure of gonorrhea in men. And General Moseley, as I knew him in the Fifth Corps Area, was very much interested in wiping out venereal disease, and I asked him

through some correspondence, and going down there, if we couldn't develop this kit for the Army, and at that time I discussed with the general one of these reports and told him I would leave it to his discretion if he cared to discuss it with General Craig. I don't know whether he did or not. I said, "Anything that I sent you, if you feel it should be taken to proper channels, you may do so," and that they wouldn't listen to me where they might listen to him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you still working on the development of this prophylactic?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Very much so.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is Mr. Gilbert associated with you in that project?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; I told him of the progress that we were making on that the last time I saw him. In other words, today, while we are effecting some marvelous cures, it isn't ready for commercial development.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is Mr. Gilbert financing your activities in connection with that product?

Mr. CAMPBELL. When he found out the financial status I was in, he said: "I will finance this office for you, and if you can get any engineering business, the only thing I want, after it is going good, then I will participate in it," and that is the basis that we have worked on.

Mr. WHITLEY. What are your relations with General Moseley, Mr. Campbell?

Mr. CAMPBELL. First, I met General Moseley when he was the Fifth Corps Area commander. He discussed subversive activities before a group of Reserve officers, and we talked to him afterward and I made two reports as chairman of the Fifth Corps Area committee, while he was corps area commander. I think I perhaps saw him twice after that, or maybe three times; while I was with the Reserve Officers Association, and he was at Atlanta, I didn't go there very often, but I knew of his extreme interest in combating venereal disease in this country, and when I got this Auramin compound, I went to see the general on that because I thought he might have enough influence to get both the Public Health Service and the Medical Corps to use that to effect some cures in the Army so we could get some additional proof on it, and in that way put it on the market. Of course when I met the general naturally he had been making some speeches—

Mr. WHITLEY (Interposing). When was this that you contacted him regarding this product?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That was some time last winter.

And then when I contacted him, some friends of mine in Indianapolis asked if I could get General Moseley to talk before them, and I wrote a letter and asked him if he would come to Indianapolis and speak at the hotel there. He did, and that speech was well received, and I suppose I am guilty again because I sent copies of his speech out to all of these friends of mine. I liked it.

Mr. WHITLEY. By "your friends," you mean the mailing list to whom you had been sending Mr. Gilbert's reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, and to quite a few other friends that I knew through the Legion and in the Reserve and the V. F. W.

Then I arranged for a speech for him to make sometime in February, I think it was in February, down at Nashville. Doug White,

who was the post commander of the Legion, and I, arranged for that, and he made that speech. Then he sent me some copies of the speeches he made in Boston and also in Philadelphia. I liked those so I sent those out. Those are the last speeches of his I have sent out. I haven't seen the general since I discussed Auramin with him a short time after the Nashville meeting, in Atlanta, which was some time in March.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you correspond with him, keep in touch with him?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, you have got the file there on how much it is, it isn't an extensive file at all, perhaps a dozen letters all told.

Mr. WHITLEY. Getting back to the dissemination of these reports, have you restricted the circulation exclusively to your friends or associates?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. In either the Reserve Officers' Association or in one of the Legion organizations?

Mr. CAMPBELL. In the Legion or the V. F. W. There are perhaps a half dozen exceptions to that in which I have sent of those reports occasionally to someone; for example someone would write in and say, "I wish you would send some of these reports to a friend of mine," but if they were sent it is in that mailing list.

Mr. WHITLEY. This mailing list which I am going to show you for identification represents all of the persons, individuals, or organizations, to whom those reports have been circulated.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you identify this folder, Mr. Campbell, as containing the mailing list?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; that is not it.

Mr. WHITLEY. This is not it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir. I started to develop a list of prospective clients for engineering, and I was going to get out some advertising for engineering service, and this is the list of those prospective clients. Let me see if any of these happen to be personal friends of mine who have gotten those records.

No; this is the list I have been developing to send out advertising to. I have got some copies in my office of a form letter for engineering service.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you haven't sent the reports to any of the names listed on this list?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Not on that list.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about this list?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is my old Reserve officers' subversive activity committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. This list is captioned "National Committee"?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is National Committee of Reserve Officers, Subversive Activities. This Mr. White was chairman of the First Corps Area—

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). They are all Reserve officers?

Mr. CAMPBELL. They are all Reserve officers.

Mr. WHITLEY. And they haven't received that material which you sent out?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have not sent any to them?

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). What States comprise the Fifth Corps Area?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, and West Virginia. No; that is not it.

Mr. WHITLEY. This is not a mailing list, and you have not sent any material to these names?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; that is the list of the Reserve officers.

Mr. WHITLEY. This list is captioned, "Notebook Names"?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That goes back over a period of perhaps 10 years, people that I have met in business connections all the way through.

Mr. WHITLEY. This is not a list of people to whom you sent copies of the reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right.

I show you another list captioned, "Various States"?

Mr. CAMPBELL. This is your Reserve officers' State committees that we had on here. This is all Reserve officers here.

Mr. WHITLEY. All Reserve officers, and that is a list used in sending out your reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't use that one?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; that is the old committee that we had.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right.

I show you another list captioned, "Michigan"?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is the Reserve Officers' Association in various chapters in Michigan that we contacted when we were working in Michigan with the Reserve officers' subversive activities committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that a list of names to whom you sent the material?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you another list captioned "Indiana"?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is the same thing for Indiana, it is the Reserve officers who were the chairmen.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you did not send any of the reports to them?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; this antedated all these reports.

Mr. WHITLEY. Here is another list headed, "Illinois"?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The same thing there.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you did not use that as a mailing list?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you a folder, Mr. Campbell, captioned "Data List, Dates, and Contracts," and ask you if that is a list of people to whom you sent reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; some of these are and some aren't. Now, I could check the ones off here.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you a typewritten list captioned, "Addresses," containing various names of individuals. Is that a mailing list to which you sent copies of the reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; that is a list that I use so if I am going into any State I ask my stenographer to give me the names of the people that I might want to call on.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you, Mr. Campbell, a list, the first name on the list being D. Trotter Jones, Montgomery, Ala., and ask you if that is a mailing list for your reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; those fellows have all received various reports from time to time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mark that as an exhibit.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit 3.")

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Campbell, I show you another typewritten list containing names and addresses, the first name on the list being D. Trotter Jones, and the last name on the first page of the list being Howard Rawton, and ask you if that is a mailing list for the reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That was, yes; except that this fellow hasn't received any for a long time.

Mr. WHITLEY. That will be marked as an exhibit.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit 4.")

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Campbell, I show you another list of names and addresses, the first name on the list being L. V. Parmley, Little Rock, Ark., and ask you if you will identify that as a mailing list?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; this is the list here.

Mr. WHITLEY. Attached to this latter list which you just identified, Mr. Campbell, is a typewritten report captioned, "Important—Report of November 23, 1938," which is allegedly one of the reports sent you by Mr. Gilbert; is that correct?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. We won't mark that for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Can the witness say approximately how many were on his mailing list?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I would say between 35 and 40 that were getting the reports, and this here shows the various reports that were received. Some of them didn't receive many. Here is one of the 22d of June where the report, that report, was the only one this chap received because it covered the Gellerman report on the American Legion which we had a report on before it was released for the press.

Mr. WHITLEY. And all these other lists I have shown you were not mailing lists?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the purpose of them?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The Gellerman report was the one attacking the Legion and this fellow happened to be a good Legionnaire friend of mine, and I wanted to show him that they had that report released before it was released for the press.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I know, but you have here all this mailing list, what did you send to them?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I sent those reports to this list here [indicating].

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you another list, written on the stationery of the Hotel Antlers, and ask you if that is a mailing list?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is a duplication of what you have over there [indicating].

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you, Mr. Campbell, a sheet attached to one you have previously identified as containing lists of persons to whom

you sent these reports, this sheet containing writing in longhand, and a sheet being entitled, "Dated reports," containing various dates. Will you explain what that relates to?

MR. CAMPBELL. That is the reports that were sent out on that particular trip, or given to some of those contacts in the West when I was out through the Middle West. That is the date of the report [indicating].

MR. WHITLEY. The date of the report which you passed out?

MR. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

MR. WHITLEY. And this shows the number which you passed out also?

MR. CAMPBELL. No; it is the number of reports that were received in each of those months, or sent out, three in October, three in February of 1938.

MR. WHITLEY. How many of those did pass out on that trip, do you know?

MR. CAMPBELL. Well, I gave those to the boys that I met personally.

MR. WHITLEY. They weren't mailed?

MR. CAMPBELL. No. They might have been mailed. If any of them were previous to May of 1938 I gave it to them, if it was after May of 1938—that is along about the time of the Army report—I remember that now—but any after May of 1938 would have been mailed.

MR. WHITLEY. The right-hand portion of this same sheet says, "Additional list," and contains a number of dates?

MR. CAMPBELL. That means additional reports have been sent to supplement those which I had given out.

MR. WHITLEY. This sheet in longhand, together with the attached tabulation, will be marked as an exhibit.

(The documents were marked as "Exhibit 5.")

MR. THOMAS. About how many reports would you mail out in a month, on the average?

MR. CAMPBELL. Possibly four.

MR. THOMAS. Four different ones?

MR. CAMPBELL. Yes; it wouldn't average that much, and they did not go to the entire list. If I would get a report that pertained, we will say, to Texas alone, I would only send it to Fred Young, whom I know down in Texas, and if I got something that pertained to the west coast I would only send it to the boys out on the west coast.

THE CHAIRMAN. Fred Young is the head of the American Legion in Texas, isn't he?

MR. CAMPBELL. That is right—no; he is the adjutant.

MR. THOMAS. What I am trying to find out is how many people on the average received reports from you in the course of a month?

MR. CAMPBELL. Well, perhaps the entire lot would receive a report during the month.

MR. THOMAS. How many are there in the entire lot?

MR. CAMPBELL. I don't think there are over 40 in the entire lot.

MR. DEMPSEY. You don't have a man in each State?

MR. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

MR. DEMPSEY. And what did you expect that man to do when he got the report?

MR. CAMPBELL. That was given to him confidentially.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Not to give to others?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No.

Mr. DEMPSEY. How did you expect to stop the revolution by those instructions?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I didn't expect to stop the revolution.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What was the purpose?

Mr. CAMPBELL. So those fellows could be kept advised of what was happening.

Mr. DEMPSEY. For what purpose?

Mr. CAMPBELL. If anything was happening there we were asking them to tell us, and if I felt in my own mind that this thing had reached a stage where there was anything about to pop, I wouldn't have hesitated to go over to the corps area headquarters.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do you think it has reached that stage?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; not yet.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do you think that Mr. Gilbert thinks so?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't know whether he does or not. I think it is pretty serious, I think a thorough check will prove conclusively that there is a large amount, a large number, as I saw them in the May Day parade, of loyalists from the loyalist army, in this country. I saw a news reel out in Owensboro the other night that showed the parade of the Communist people or people's army, as they call it, on May Day in Mexico City, and it was astounding to see the number of Spanish Loyalist veterans that were in that parade. Well, I think there is a large volume of those people in this country. After all, they have got to make pretty good preparations and take pretty drastic steps, and start a series of mobilizations before they can do anything. I do think, and I believe sincerely, that we are faced with a threat of some kind of a Communist revolt in this country because of the losses that they have suffered in other countries.

The CHAIRMAN. Let Mr. Whitley finish his examination before we get off on that.

Mr. WHITLEY. I am trying to get some of these lists.

I show you another list, Mr. Campbell, attached to the list I just referred to, captioned "Dated report."

Mr. CAMPBELL. This is a copy of that same one that you have over there.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that is a list of people to whom you have sent material?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The ones that the reports go to. It shows the dates of the reports and the ones that were sent to them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Campbell, when did Mr. Gilbert first start furnishing you with finances, either personally or for the purpose of carrying out this project?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He gave me a little money when I was sick, as I told you. Then the next was some time in the summer of 1937, in small amounts.

Mr. WHITLEY. The next was after you all had decided to continue the work of the American Nationalists, Inc., in this manner?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; not in this manner at all. I was trying to get back on my feet.

Mr. MASON. Then that money was more on a friendly basis than to pay you for services?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Because I lost my home and my wife as a result of getting in this damn thing, and she got a little peeved, maybe she was justified.

Mr. MASON. When did he start paying you for services rendered in diffusing this information?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Late in the fall of 1937, and in a very small amount at that, because I was still staying with my grandmother.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was just paying your expenses in connection with your travel?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you explain for the committee, Mr. Campbell, just how these reports are received by Mr. Gilbert, what is done with them, and how they are received by you, and then what is done with them after you get them?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I can explain how I received them, but how he received them I don't know. I receive them by mail; and, as I said, there is a whole raft of them there, and there are the lists of the ones sent out. I used my discretion to try to pick out the ones——

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). Are they received typewritten or in longhand?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Longhand.

Mr. WHITLEY. In Mr. Gilbert's handwriting?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; and then I would call the girl in and say, "Make a copy of this and send it to these people," and if I wanted it sent to the general list I would tell her so. That general list was developed only from personal contacts with these people. Then when I got going through on that thing and we saw it was impossible to develop a large number of chapters as originally planned, I told Gilbert I was going after clients and devote a lot of time to that.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, when you first started out to send out these reports, you had planned to set up chapters of the American nationalists?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And to send the reports out to those chapters?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; those reports were to be given to the persons I knew personally.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you didn't send reports to someone you didn't know?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't just find names of persons connected with organizations and send them reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Oh, no.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about Mr. Cooke, in Tennessee; did you know him?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I met Mr. Cooke through Mr. May.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you discuss with Mr. Cooke the prospect or possibility of you sending him these reports, or telling him what they were, or that you were going to send them to him?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is a case where Mr. May asked me to send Jim Cooke some reports. Then Jim Cooke wrote and said he wanted to meet me. So I met him in March or February.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of this year?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; that was in Nashville, and that is when I told him what I explained to you a moment ago, to cover up what the actual truth of the matter was. I had sent him two or three reports, and he had seen some that I had been sending to May, and after meeting Cooke I have sent him a few more reports that have come through since, and that was this year.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it a fact, Mr. Campbell, that the predictions which have been made in these reports and which you state have subsequently been confirmed by news items, relate primarily to military activities and military affairs?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I would say that they relate to radical activities, or rather to the progress made by the radical forces in this country.

The specific instance with which I have been primarily concerned was the one pertaining to the Army. I may be all wrong, but other nations have not discontinued the advice of their old officers. The fact of the matter is that they have called some of their old officers back to active duty.

Mr. THOMAS. Under this bill they can do the same thing.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; but I would still rather have a 60-year-old colonel commanding my regiment than a 40-year-old captain who was promoted to coloneley.

Mr. MASON. Do you know that every prominent nation in the world has done or is doing just what is contemplated under this bill?

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, let's not get off on the question of some bill; we are not interested in that.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

You may be very much right on that, sir, I don't know, except that was my personal opinion in following that thing through. I thought the experience of those fellows would be invaluable to our national defense, and that was the stand I took on that, how it affected us here.

Mr. WHITLEY. Getting back again, Mr. Campbell, to the manner in which this plan was worked out between you and Mr. Gilbert, after you had looked the field over and decided that it would not be practical to try to establish local chapters of the American Nationalists, Inc., then you and Mr. Gilbert decided that the best manner in which to get this information into the channels which you thought it should be directed into was for him to send you the reports and for you to send them to your contacts?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. With that idea in mind, then, did you open up this office in Owensboro?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; I had this business in mind also when I opened up this office in Owensboro.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the dissemination of this material was just to be a side line to your regular business activity?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right, because I realized I couldn't get back on my feet financially, depending on anything like that, and I had gone so deeply in the hole when I worked as national chairman for the Reserve officers' subversive activities committee that I realized I would have to have an income.

Mr. WHITLEY. So you explained that to Mr. Gilbert and he agreed to it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I told Mr. Gilbert that I would go after the clients and at the same time I would send out these reports.

Mr. WHITLEY. So you opened up the office in Owensboro—when?

Mr. CAMPBELL. June of last year.

Mr. WHITLEY. Under the name of Business Engineering Associates?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is your own business, and no one is associated with you in that business?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that was with the idea, primarily, of pursuing that business and handling this as a side line?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I had no clients at that time, and I needed an office and a little prestige. That provided the opportunity to have the office and to start developing and to try to establish contacts with some of the old clients whom I had known by working for other companies and trying to get new products. I have four new products now that I am trying to find manufacturers to handle.

But, I also realized that you couldn't very well go out and tell a fellow you were in a position to do a job for him in engineering if you were operating out of a suitcase.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you have actively and aggressively followed your business?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. In conjunction with that, did you make your presence known in Owensboro and engage in the advertising which one ordinarily would do in opening up a new business in a new town?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, advertising in the engineering field is a little bit different than it would be in opening a store. That is a case of a personalized service. I had leads on several different products which I could get. I realized that on that gonorrhea cure, the Auramin compound, that it would take quite a little development work. There wasn't any use to try to advertise that product until the proper background had been established for it by the medical profession.

Mr. WHITLEY. So you worked quietly on that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Back to the matter of finances—after a rather modest beginning, as I understand it, in the summer of 1937, which at that time was probably more personal than for the purpose of your activity in spreading or sending out these reports, what basis of financing did you get on with Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, that remained along pretty steady through 1938 and in 1939, when I found expenses bigger, I talked with Mr. Gilbert. I had some creditors pressing me closely for some of the money I had borrowed while I was national chairman of the Subversive Activities Committee, and Mr. Gilbert increased that amount so I could take care of some of those. One in particular was for some \$800.

Mr. WHITLEY. So he continued to finance you, both personally and for the purposes of paying the expenses in connection with getting out these reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right, and then there was the office to maintain and my traveling expenses, and he has also advanced the money, \$40 a month, which I pay on a car.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he bring any of the files or records of the American Nationalists, Inc., down when he opened your office in Owensboro, or rather when you opened that office?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; he did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. What would you say, or do you have any records showing the total amount of money that you have received from Mr. Gilbert, either for personal matters or in connection with this project?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I could not say unless I made a very close check-up on what deposits I made in the bank.

The CHAIRMAN. Right there, approximately how much have you received? You certainly can estimate.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Approximately \$8,000.

Mr. WHITLEY. Since the summer of 1937?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Since the fall of 1937. The other was a very small amount previous to that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Campbell, you maintain a bank account at the Citizens Deposit Bank, in Calhoun, Ky.?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I do.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you this transcript of the ledger account, and ask you if you can identify that as the record of your account in that bank?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; that is my name.

Mr. WHITLEY. Attached to this ledger sheet is an adding machine tabulation of the deposits made in that account since April 1938?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. The total of those deposits is \$5,435. Do all, or the majority of those deposits, represent money you have received from Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. That will be marked for the record.

(The document was marked as "Exhibit No. 6.")

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you, for identification, Mr. Campbell, photostatic copy of the ledger account in the name of J. E. Campbell, with the Fletcher Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind. The account was opened August 7, 1937, and the last entry made on the ledger sheet is April 17, 1939. Will you identify that as a copy of the transcript of your account?

The CHAIRMAN. That is in Indiana?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Indianapolis. That is when I was living with my grandmother. A part of this is money borrowed from my stepfather. I owe him around \$2,000.

Mr. WHITLEY. During the period this account has been in existence?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That runs from since 1937.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was when the account was opened?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. I also show you for identification photostatic copy of a ledger sheet of a savings account in the Fletcher Savings & Trust Co., Indianapolis, in the name of James E. Campbell. This savings account was opened, when?

Mr. CAMPBELL. When I was a boy, about 1913, and they held that account through, and when I found out about it I started making small deposits down there, and carried that thing up to \$100, and then had to draw \$75 out of it to meet a bill, and I finally put the \$75 back.

Mr. WHITLEY. You identify both of those as the records of your account?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Your savings and your checking accounts at the Fletcher Trust Co.?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. How much is the total amount?

Mr. WHITLEY. The adding machine total of the deposits, made in the checking account, amounts to \$4,286.01.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the savings account?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is \$100.

The CHAIRMAN. That began when, that checking account?

Mr. WHITLEY. 1937.

That will be marked as "Exhibit No. 7."

(The document was marked as "Exhibit No. 7.")

Mr. WHITLEY. What percentage of the total deposits that have gone into this checking account of \$4,286.01, did you get from Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. CAMPBELL. A trifle over half of it. There is about \$2,000 from my stepfather.

Mr. WHITLEY. So that makes up the approximate figure you gave of about \$8,000 that you have obtained from Mr. Gilbert since the summer or fall of 1937?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir. There might have been \$200 or \$300 in cash, in addition to that, like I might go to New York and he would give me \$50 or \$75 in cash. Possibly in those times it might have totaled that much.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the largest amount of money you ever obtained from Mr. Gilbert in 1 month, Mr. Campbell?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, I am borrowing money from him to build a house in addition to that, and that was last month.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you building that house for yourself or Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. CAMPBELL. For myself.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where is that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Down near Beech Grove, Ky.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you start that house?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, we started digging a foundation for it last month, and he sent me \$1,000, and he agreed to loan me \$5,000.

Mr. WHITLEY. What evidence of these loans, or what collateral security, have you given Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I haven't given him any. I told him that when I got the thing completed I would give him a mortgage on the house, because we are not building it with a contractor, we are using local labor down there and I know how to do my own wiring and plumbing, and we can save a lot of money on that.

Mr. DEMPSEY. How large a house are you building?

Mr. CAMPBELL. It is going to be eight rooms, but we have got all native stone and can build it as cheaply as a frame house. We have fellows down there digging stones out of the creek bed, and the labor only costs \$3 a day with team.

Mr. THOMAS. Where is this house located?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Three miles from Beech Grove, out of Covington.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you own the land?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; the title is to be transferred to me.

Mr. THOMAS. Who is the title of the land in now?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Denhart.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is a friend of yours down there?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you, for identification, Mr. Campbell, photostatic copies of six checks, drawn on the Bank of New York, Madison Avenue Branch, all dated in the month of April 1939, all made payable to you, and all signed by Dudley P. Gilbert. The total amount of those six checks is \$1,800.

Mr. CAMPBELL. One thousand dollars I applied on the house. That is in my bank account in the bank. It has been deposited both at Calhoun and in the Fletcher Trust.

Mr. WHITLEY. Before Mr. Gilbert started helping you finance this house, what was his average monthly payment to you, approximately?

Mr. CAMPBELL. \$500 until the last 3 months, when he started increasing it.

Mr. WHITLEY. These checks are already in the earlier part of the record as exhibit 2.

Mr. Campbell, I believe you stated earlier in your testimony that you had no contact, that is, official contact, by way of a cooperative agreement or working plan, with any other organization?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Except the Constitutional Protective League.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have never been in contact with or worked with or cooperated with Pelley's organization of Silver Shirts in any way?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; I do not know that organization and I have never met Pelley.

Mr. WHITLEY. You never had any contact with anyone associated or connected with it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. If they were I did not know it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever had any contact with James True?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I met him in his office in Washington one time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know the nature of Mr. True's business?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He published a report called Industrial Control Report.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the nature of those reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. They look like a hash and rehash of news reports in the paper.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are they anti-Facist or anti-Nazi or anti-radical?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I couldn't figure it out. I only had a few of them and never subscribed to the service, and don't know very much about them.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, they are very viciously anti-Semitic, for your information.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I haven't seen one of the True reports for over 2 years. I had a run-in with one of his men.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Campbell, I have here a list of long-distance telephone calls made from telephone number National 5559, Washington, D. C., which is room 307, Insurance Building, Washington, D. C. The telephone is listed in the name of Mr. Harrison Fargo McConnell—are you acquainted with him?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. This record of long-distance calls shows that on October 17, 1938, a call was made from that number by a party named Olsen, D. A. Olsen. Do you know him?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Calling Murray Hill 3-5650, New York City. Do you know what number that is at Murray Hill?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Calling Campbell ?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I was not there at that time. I think we were still out on the west coast, we had been to the Legion convention and were on our way back from there, I went out with Mr. and Mrs. Denhart. The convention was around the 18th or 19, and we came up through San Francisco and were driving a Ford V-8—

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). That call didn't go to you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you don't know what that number is?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; and I don't know Mr. Olsen.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know Mr. Roy Zachary?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. This list also shows that on November 3, 1938, a call was put in from National 5559, Washington, to Murray Hill 3-5650, New York, Campbell calling David Olsen at that number in New York.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I do not know about that either.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were not putting in a call through this phone for that number?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know a party named McConnell in New York who is at that telephone number?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The only McConnell I know is an advertising man in Indianapolis.

Mr. WHITLEY. Not H. F. McConnell?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; I think it is W. B.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know a party named Hinchcliffe?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you sure that you don't know Mr. Roy Zachary?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you sure you don't know Olsen?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I do not; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever talk to True on the telephone?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you sure about that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am sure about that. The only time I ever met him was in 1936 in his office.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been furnishing True with copies of this report, haven't you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir. If True got any copies of this report he got them from some other channel. He had a chap that worked for him some time back—well, the less said about that the better.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know Allen Zoll?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I met him one time. He sat at a luncheon table with me in Indianapolis when General Moseley spoke there.

Mr. THOMAS. What does he do, do you know?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't know, I never saw him before, I didn't know who he was and I still don't know. He told me he had been the representative of the Real Silk Hosiery in Texas.

Mr. THOMAS. Don't you know what he is doing now?

Mr. CAMPBELL. And that he was organizing some league against communism in New York City.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you recall the name of it? Is it New York Patriots, Inc.?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; I don't think that was the name. It was, I believe, some kind of a federation.

Mr. THOMAS. Did they meet in the Iroquois Hotel, in New York?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That I don't know, sir, we were at the lunch table and there were quite a few Reserve officer friends of mine:

Mr. THOMAS. Did you ever hear that General Moseley spoke at one of his luncheons up there?

Mr. CAMPBELL.—That is the one I have reference to.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have here a list of long-distance telephone calls made from National 4670, Washington, D. C., which phone is listed in the name of D. A. Olsen, 1317 F Street, Room 506, Washington, D. C. This list shows that on June 27, 1938, National 4670, Washington, called Lackawanna 4-3178, New York, Campbell—was that you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were not in New York at that time?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I was in Indiana at that time because 3 days later I was in Fort Knox, on a tour of active duty, went to camp on the 2d of July.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have here a list of long-distance telephone calls made from telephone No. 160, Owensboro, Ky.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is my phone.

Mr. WHITLEY. Which phone is listed in the name of Business Engineering Associates. I would like to get you to identify a few numbers on here for me.

A number frequently called from your office is Evansville, Ind., 2-8328?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That happens to be the lady friend that I happen to know over there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Purely a social call?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; you will find that quite frequently.

Mr. WHITLEY. Another number is Evansville 2-3923?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is my daughter.

Mr. WHITLEY. Another number frequently called is 8504, Washington, Ind., to Homer Capehart. Can you identify him for us?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He is vice president of the Wurlitzer Music Co., and I am trying to sell him a contract to show him how to increase the sale of his accordions.

Mr. WHITLEY. Another call on this list is to Felix McWhirter, North Penn Street, Harrison 1473, Indianapolis, Ind.

Mr. CAMPBELL. He is president of the Peoples State Bank of Indianapolis.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he associated with you in any way, in a business way?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Nothing at all in a business way. I have known Felix for a number of years. He has also received some of these reports. He is also a Naval Reserve officer.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has he ever indicated any unusual interest in these reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Enough so that I am reasonably certain that they have been discussed officially at Great Lakes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has he ever furnished to you any financing?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Another party called on here, I believe several times, I will check in a minute, is General Moseley?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think you will find only one call there for him. You may find two calls because they asked me to call him to arrange for that Indianapolis speech.

Mr. WHITLEY. Another call is John Schneider?

Mr. CAMPBELL. John Schneider is the department chief of staff of the V. F. W., Kentucky.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is in Louisville, Ky.?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. L. L. Lechner, Louisville?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He is the department commander of the V. F. W. of Kentucky.

Mr. WHITLEY. Major Cameron, Owensboro, Ky.?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He is the junior vice commander of our post.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Campbell, here is an envelope addressed to you at Owensboro, Ky., postmarked Cincinnati, Ohio, April 28, 1939. The envelope has been torn up and pieced back together, and the return address on that envelope has been cut out of the upper left-hand corner.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is from the Wilson Advertising Agency, 901 Chamber of Commerce Building, and it was copy of the advertising material we are getting up for this gonorrhea cure.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you cut the return address out?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; it was just torn out by the girl.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mark that as an exhibit.

(The document was marked as "Exhibit No. 8.")

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, Mr. Campbell, did most of the envelopes, if they had a return address on them when they got to your office, weren't they torn off or cut off before they went in the waste-paper basket?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; because we have a very inquisitive nigger janitor out there, and when we get envelopes we usually tear up the envelopes or the mail to keep them from reading it.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is a rather unusual or extreme precaution for just a routine business, isn't it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I have always done that; I have always done that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did your stenographer, your employee, quite often carry the waste paper out herself instead of letting the janitor carry it out?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. She didn't?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. After you went to Owensboro and opened up in this business, did you ever at any time around town there or in that vicinity use a name other than your own?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; the Dikon Co. that makes this Auramin and Vap compound is going to be represented out of our office, and we registered a name with the clerk as the Dikon Co., and we are ready to put that on the market commercially, that is when we are, that is the name that will be used, the name that it will be sold under. That name is registered but it has never been used to any extent. It was registered and we have some letters printed, some letterheads printed, which we use back and forth in our correspondence and also with the advertising agency, and with any correspondence that we have on that particular subject.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever tell anyone around town that you were engaged in any other business other than the business that you were ostensibly engaged in as a business engineer?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever tell anyone around Owensboro that you were an oil man?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; I have been accused of it a lot of times, but I never have been.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is not whether you have been accused, but whether you told anyone?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; I never told anyone that I was an oil man. The answer to that is definitely "No."

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever tell Mr. Ralph Klutey, a filling-station attendant in Owensboro, that you were an oil man?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't even know Mr. Ralph Klutey. There is another James E. Campbell in Owensboro; I don't even know him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever tell Mr. P. J. Miller, of the First Owensboro Bank & Trust Co., that you were a salesman for Ready-Mixed Concrete?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know Mr. Miller?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever tell anyone that you worked for the Guenther Hardware Co.?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever tell anyone in Owensboro that you were a salesman for the Tell City Desk Co., Tell City, Ind.?

Mr. CAMPBELL. They were a client of mine and Bob DeCou has thrown a lot of business my way, and we are working trying to get the contract for the furnishing—

Mr. DEMPSEY. That isn't the question.

Mr. WHITLEY. I asked you if you ever told anybody you were working for them?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; that he was a client of mine, possibly, and they are a client of mine, and I am trying to get the contract at Fort Knox where I go quite frequently.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have answered the question, Mr. Campbell.

Was there any reason, Mr. Campbell, for you, although you were living in Owensboro and had your business there, any reason for you

going over to Calhoun, Ky., 20 miles away in another county to open your bank account?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I opened up that bank account when I was staying with Mr. Denhart.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he lives there?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; it is only 10 miles from Calhoun.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the reason for the procedure which you followed quite often in cashing checks that Mr. Gilbert sent you, that procedure being that you would exchange your checks with someone around town, and then deposit their check instead of depositing the check Mr. Gilbert sent you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Because when you send a check through on the New York bank, or when you deposit a check on a New York bank, it took it about 6 days to clear, and usually we were so close that I know the manager of the Guenther Hardware Co. very well, and he would take the check that Mr. Gilbert would send me and send it through his bank for collection, and he would give me his check and I could take that, and that being a local bank, it could be drawn on immediately.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was the only reason for that procedure?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you made no efforts or attempts of any kind to conceal your presence or activities around Owensboro?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; I have put out my card, given my business card to people around town and made no bones about it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you made any contacts with the chamber of commerce?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; talked to the secretary of the chamber of commerce and explained my business, and we had to go over again to see him in connection with putting on the V. F. W. department encampment.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Campbell, I have here a copy of a letter, dated November 12, 1938, addressed by you to Lt. Col. William Wattles, 1726 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW., Washington, D. C., apparently with reference to your dues in the Reserve Officers' Association.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. The next to the last paragraph of this letter states:

I am enclosing with this a report of November 1 for your confidential file, and shall keep you advised as to further reports.

Mr. CAMPBELL. We didn't keep him advised.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does that relate to one of your reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think it related to one of the reports that I have talked about, and I asked him if there was a Colonel Moretus, and at that time I got a reply back that there was.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say this doesn't relate to one of the Gilbert reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I asked Colonel Wattles if there was a Colonel Moretus.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you sent him copies of any of those reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is Colonel Wattle's position?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He is the paid secretary of the Reserve Officers' Association.

Mr. WHITLEY. But he is not on your mailing list?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you haven't sent him any of that material?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; he is the secretary.

Mr. WHITLEY. This will be marked as an exhibit.

(The letter was marked as "Exhibit No. 9.")

Mr. DEMPSEY. What was confidential about the report you sent him?

Mr. CAMPBELL. In other words, there wasn't any reason to broadcast that whole thing until we found out that it was true.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Whether what was true?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Whether anything that came through on that was true.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What report did you send this man?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I assume that it was the report about the No. 2 plan that was brought out.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is what Mr. Whitley has been trying to ask you—if you sent him any of those reports.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is one of the reports that Mr. Gilbert sent you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't know whether it is or not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Campbell, you know whether you have sent Colonel Wattles a report?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I gave him a report on that No. 2 plan, and that was last fall.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that was in conjunction with the Gilbert reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that the only report you gave him?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he is the secretary of the Reserve Officers' Association?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; because during the time we were actively engaged in that Colonel Englar was president, and he got quite a few of those reports; he died about 2 months ago.

Mr. THOMAS. When you were actively engaged in that subversive work?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Right on that point, did the Reserve Officers' Association ever receive any kind of instructions or an order that they should discontinue their activities?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Colonel Englar so informed me by letter that we had been told to disband the subversive activities committee because it was not for the welfare of national defense, and then I met him in Chicago and he said, "Campbell, I think you are right in this whole thing, but we have been told not to go ahead with it."

Mr. THOMAS. Told by whom?

Mr. CAMPBELL. By Colonel Englar, and he did not tell me who told him.

Mr. THOMAS. Who was Colonel Englar?

Mr. CAMPBELL. President of the Reserve Officers' Association.

Mr. THOMAS. And he was the one that gave the order?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. But the order didn't necessarily come from the Government?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He issued that order after he had been to Washington and said that he had had a conference at the War Department and it was decided that this subversive activities committee was detrimental to the main mission of the Reserve Officers' Association.

Mr. THOMAS. So he reported that he got word while he was at the War Department—from the War Department——

Mr. CAMPBELL. That he talked with the officer in charge of the Reserve officers' affairs at that time, who was General Thompson's predecessor, who was General——

Mr. THOMAS. What was the approximate date?

Mr. CAMPBELL. January 1937.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you for identification, Mr. Campbell, a certificate, I suppose you would call it, captioned "American Nationalists, Inc.," signed by Dudley P. Gilbert, national commander. Is that one of the certificates issued to members of the organization?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That was supposed to be used as charter for a post.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mark that as an exhibit.

(The document was marked as "Exhibit No. 10.")

Mr. WHITLEY. I also show you a certificate captioned "State of New York, Department of State, Albany," a certificate of incorporation.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is a photostatic copy which he sent me of the certificate of incorporation of the American Nationalists, Inc., dated April 26, 1935.

Mr. WHITLEY. I ask that that be marked as an exhibit.

(The document was marked as "Exhibit No. 11.")

Mr. WHITLEY. That organization, I believe you said, is no longer in existence, or not active?

Mr. CAMPBELL. It is not active.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you for identification, Mr. Campbell, incorporation papers for the Constitutional Protective League of Indiana, approved and filed October 17, 1934. Is that the certificate of incorporation of the organization you referred to previously?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is it.

Mr. WHITLEY. With the names of the incorporators?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the purposes and objectives of that organization are——

Mr. CAMPBELL. Set out there.

Mr. WHITLEY. I ask that that be marked as an exhibit.

(The document was marked as "Exhibit No. 12.")

Mr. WHITLEY. There is considerable other literature and material on that organization.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That has been defunct since the summer of 1936.

Mr. WHITLEY. I will ask you to identify this as official material sent out by the Constitutional Protective League?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; the Constitutional Protective League of Illinois never functioned. We intended to set this up as a national group,

and this was handled separately by these incorporators, and Howard Wade was their secretary.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were they a branch or chapter of your organization?

Mr. CAMPBELL. They had the same purposes. This Colonel Methiney here was the judge advocate of the Reserve Officers' Association, and Howard Wade was also a Reserve officer, and that was set up separately from the Indiana organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. I will not put that in the record, then; I will withdraw that.

I have here, Mr. Campbell, a file of correspondence which you had with Mr. Felix McWhirter, of Indianapolis, whom you have already identified, I believe, previously. This file, without quoting the various letters, indicates a very close relationship, a very friendly relationship between you and Mr. McWhirter; is that correct?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you keep in touch with him and keep him supplied with copies of the reports and advice concerning your activities?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long did you say you have known Mr. McWhirter?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I met him about 6 years ago, possibly 7 years ago.

Mr. WHITLEY. For instance, here is a letter dated April 11, 1939, addressed to you:

DEAR JIM: From reliable information received I understand that Moseley is being very thoroughly shadowed.

Sincerely,

FELIX.

Another letter, dated April 10, 1939, addressed to you:

DEAR JIM: Please get this word to Dudley at once.

Robert S. Judge may be reached at his apartment in New York City in the evenings, telephone No. Grammercy 3-8125; or at his law office, 270 Broadway, Worth 2-5430, at any time during the day. He should not be contacted at the Seaboard address which I gave Dudley when he was here.

Sincerely,

FELIX.

Would it be a fair conclusion from the tenor of these letters to say that he was more than passingly interested in you and your work and your activities?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; because he is a naval intelligence officer.

Mr. THOMAS. At the present time?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is his rank?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Lieutenant commander or commander. The Judge referred to here is likewise a naval-intelligence officer in New York City, and we were following through to develop certain things.

Mr. THOMAS. What is the name of the man in New York City?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Robert S. Judge.

Mr. THOMAS. And he is in the service up there at the present time?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Reserve, the same as McWhirter; in the Reserve.

Mr. WHITLEY. There are a number of other letters in this file, this McWhirter file, of the same tenor.

The CHAIRMAN. You are on very intimate terms with Mr. McWhirter, aren't you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McWhirter is a very prominent man in Indiana?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have here a correspondence folder under the name of "John Hamilton," which was taken, I believe, under subpoena from your files and records, Mr. Campbell?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. In that folder there is a letter, dated February 6, 1939, Owensboro, Ky., addressed as follows:

The honorable JOHN HAMILTON,

Chairman, Republican National Committee, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. HAMILTON: Last summer at Washington, Ind., when we discussed the current situation, I told you some of the things that would happen as a result of our organization. And they did. I still secure a very interesting volume of information on subversive activities.

While in Indianapolis this past week, I had a talk with our mutual friend, Mr. McWhirter, and he suggested that I increase my mailing list, which is being done to a considerable extent.

I would like to add to my list, the national committeemen and committeewomen from each State, and would appreciate your sending the names and addresses of those people.

I will probably be in Washington at the chamber of commerce meeting in April with Mr. McWhirter, and I shall look forward to seeing you at that time.

Most cordially yours,

J. E. CAMPBELL.

Is that a copy of a letter you addressed to Mr. Hamilton?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; and the purpose of that was to get that list, because I had been requested to send a copy of General Moseley's speech in Indianapolis to them, and I so did.

Mr. THOMAS. Haven't you got the answer to that letter there?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

The answer is in a letter dated February 9, 1939, from Washington, D. C., written on the letterhead of the Republican National Committee, Chairman John Hamilton:

Mr. J. E. CAMPBELL,

Owensboro, Ky.

MY DEAR MR. CAMPBELL: I have just received your kind letter of February 6, and was very glad indeed to hear from you again.

Naturally, I am only too glad to enclose a list of our national committeemen and committeewomen, as I think that all of these ladies and gentlemen will be glad to be on your mailing list.

I shall be looking forward to having another chat with you when the chamber of commerce meets in April.

With my kindest regards, I am,

Yours very truly,

JOHN HAMILTON.

Then under date of February 13, 1939, you addressed a letter to Mr. Hamilton as follows:

MY DEAR MR. HAMILTON: Thank you very much for the list of national committeemen and committeewomen.

I believe the information we send will be most valuable to them, as the first thing I intend to send out will be a copy of the speech General Moseley made

last week in Nashville, Tenn., showing how the present administration was not only responsible for subversive activities in this country, but through their vacillating foreign policy were throwing us closer and closer to the brink of war.

I, too, am looking forward to the April meeting.

With kindest regards, I am,

Very truly yours,

J. E. CAMPBELL.

MR. CAMPBELL. I didn't have the Nashville speech; I had the Indianapolis speech instead.

MR. THOMAS. What was the date of that?

MR. CAMPBELL. February 13.

MR. THOMAS. Have you sent anything else out since that time to that list?

MR. CAMPBELL. No; I sent those two speeches of General Moseley.

MR. THOMAS. Nothing besides that?

MR. CAMPBELL. No; I enclosed in one of them a radio address that I gave myself on Army Day; you have a copy of that. But none of those reports went to that crowd.

MR. THOMAS. None of these reports?

MR. CAMPBELL. Absolutely not.

MR. WHITLEY. I have a copy of a letter, dated November 21, 1938, to Mr. John D. Hamilton, national chairman of the Republican Committee, Washington, D. C., reading as follows:

DEAR MR. HAMILTON: At the cornfield rally I had the pleasure of meeting you through Mr. McWhirter.

If you recall, in our conversation I told you that Jerry O'Connell would be defeated in Montana and why. You said that the national committee had recently a request for funds from that district, but that you did not think that it could be carried.

I also told you that Michigan would go Republican and why, and that Ohio would come back into the ranks and why. Remember in your analyzing that this not only was a protest vote by Americans against the principles of the New Deal, but it is a vote by Americans who are gradually and thoroughly learning the cause of the chaotic conditions in this country, and who are determined to maintain our American Republic.

It may be well for you to discuss with Mr. McWhirter the subject of the above paragraph. I think it will prove most enlightening.

I trust we may have the pleasure of meeting again, and I shall appreciate hearing from you at your convenience. I contemplate making another business trip east in January, which will take me into Washington, Philadelphia, New York, and the New England States. It may be possible for us to get together at that time.

With kindest regards, I am,

Very truly yours,

J. E. CAMPBELL.

The reply to that letter, dated November 30, 1938, from Washington, D. C., is as follows:

MR. J. E. CAMPBELL,

Owensboro, Ky.

DEAR MR. CAMPBELL: Mr. McWhirter has forwarded your letter to me and I was glad to hear from you.

Since you are planning to be in Washington in January, I would suggest that you drop me a note as to just when you are coming and we can arrange a mutually convenient date.

With my kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

JOHN HAMILTON.

Mr. Campbell's reply to that, dated December 6, 1938, is as follows:

Mr. JOHN HAMILTON,

Chairman, Republican National Committee, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. HAMILTON: Thank you very much for your letter of November 30. I have just returned from Indianapolis, and have made arrangements to be in Washington with Mr. McWhirter in the early part of January.

I will let you know a few days in advance the date we expect to be there so that we can arrange to see each other.

Most cordially yours,

J. E. CAMPBELL.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That January and April meeting did not materialize.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you ever solicit funds from Mr. Hamilton?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you ever get any funds from him?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; I did not. I told John Hamilton at the corn field conference that the Catholic vote of Montana would defeat Jerry O'Connell because they had a picture of Jerry giving a Communist salute.

I also told him that the C. I. O. activities in Ohio and Michigan had been so radical and had disgusted the decent law-abiding citizens of those two States to the point where they would vote, not a Republican ticket, but a protest vote.

Mr. WHITLEY. I will ask that that file be marked as an exhibit, exhibit 13.

(The file was marked as "Exhibit 13.")

The CHAIRMAN. Does Mr. Hamilton know the character of reports that you had?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why, then, did he accede to your proposition to furnish a list of the national committeemen and committeewomen?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Because that request was made to send a copy of the speech that General Moseley made on the 29th of December in Indianapolis.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's see if the correspondence reads that way.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Hamilton did not know a thing about these reports. He felt I was kind of a prophet when I told him that Jerry O'Connell would be defeated in Montana, and I knew the sentiment of the people in Michigan and Ohio, and I have been to Legion meetings, and I knew it wouldn't have made any difference if there had been a complete Republican administration in there.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you ever discuss with Mr. Hamilton anything about the American Nationalists?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Then you don't know whether Mr. Hamilton knew anything about the American Nationalists or not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I do not.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know whether Mr. Hamilton was familiar with the contact that you had with Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; I don't think Mr. Hamilton ever knew a thing about that, if he did he got it from some other source.

Mr. THOMAS. You didn't discuss at any time with Mr. Hamilton what you were doing in Kentucky or Indiana?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir. The thing I discussed with Mr. Hamilton at the cornfield conference occupied about 5 or 10 minutes of time. He said, "How is Montana?"

He had been talking to Mr. McWhirter in my presence. I said, "I think Jerry O'Connell will be defeated."

The CHAIRMAN. Right in that connection may I read your letter again for the benefit of the committee. This is your letter of February 6, 1939.

MY DEAR MR. HAMILTON: Last summer at Washington, Ind., when we discussed the current situation—

What did you mean by "current situation?"

Mr. CAMPBELL. The political situation, the C. I. O., I discussed the C. I. O.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

I told you some of the things that would happen as a result of our organization.

What do you mean by "some of the things?" Do you mean the sending out of these reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What else?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I was talking straight Republican politics.

Mr. THOMAS. Are you a Republican?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean, in other words, that the use of the words "our organization" referred to the Republican Party?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I was talking to him—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). And you were referring, by "our organization," to the Republican Party rather than your organization?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is McWhirter a Democrat or a Republican?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He is a Republican, naturally, he was at that meeting.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

And they did. I still secure a very interesting volume of information on subversive activities.

How does that connect him?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Because he knew I was chairman of that committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's connect the two. You said, "I told you some of the things that would happen as a result of our organization."

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is the Republican Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you go on down and say, "I still secure a very interesting volume of information on subversive activities."

Mr. CAMPBELL. He said, "How do you arrive at that conclusion?"

Mr. DEMPSEY. I would like to know something about the answer to your—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). The point is this, you use here the words "our organization," which you now say means the Republican Party?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you follow with the sentence:

And they did. I still secure a very interesting volume of information on subversive activities.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, that is a badly written letter because I told him I had been chairman of the Reserve Officers' Subversive Activities Committee, and that I had plenty of information on what the C. I. O. had done.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

While in Indianapolis this past week I had a talk with our mutual friend, Mr. McWhirter, and he suggested that I increase my mailing list, which is being done to a considerable extent.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

I would like to add to my list the national committeemen and committeewomen from each State, and would appreciate your sending the names and addresses of these people.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now you here are talking about subversive activities which you have secured information on, and you are talking about these reports of Gilbert, aren't you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What other subversive activities were you talking about?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Oh, the C. I. O., I had told him—

Mr. DEMPSEY (interposing). We don't care to go into the C. I. O.

Mr. THOMAS. Let the witness answer the question in his own way. He is trying to answer Martin's question.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You are talking about your mailing list—what mailing list are you talking about?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. McWhirter asked me if I would build up a mailing list to send out General Moseley's speech, and I wrote to Mr. Hamilton and asked him for the names of the committeemen from each State. Now I have not discussed any of these reports with John Hamilton. I had told him that I had spent 5 years on subversive activities.

Mr. THOMAS. And don't you believe that the Republican Party and John Hamilton, the chairman, would be naturally interested in these subversive activities?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; I wouldn't give him the information because I didn't think it was a political subject.

Mr. THOMAS. I mean, isn't any major political party, or shouldn't any major political party in the United States be interested in un-American activities?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't think it is a political issue at all; I think it is strictly a nonpartisan issue.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me go back and let me ask the witness some more question.

Mr. CAMPBELL. My letter is ambiguous, as you will read that, it isn't a connected sequence of thought.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's see if it is ambiguous. In your letter of February 13, 1939, you say:

Thank you very much for the list of national committeemen and committee-women.

I believe the information we send will be most valuable to them, as the first thing I intend to send out will be a copy of the speech General Moseley made last week in Nashville, Tenn., showing how the present administration was not only responsible for subversive activities in this country but, through their vacillating foreign policy, were throwing us closer and closer to the brink of war.

Now you say that the "first thing" is General Moseley's speech. What were the other subsequent things?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The Nashville speech and the other was the Indianapolis speech.

The CHAIRMAN. But you said the "first thing." Why emphasize the word "first"?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Because I intended to send these speeches of General Moseley.

The CHAIRMAN. That was all you intended to send out?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then why did you use the word "first"?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The first speech was the Nashville speech.

The CHAIRMAN. And you didn't intend to send out any of these reports that you got from Gilbert?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; I didn't.

Mr. MASON. And you didn't send any of these reports out to the committeemen?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir. I sent those speeches of General Moseley.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Did you send anything to Mr. McWhirter?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; he was advised constantly for the reason I told you; I had worked very closely with him on this subject, because it was something I felt was too big for me to handle on the Gilbert reports.

The CHAIRMAN. When you wrote to Mr. Hamilton on February 6, 1939, the information you were speaking about was information on subversive activities, was it not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. On the C. I. O.

The CHAIRMAN. But you said "subversive activities."

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is all right.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it confined solely to the C. I. O.?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That was all that was on your mind?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes. I was discussing with him my reason for the deductions that I had arrived at when I made the statement that Ohio and Michigan would go Republican this time because of the revulsion of the people in that State against the C. I. O.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, as evidenced by your letter here, you talked to Mr. Hamilton about subversive activities?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; and I call the C. I. O. a subversive activity.

The CHAIRMAN. But you were talking to him about subversive activities?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you told him that you had considerable information with reference to subversive activities, didn't you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you asked him to furnish you a mailing list so that you could send that information out?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; so I could send out those speeches, because I had been asked to do that in Indianapolis.

The CHAIRMAN. You talked to him about subversive activities, the information you had on subversive activities?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you follow in the next paragraph and say:

While in Indianapolis this past week, I had a talk with our mutual friend, Mr. McWhirter, and he suggested that I increase my mailing list, which is being done to a considerable extent.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That was for the purpose of getting this information on subversive activities out?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; to send out General Moseley's speeches only, because I told you earlier in this session that I had not sent a single one of those reports except to people whom I personally knew. I don't know any except two of the national committeemen and women, and they are the ones from Indiana.

The CHAIRMAN. When you were talking to Mr. Hamilton you were talking to him about information on subversive activities. Now, what relationship did subversive activities have to do with General Moseley's speeches?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Because General Moseley covered it in his speech.

The CHAIRMAN. And that was the only information you had?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That was what I was going to send him.

The CHAIRMAN. So when you were talking about the information you had on subversive activities, you were talking about General Moseley's speeches?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; about the information on the C. I. O., and what took place in Michigan and Ohio.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you tell him about General Moseley's speeches?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That was last August at the corn-field conference.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't have General Moseley's speech in mind when you wrote this, did you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir. This letter was written in February. I talked to John Hamilton in August at the cornfield conference. Naturally the subject of subversive activities came up because I said I thought the Communist Party was responsible for the C. I. O. activities.

Now when I talked to him, to bring it to his mind where he had met me, I covered that subject, and I had been asked in Indianapolis to get the list of those names so that I could send General Moseley's speeches out.

The CHAIRMAN. When you talked to John Hamilton, did you mention General Moseley's name?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Not personally.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't mention the speech at all?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He hadn't made the speech.

The CHAIRMAN. And you didn't mention General Moseley's speech or have it in mind when you wrote this letter?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; that is what I had in mind to send out. If I made myself clear it is this way. When I talked subversive activities to him in August, I met him in the midst of about 40,000 people out there, all trying to talk to him, and he asked me, after he had

talked to McWhirter about financing, and met me, he said, "We have got requests from Montana."

I said, "Thunder, I think that Jerry O'Connell will be defeated in Montana," and I told him why. I also told him that I thought they would carry Ohio and Michigan.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to be courteous, and I want you to be frank.

Mr. CAMPBELL. When I wrote this, I had no reference to subversive activities reports, but to bring to mind our conversation that we had, and the fact that I had been asked to send out these speeches of General Moseley, and that is what I was trying to cover. It may sound foolish.

The CHAIRMAN. So that when you wrote this letter you had in mind only General Moseley's speech?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Then when he wrote back and told you he was sending you the list, he did that in order to furnish you with an opportunity to disseminate General Moseley's speech?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And it was with his approval that General Moseley's speech was to be sent to the national committeemen and committeewomen of the Republican Party?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right, because I say there that I want to send out General Moseley's speech.

The CHAIRMAN. Then in your letter of February 13, after he had sent you the list, you say that the "first thing" you intend to do is to send out General Moseley's speech?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right; the speech of February that he made in Nashville.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you have in mind something else?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you use the word "first"?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Because the man had made three speeches and I wanted the Nashville speech first.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't say that; you say, "The first thing I intend to send out will be a copy of the speech General Moseley made last week in Nashville, Tenn."

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So you at no time had in mind sending out any other information except General Moseley's speech?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Absolutely not; those reports I have never sent out and I have never intended, or would I, to anybody except that list.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know at that time that General Moseley was going to make other speeches?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I knew that he had been invited to speak.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know he was going to make other speeches of your own personal knowledge?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You had to know that in order to——

Mr. CAMPBELL. He told me he was going to make a speech in Boston and one in Philadelphia and was going out to the Pacific coast; that he has been invited on a tour out there.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you tell Mr. Hamilton that General Moseley had a number of speeches to make?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I didn't tell him how many he was going to make.

The CHAIRMAN. But you told him that he was going to make some?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you furnish General Moseley with any of the information that was contained in those speeches he made?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he have any of the statements or any information based upon any of your reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I have given him a couple or two or three reports, but they were not included in any of the speeches that General Moseley made.

The CHAIRMAN. Were any of the conclusions that he drew or statement made based upon those reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; he has a kind of his own, and I don't think you can convince him of anything. I know I couldn't convince him of anything. He is a pretty hard-boiled officer—about one of the hardest.

The CHAIRMAN. When you got this list you didn't mail out anything but General Moseley's speech?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I also included a copy of a speech I made.

The CHAIRMAN. In the copy of the speech you made, did you have some of the information that you got from these reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you have in that speech?

Mr. CAMPBELL. You have a copy of it here, my speech on Army Day. That was a very brief radio address of only 7 minutes, in which I spoke of national defense for this country.

The CHAIRMAN. This speech was delivered April 6, 1939; is that right?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; on Army Day.

Mr. THOMAS. And did you send this to that list of national committeemen?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; I think that was included with the last speech.

Mr. THOMAS. That was after election time?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That was just last month.

The CHAIRMAN. So when you say here—

Last summer at Washington, Ind., when we discussed the current situation, I told you some of the things that would happen as a result of our organization.

What were some of the things that would happen after February 6, 1939?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Not February 6.

The CHAIRMAN. No; not February 6. You are referring now to your conversation in Washington, Ind., which was in August.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; that is right. Naturally, if you met me at one time in a crowd and I was trying to recall that to your mind, in writing you a letter, I would mention what had occurred then.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you mean when you said, "I still secure a very interesting volume of information on subversive activities," so what information were you referring to?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Some of the activities of the C. I. O. which I discussed with him. I did not discuss these reports.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't have in mind any of these reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; nor would I discuss them with him.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you getting the other information?

Mr. CAMPBELL. From some of these Reserve officers that had function with me, that had been sending me information.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have anything on that in the file?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; all kinds of booklets and pamphlets on the current situation, pamphlets put out by the C. I. O. and Communist Party in various places.

The CHAIRMAN. So your purpose in increasing—did you increase your mailing list?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Just to that group to whom I sent out General Moseley's speech, but I did not increase the mailing list on the other, on the reports; you have the entire list on the reports.

The CHAIRMAN. How many names do you have in your file altogether, on your mailing list? You have some lists that you said you didn't mail your Gilbert reports to?

Mr. CAMPBELL. You mean that I sent those other reports to?

The CHAIRMAN. Anything, all the mailing lists you have got, what is the total number of the persons on those mailing lists?

Mr. CAMPBELL. You mean the prospects I was developing, to send form letters to?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CAMPBELL. There isn't over 200 names altogether.

The CHAIRMAN. How many national committee men and women did you have—how many names?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Two from each State; I think there were about 100 of those.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that included in the 200 you are talking about?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

There are about 40 that receive reports, and there must be 40 or 50, there may be more, but offhand—you have got the files.

Mr. THOMAS. And did you send this speech, this Army Day speech, to those Republican national committeemen and committeewomen?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; this Army Day speech.

Mr. THOMAS. This is a very interesting speech, Martin. I haven't read it thoroughly. I want to read one sentence to you. He says:

Thomas Jefferson, founder of the Democratic Party, and an outstanding patriot, never considered the United States in the role of "World savior"—

and then he goes on to quote Jefferson many times. This seems almost like a Democratic speech.

Mr. CAMPBELL. After all, that is an American speech.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What were the subversive activities that you found the C. I. O. engaging in that you told Mr. Hamilton about?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I told him that when the General Motors strike was pulled that many of the organizers in the C. I. O. were members of the Communist Party, because I had been working up there in Michigan at that time. At that time our subversive activities committee was functioning.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Did you have a list of them?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Not an entire list of them.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Did you have any list at all of them?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I knew that Maurice Sugar and Louis Weinstone and some of those who were members of the Communist Party were also very active in the C. I. O. sit-down strike, and upon that I said it was a subversive organization, and if we had the money to chase it down we would find that that was the case; but that the decent citizens of Michigan were completely disgusted with it and were going to repudiate it.

Mr. MASON. We checked all that with this committee last year.

Mr. THOMAS. We checked it at election time, too.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, if I may ask this question: Outside of the money you got from Campbell, you say you didn't get any money from any other source—I mean from Gilbert?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't get any money from McWhirter?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Not a penny.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make any money on the outside in your business at all?

Mr. CAMPBELL. A little.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you make during that period?

Mr. CAMPBELL. You mean since I have been working on this thing?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I haven't made anything on it.

The CHAIRMAN. This has been your only source of income?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And in return for the money that Mr. Gilbert gave you, all that you did was to transmit this report to some 40 people?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, it cost Mr. Gilbert \$8,000 to get these reports sent to 40 people in this country?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And you weren't compensated for sending the other material. This \$8,000 didn't include anything you did with reference to the other material that you sent out?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That was just a gratuitous proposition?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; because I worked with Mr. McWhirter a long time, and I sent those things out at his request. He said he thought it would be a good idea to bring before the people the fact that a prominent man felt the same way as we did on this subject.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Does Mr. Gilbert know how many people you are sending his reports to?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He knows approximately. I have only sent those confidential reports to those whom I know personally, people that I have sat across the table from and talked to. The one exception was when Mr. May asked me to send one to Jim Cooke, and I did that, and then I arranged to meet Mr. Cooke.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What did you hope to accomplish by such a few?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Those people were in this position: In case trouble started in this country, to have enough influence to bring down to you people here in Washington to show you that there was a danger taking place in America, and I still didn't think that the thing had reached the stage where there was any dynamite to be exploded yet.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you were only choosing people who were very influential and in key positions to disseminate this information?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Not to disseminate it; it was for their information only.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you say anything in there that they mustn't talk to anybody and tell other people what the contents of these reports were?

Mr. CAMPBELL. When I met them I said, "I will send you these reports from time to time as they come through, and they are confidential information for your guidance only."

Mr. VOORHIS. Could I ask one question?

Mr. Campbell, these reports were not only reports as to what was going to happen, or something like that, but it seems to me that they were reports that contained, as their most important piece of information, the fact that these events, which on their surface might not be particularly significant, were events that were being engineered by a certain group of people who had planned or plotted to overthrow the Government of the United States?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, then, I can understand how you would say, "Well, now, this fellow gives us information and then something happens," and how you could say, "Well, here is a man that apparently has inside sources of information so that he can forecast things," but on what basis were you sure enough that these events were being engineered by a group of people for the purpose of plotting the overthrow of the Government so that you were willing to send out this information? Why were you sure of the second thing?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Because I had confidence in Mr. Gilbert.

Mr. VOORHIS. But Gilbert wasn't getting these things himself, you knew that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I knew that.

Mr. VOORHIS. He was depending on someone else that you didn't even know?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; and I had not sent any of those reports because they sounded fantastic, until things would happen to show that certain phases of it were taking place.

Mr. VOORHIS. But, Mr. Campbell, if some of those reports sounded fantastic to you, then I think you would have been sufficiently suspicious of the rest of them so that you would have hesitated to make it a matter of information to other people, and particularly when they were people that were close to you and had confidence in you, and who would probably feel that they could trust what you told them.

Now, as I say, I can see if they predicted that a certain thing was going to happen, and it did happen, I can see why you would say, "Well, this fellow has confidential information," but I can't see how you would jump to the assumption that this was a plot, engineered by certain people whose names were mentioned.

Mr. MASON. And deliberately create the inference that these things happened as a result of the influence of these people.

Mr. VOORHIS. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you think you were rendering a patriotic service in doing this?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I did; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you think that to send out an absolutely unverified report—you didn't even know who made the report, did you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew that Gilbert didn't know whether the facts were true; you had talked to Gilbert, you knew that Gilbert wasn't vouching for a thing in those reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Here you were sending out absolutely unverified, unsupported reports, you say in order to do a patriotic service to the country.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think this is dangerous propaganda to put out over this country?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I didn't over the country, I placed it in the hands of those fellows so they could observe and watch and see whether those things began to happen.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think that is more dangerous than if you made it public?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't know, maybe I erred.

Mr. VOORHIS. It wasn't a question of whether those things had happened or not, that is absolutely unimportant. The question is whether they happened because a group of people were plotting in the overthrow of the Government, that was the significant thing about it, and I want to say this much further, that everybody knows that the thing that is our real concern and danger in this country is that people on either extreme, no matter which one it is, people on either extreme will be able to convince the great mass of the American people that the other extreme is about ready to pop something that is going to bust things wide open in the United States. As soon as the people feel that, then it is possible to sweep them off their feet.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is a good point you make there. There is one which Colonel Low made, and elaborated on in Columbus, Ohio, 3 or 4 years ago.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Let's not go into that.

The CHAIRMAN. The point is that you are speaking for one extreme, and, frankly, I can't see how you can justify in your own mind, on the basis of patriotism, how you can justify sending out, say to 40 people, propaganda which is of the most dangerous type in this country, when you nor Gilbert took the pains to find out if it was true before you sent it out. I can't see how you could be justified from that angle, and from a financial standpoint I can't see how, on that information alone, that anybody would spend upward of \$8,000 to send it out to only 40 people.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Gilbert knows I am going to build an engineering business back, and it is going to be a darn good return for him.

The CHAIRMAN. But he didn't take any notes.

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you or Gilbert ever try to check up on this informer in that club, or not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I didn't.

MR. THOMAS. Do you know whether Gilbert did?

MR. CAMPBELL. I suppose he did because he said he knew this fellow.

MR. THOMAS. He told you he knew this fellow?

MR. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

MR. THOMAS. You said this man was located in a club, an employee in a club.

MR. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

MR. THOMAS. Do you know whether this man got his information in this club or whether he got the information from places outside of the club, or not?

MR. CAMPBELL. I think I can best answer that in a letter which is some place in that file, received from Mr. Gilbert, in which this informant told him that he had been taken off the job for a while because they were suspicious of him, and then he had been invited to go back or to come back to work.

MR. THOMAS. Did he get the information in the club?

MR. CAMPBELL. In the club.

MR. THOMAS. Exclusively?

MR. CAMPBELL. That is what Mr. Gilbert told me.

MR. THOMAS. Didn't you tell Cooke that he got the information not only in the club but out of private residences of some of these people?

MR. CAMPBELL. On two occasions he was taken out, and it is in the letters there, taken out to a private meeting which was held, one, I think, on Long Island, and another one up at Fifth Avenue.

MR. THOMAS. Did Mr. Gilbert tell you where these private meetings were held—I mean at whose residences they were held?

MR. CAMPBELL. One of them in that letter was that he had been taken up to Mr. Sir William Wiseman's, and the other is in the letter, I forgot the name, but it was held on Long Island.

MR. THOMAS. You don't recall the other name?

MR. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

MR. THOMAS. I want to digress. Does either the investigator or Mr. Whitley know the name of this other place on Long Island?

MR. WHITLEY. It is in one of the reports. The report, based on the informer's conversations outside the club, identifies the place where the meeting was held, where it is in a private residence.

MR. THOMAS. Who owned that private residence?

MR. WHITLEY. The parties are named in the report; I remember Sir William Wiseman, and there were one or two others, individuals whose names are mentioned in these reports.

MR. THOMAS. How many reports did you get from Gilbert, all told?

MR. CAMPBELL. I don't know.

MR. THOMAS. Approximately.

MR. CAMPBELL. I couldn't even guess.

MR. THOMAS. Were there 20 or 50?

MR. CAMPBELL. Oh, there might have been a hundred.

MR. DEMPSEY. About how many a month would you get?

MR. CAMPBELL. Well, I would send out an average of about 4 that I would pick out. I would say during the month that they might average—some months there would be 4 or 5, and some months 6 or 8 or 10.

MR. THOMAS. You got about a hundred all told?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. They were on what general subjects or generally on what subjects were they?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Sometimes it would be things that were happening around New York that he himself would observe.

Mr. THOMAS. That Gilbert himself would observe?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; like attending Communist rallies, and things like that. The majority of them were reports from this informant.

Mr. THOMAS. From the informant?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; I would say that they comprised 80 per cent of the reports.

Mr. THOMAS. And what kind of information was included from the informant?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, that is the report as written in longhand.

Mr. THOMAS. With what did it have to do, mostly?

Mr. CAMPBELL. It had to do with the activities or plans that they were trying to carry through.

Mr. THOMAS. This plot to change the form of government some way or somehow?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

Mr. THOMAS. Getting back to this informant again, did Gilbert ever give you a description of this informant?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; nor did he ever tell me his name.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Resume, Mr. Whitley.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Campbell, I show you a mimeographed copy of a report dated March 1, 1939, consisting of a page and a half, single-spaced typewriting. This report goes into great detail with reference to plan No. 2, so-called, which was the plan calling for internal revolution. It goes into great detail with reference to military strength that can be summoned by the group allegedly plotting or planning the revolution, and the way they could sabotage military groups and facilities, communications, and so forth. I ask you if that report is as stated by me, as outlined by me?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; and I have the original here.

Mr. WHITLEY. This report will be marked as confidential exhibit—no; it has already been marked as "Confidential Exhibit No. 1."

I have here, Mr. Campbell, an original letter, dated March 14, 1939, on the letterhead of the Atlanta Biltmore, Atlanta, Ga., addressed to you by Gen. George Van Horn Moseley. This letter, which was written by General Moseley to you approximately 2 weeks after the date of the report I just referred to, states in the next to the last paragraph:

I was particularly interested in the report of March 1 that you sent me. It strikes me it would be well to let General Craig read that report, but if I send it on to him I should like to be able to tell him briefly and confidentially something of the source and probable reliability of the information given. Would there be any objection to this?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Do you have my reply to that?

Mr. WHITLEY. Your reply to that letter, which is dated March 16, 1939, page 2, reads as follows:

Now relative to General Craig. As discussed with you in Atlanta, I am leaving this matter entirely to your discretion. You know the source of those

G-2 reports. You know the personnel comprising the meetings, you know that subsequent events have proven every single report correct. If General Craig can be given this in the utmost confidence, so that it does not reach the administration, because I believe he should be so advised. Because a time may come when a demur will have to be taken by the Army. But in the event that this information gets beyond him, it means the life of the operative now situated within their center!

My personal belief is that it would be much better to discuss it with the general personally upon your next visit to Washington, give him the contents, but do not give him a copy of the report.

Will you explain that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That explains itself.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your reference here in your reply to "G-2"—"You know the source of those G-2 reports"?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is a way of saying intelligence reports, that is just an Army phrase that is used by any military man. (G-2 means intelligence.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Were you trying to make him understand that that was where you were getting those reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That was just our way of describing things.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Describing what, the intelligence officers?

Mr. CAMPBELL. When I said a "G-2 report," I meant that that was a confidential report, in other words, it was something that hadn't been broadcast. And I explained to the general, when I was down on the Auramin matter, that I was getting these reports from a chap in New York, and he was getting them from someone in the Harmonie Club, and that was what I had been told.

Mr. THOMAS. That is that club in New York?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know anything about that club?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I have only seen the outside of the building.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you ever been in it yourself?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. I will ask that this file be marked as "Exhibit 14."

(The file referred to was marked as "Exhibit No. 14.")

Mr. THOMAS. This plot which has been mentioned here today by you and other witnesses, did you discuss this plot at some length with Gilbert, did you discuss the participants in the plot at some length with Gilbert?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't quite understand the question.

Mr. THOMAS. If a plot existed, somebody must have been the plotter?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you discuss the names with Gilbert who were in on this plot?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He had been sending me the reports through to me for a number of months, and I was familiar with the ones that he was discussing in the reports.

Mr. THOMAS. And those reports which haven't been read here today incidentally contain the names of many of the plotters?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; of the ones that were in that March 1 report.

Mr. THOMAS. And those plotters are supposed to be prominent in the United States?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right; some of them are.

Mr. THOMAS. You never checked up to find out whether any of those people ever did enter into any kind of a plot?

Mr. CAMPBELL. It would be pretty difficult for me to do that, and that is why I hadn't broadcast any information.

Mr. VOORHIS. But, Mr. Campbell, the very fact that that would be difficult, assuming that these people that you sent these things to were your friends, I should think you would be hesitant about sending them things as important and as dynamic as these reports were.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That was the most dynamic one that came through.

Mr. VOORHIS. Let's get this. The source of these things is a fellow that you didn't know, you don't know his name; as a matter of fact you don't even know he exists. He is supposed to be in this plot, but nobody knows how he gets the information, whether these people make these terrific statements in front of him or not, which is hard to believe that they would make them in front of anybody. And nobody knows who he is or how he gets his information or where it comes from. This fellow is supposed to be giving this to Mr. Gilbert. Mr. Gilbert, himself, as you say, doesn't know for sure about this man, and you don't even know who he is, and you get these reports from Mr. Gilbert out of a source like that, and still you send them to these people. I don't see how you can——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Of course now, expressing my own view and being perfectly fair with you, I don't think you have come clean with this committee because your testimony does not coincide with previous testimony here. You have stated under your oath that this building was being built by you.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; it is, and Mr. Gilbert is——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). In that respect you have absolutely contradicted another material witness. Why not tell this committee the full situation?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Gilbert is furnishing the money for the house I am building.

Mr. MASON. Martin, as I remember the testimony of the previous witness, he was supposed to be building this house.

The CHAIRMAN. But for the other man.

Mr. MASON. But in his own name, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. He was building it for the other man.

Now the point I am saying is this, you are under oath, this committee expects you and expects other witnesses to tell the truth to it, but when you fail to tell the truth you do yourself great wrong as well as the committee. Now, I am not speaking for the committee, I don't know what their reactions are, but I believe in being perfectly frank. When a man tells me something that I have already heard definitely contradicted by another witness who ought to know, then I am included to wonder whether or not these other things you are saying are correct.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Here is the situation. The house is being built by me in my name. Mr. Gilbert is furnishing the money. The reason he is furnishing the money is he has said several weeks or months ago that if something ever happens in the way of a revolt in this country, "I don't want my family in New York City, I want a place where they can go."

The CHAIRMAN. Why didn't you tell us that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am building the house, I will pay back the money, all of it.

Mr. THOMAS. You said he was going to take a mortgage on the house?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well?

Mr. THOMAS. And live in it himself?

Mr. CAMPBELL. As soon as the house is built I intend to give him a mortgage on that house.

Mr. THOMAS. And he will hold the mortgage and live in it himself and hold his own mortgage?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He won't live there until some trouble happens in this country.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Might he not want to go there and use it as a hunting lodge?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He could come down there as my guest, if he did, because I intend to live there.

Mr. DEMPSEY. The witness testified that he was going to do that.

Do you have any knowledge that on any of the dates that you have had information that these various prominent men collected in New York at this club—that a single, solitary one of them was at that club?

Mr. CAMPBELL. You mean my personal knowledge?

Mr. DEMPSEY. Yes; or Mr. Gilbert's personal knowledge?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Not my personal knowledge.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Does he know?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That I cannot answer.

Mr. DEMPSEY. And you are getting about \$500, with some additional, this other man is getting a certain amount of money for month after month, year in and year out, and he hasn't taken the trouble—no one has taken the trouble—to check a single, solitary statement in the reports that you are getting. You could certainly find out if those men collected there on the night they are supposed to have. You could cover it for one month for \$500, and you would know that.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, to come absolutely clean with this committee, haven't you sent this to more than 40 people?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir. Let's count this list. Here it is.

Mr. WHITLEY. May I ask this question: If you only sent those reports to 30 or 40 people, why was it necessary to mimeograph them? You could run off 3 or 4 carbon copies in no time at all.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I had one girl, who is a slow stenographer.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, she could even then probably make four or five copies, around a page or a page and a half.

Mr. THOMAS. Who did your mimeograph work?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Miss Brown, my stenographer.

Mr. THOMAS. She did the stencils as well as handle the machine?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you a mimeograph machine in your office?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; a second-hand one.

The CHAIRMAN. And isn't it further a fact that you and Mr. McWhirter discussed this whole plan in advance, and the plan was to disseminate information over this country to raise racial prejudice and hatred?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Absolutely not.

The CHAIRMAN. And didn't you get together with Mr. McWhirter, and wasn't this whole thing planned?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Absolutely not.

The CHAIRMAN. And isn't it a further fact that the understanding was that the people who got these reports were in turn to make use of them in the most effective way?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; I never discussed a racial issue with Mr. McWhirter in my life.

The CHAIRMAN. What is in here except racial issues?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am not interested in racial issues; I don't care whether a man is a Scotchman, an Irishman, or of Jewish descent; a Catholic, a Protestant, a Presbyterian, or an atheist.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever undertake to put an informer in the Communist Party or the Bund, or some such organization?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I told you I tried to get into the Bund myself and I didn't get to first base; I made one trip up there.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Did you ever send any of Father Coughlin's speeches, except those attacking the Jews, to those people?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I mailed some clippings of Father Coughlin's speeches from the Brooklyn Tablet, and I took the clippings in there from the Reader's Forum.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I am asking you what the speech contained; was it an attack upon the Jewish people?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I didn't consider it so, not on them as a race.

The CHAIRMAN. But on certain jews?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; whom he attributed to be——

Mr. DEMPSEY. You didn't send any of his other sermons or speeches out?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I sent out his sermons and speeches consistently for quite a long time. I also sent copies from the Brooklyn Tablet of the Reader's Forum.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Where did you get copies of his sermons?

Mr. CAMPBELL. As published in the Brooklyn Tablet.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Those are political or racketeer speeches, or anything you want to call them.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Whatever you want to term them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever find out through your channels any data concerning Nazi or Fascist activities in this country?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; I sent out some stuff on the Bund; you have a copy of it in the files there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that one of Mr. Gilbert's reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, that is one that I got from down in Texas.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you didn't limit your material?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I didn't limit my material to what Mr. Gilbert sent me.

Mr. WHITLEY. You sent other material out, also?

Mr. CAMPBELL. You have got a copy of a report I got from Texas on the activities of the German agents operating in Houston.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever send out any of Mr. Deatherage's material?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe you stated earlier in the testimony, Mr. Campbell, that you had no use for Deatherage and no relations with him of any kind?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Deatherage tried to penetrate back into me again this winter. I dropped him when I found out what he was, when I was in the Reserve officers. General Moseley spoke in Indianapolis and when he did George Deatherage was present and I was sitting in the audience, and he and Allen Zoll were together and came over and talked to me a little while, and George Deatherage flooded me with three or four letters for quite a long while, and I wanted to find out what he was doing, and I answer his letters.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you a folder captioned "George Deatherage." Inside this folder is a note, apparently in your handwriting, which says, "File under G. D." Did you want to conceal the identity of the source of the material?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; see how it is here [indicating]?

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't do that to indicate that this folder should be changed?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. In this folder, without identifying all of it in detail, are circulars sent out by Mr. Deatherage and his organization, Knights of the White Camellia. Here is a typewritten sheet, which is captioned: "Extracts from G's letters." I presume "G's" means "George's?"

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. A letter from you, dated January 12, address to George Deatherage, St. Albans, W. Va.:

DEAR GEORGE: Yesterday was a perfect example of why Allen Zoll exists. His speech before the Senate committee did more to confirm Frankfurter's appointment than any other action.

You go on to discuss that.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Go on into the details, what I brought out.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

Had he consigned himself to the word "radical Socialist" many of the Senators would have voted against him; but you and all the rest of us must recognize that the American public does not know this picture thoroughly.

What picture is that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The radical picture as it relates to the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

And consequently, with all the crocodile tears that have been shed over the radio, through the press, and on the screen, too damn many Americans still believe Frankfurter's race to be the persecuted under dogs.

A little intelligence in meeting those situations would certainly enable us to make real progress. I am getting tired as hell of so-called real Americans, who want to combat this thing, using the method of agents provocateurs.

I have not heard from the other gentleman since his return from Indianapolis. Have been pretty busy trying to make a living.

I'm sorry to learn of your illness and hope you have completely recovered.

It may be possible for us to meet together soon. I will be in Indianapolis this week end, and the following week end, at Columbus, Ohio, as I am after some distributors in that State. It may be possible for us to meet at Cincinnati on my way back.

Cordially yours.

That is to the man whom you long ago severed relations with and had no use for?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I still haven't.

Mr. WHITLEY. Here is a telegram, dated January 6, 1939:

ST. ALBANS, W. VA.
(Via Owensboro, Ky.)

J. E. CAMPBELL,
6420 Bellefontaine Street, Indianapolis:
Impossible to come to Lexington. Writing.

GEORGE.

Following that, your letter dated January 2, to George Deatherage, in which you state that you will be in Lexington on January 7 and 8 attending the midwinter conference of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Please bring charter and all the information you can spare me to this meeting. I will bring the data on the product discussed with you, and we will take time to work things out in detail.

With kindest regards, I am,
Sincerely yours.

Another letter addressed to George Deatherage, under date of December 19, written in a very friendly, familiar, cordial vein; another letter, dated December 13, 1938, addressed to Mr. George E. Deatherage, 1007 West Peachtree Street, Atlanta, Ga., two full typewritten pages, discussing problems apparently of mutual interest.

There are several other letters in that same file, an exchange of letters between you and George Deatherage; quite lengthy letters.

I would like to have this marked as an exhibit, and I would like to ask you again if you have no relations with Mr. Deatherage or association with him?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I have no association with Mr. Deatherage. I knew he was putting out some kind of a chart, and I wanted to get a copy of that chart, these Knights of the White Camellias. I worked with the Reserve officers when he was on this Knights of the White Camellia when he put out a piece of literature that was absolutely repulsive.

(The document was marked as "Exhibit No. 15.")

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recognize the fact that he is viciously anti-Semitic?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; I recognize that, I am not antiananything. If there is an organization today that is anti-Semitic or anti-Catholic or anything else, and by my being friendly with the heads of that organization, I can find out their entire plan and program of what they are doing, I am going to be friendly with them. You can't get information otherwise.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What would you do with it after you get it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am going to file it and find out what that organization is going to do, and I pass it on to friends to leave it alone.

Mr. DEMPSEY. To 40 people out of 140,000,000?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I will pass it on to them to leave it alone and when they get that information they certainly aren't going to pass it on.

Mr. WHITLEY. This is a copy of a letter of December 9, 1938, at Owensboro, addressed to General Moseley, a full-page typewritten letter. In the last paragraph you state:

The gentleman to wish you referred, Mr. George Deatherage, is head of the Knights of the White Camellia. We checked information from him and found

it to be in most instances subsequently correct. Only one or two discrepancies were found on some data sent from the Pacific coast, which I had checked through our friend out there who was your successor here in the fifth. More about this when I see you.

With very best wishes, I am,

Most sincerely yours,

There is nothing there that sounds unfriendly.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of that letter?

Mr. WHITLEY. December 9, 1938. That is about the period that a lot of this correspondence was exchanged.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think I have got a right to explain the situation. General Moseley had stepped into this picture and made a number of addresses, and had been criticized, and as soon as he had been criticized every anti-Semitic organization in the country hopped onto him, and after talking with two or three friends of mine, I said, "I am going to find out who is trying to get around General Moseley and advise him accordingly, and I am going to pick up the old channels."

And when Moseley wrote me that George Deatherage had been down to Atlanta to see him, and——

Mr. DEMPSEY (interposing). But in this you are recommending him.

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; I am not. I said I found some of his information substantially correct.

When you follow on through my conversation with General Moseley——

Mr. DEMPSEY (interposing). I can't do that, I wasn't present. I can only take what you write to General Moseley, and you tell him that most of the things in connection with this White Camellia you found substantially correct.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Most of his information was substantially correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. You acknowledge the fact that Deatherage and his group are notoriously anti-Semitic and Fascist?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; and I advised General Moseley to have nothing to do with him.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know whether there is any contact between Allen Zoll and George Deatherage?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; I do not; they were at the luncheon table. One came from West Virginia and one from St. Louis.

Mr. THOMAS. You said before that you didn't know Allen Zoll very well.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I said I met him one time at that luncheon at Indianapolis.

Mr. THOMAS. Gilbert told us today that you did know Allen Zoll well, and that you had a very fixed opinion of what Allen Zoll was like, and what he was doing?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I didn't like Allen Zoll at that meeting with the attack that he made before a group of men, when he came out and said that the Jews were tearing up the country.

Mr. THOMAS. And it is true that Allen Zoll is a very strong anti-Semitic?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And it is also true that Deatherage is anti-Semitic, and his organization is considered a Fascist organization, isn't that correct?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I suppose you would consider it as such.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe you testified earlier today that the sole source of your finances in connection with this project came from Mr. Gilbert.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that you didn't receive or solicit money from any other source?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I didn't solicit any funds.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you a folder captioned "G," with no further identifying data on it. It contains a copy of a letter, dated August 29, 1938, addressed to Mr. Robert Graf, 231 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.:

DEAR MR. GRAF: There is a program at Los Angeles which entails expenditure beyond our current budget that is in line with the program which I discussed with you upon my recent visit to Chicago.

The material necessary for distribution at that time, the instructions on organization, and the total expenses for the three men needed to accomplish the mission will amount to \$1,000.

I am writing to you and four other people who know this story and realize that not only public opinion but a definite program must be carried to prevent the sabotaging of our country to assure the success of this meeting.

I can assure you that no additional funds will be requested; that we have a sufficient amount available for current operations; but this is an extraordinary expenditure, therefore the request for the amount of \$200 from each of you.

Thanking you sincerely for what you might be able to do, I am,

Most sincerely yours,

J. E. CAMPBELL.

Would you call that a solicitation of funds?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; I would; that is the only letter that was written. The others were not written.

Now, we tried at that time, and we had an idea that if we could take a couple of other fellows and the C. I. O. information and go out before the American Legion national convention, that we might be able to get a resolution through on the floor condemning the C. I. O.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, your statement that you hadn't solicited funds, that you repeated a moment ago, was incorrect?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Why do you have this great business against the C. I. O. and want to have them condemned?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I was down in the Mahoning Valley, and I saw what happened there; I was up in Detroit when the General Motors strike took place. I happened to be in Milwaukee and went to Kohler, Wis., and saw what they did at his plant.

Mr. WHITLEY. In this same folder, Mr. Campbell, is a letter dated August 25, 1938, which is 4 days previous to the letter I just read, soliciting contributions. It reads:

DEAR MR. GRAF: I am enclosing a few of the reports which I discussed with you upon our recent visit together.

After you have read these carefully and analyzed them in the light of events which have been taking place, I would like to hear from you, admitting whether or not you are convinced of the coordinated program to sabotage present American institutions.

If you have seen the light, then, we will go into the situation further, and I shall be glad to explain upon my next trip not only the progress that has been made in combating it, but definite plans for continuance of the activities and what can be accomplished.

It was nice to see you the other afternoon, and I wish to thank you for your most interesting interview. I am,

Most sincerely yours,

J. E. CAMPBELL.

P. S.—This information is sent you as personal and confidential, and it is expected that you will treat it accordingly.

On the bottom of that letter, written in typewriting, you say:

Data: Prov. Visitor, Ed. Destiny., An A. N., 4/12/'37., Oct. 5, 9, 22, 26, '37. Feb. 8, '38., March 1 & April 28, '38., April 13, 24, '38., May 14, 17, 23, '38., June 22, '38., July 14, '38., Aug. 15, '38.

Those are the reports you sent?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; one is an editorial from the Providence Visitor and one from Destiny.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the reports on those dates?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is about 15 or 16 reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Not that many.

Mr. THOMAS. Who is the man you sent that to?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Robert Graf, of Chicago, 231 South LaSalle Street.

Mr. THOMAS. What was his business?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He used to be with the Standard Gas & Electric.

Mr. THOMAS. What does he do now?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He is with another company at the same address.

Mr. WHITLEY. Please mark the folder, the "G" folder as "Exhibit No. 16."

(The folder was marked as "Exhibit No. 16.")

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Felix McWhirter anti-Semitic?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he trying to spread this propaganda over the country for any purpose?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; he is not.

The CHAIRMAN. I see here a letter from Felix McWhirter dated December 12, 1938, to you:

Mr. JAMES E. CAMPBELL,
Business Engineering Associates,
Owensboro, Ky.

DEAR CAMPBELL: Yours of the 9th this morning received.

Is it true that Hull's wife is part or full-blood Semite?

What do you know of Landon's Semitic connections?

What do you know of William Allen White's Semitic connections?

Sincerely,

FELIX M. McWHIRTER.

Can you explain why he would go to the pains of writing to you to find out whether or not a man's wife was a Semite or not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't know why he wrote that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you supply him the information he asked for? Did you tell him Hull's wife was Jewish?

Mr. CAMPBELL. As far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you tell him about Landon?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. What about White?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think White was radical; I think he is because some of the articles that he has published——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). As a matter of fact you wrote to George Deatherage to get the information, didn't you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now after Mr. Felix McWhirter wrote you, asking for this information, you then in turn wrote to George Deatherage to get the information?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And you wrote to George Deatherage on December 13, 1938.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And here is the man you said you were convinced was absolutely no good and a racketeer, George Deatherage?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; I am.

The CHAIRMAN. And yet you write him to get information to send to Mr. McWhirter. Here you say:

Please give me answers if you can to the following three questions, as it is extremely important because of the source which has inquired:

1. Is it true that Hull's wife is part or full-blood Semite?
2. What do you know of Landon's Semitic connections?
3. What do you know of William Allen White's Semitic connections?

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do you think a big man would ask for any such information as that?

He is a peanut variety.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't see the letter from Deatherage back, but I notice here in a letter of November 1, 1938, when you were writing to Mr. Felix McWhirter, Indianapolis, Ind., you say:

Monday afternoon was spent with Homer. One hour of it was taken out to attend the speech of Secretary Woodring, which the Democratic central committee pulled off as a rebuttal to the cornfield conference. It was a complete flop. There were no news-reel photographers, it was not broadcast, and less than 2,500 persons present.

I covered the situation with Homer and he is coming to Indianapolis Thursday for a discussion with you. I told him of the 15,000 posts, the 435 congressional districts, the type of organization that was to be perfected therein, the necessity of infrequent public appearance until next year, the State meetings, and how this program could be controlled and developed.

Now, I did not discuss with him the cost. That is a variable factor because each one of those 435 individuals must be properly contacted to develop the State organization and to coordinate the progress that has been made to date.

In addition to the travel expense necessary, it will require more office personnel, research work, and additional equipment to get out bulletins, compiling of reports and material for editorials. So I conservatively would estimate that it would take about \$600 for the necessary equipment, and then practically \$1,000 a month for the first year; after that it would require more because we would be put to the expense of arranging for the meetings for him to address.

Who is the "him"? General Moseley?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; it is Homer Capehart. That is strictly a political issue in that letter.

The CHAIRMAN. I can see it is.

Mr. THOMAS. Who is this Capehart?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He is the one that had this cornfield conference at Washington, Ind., last August, and that letter was strictly political.

Mr. THOMAS. What State does he come from?

Mr. CAMPBELL. From Indiana.

MR. THOMAS. And you were going to have him travel all around the 435 congressional districts?

MR. CAMPBELL. Not him travel all around, they wanted my ideas on setting up assistants in trying to promote this man.

MR. THOMAS. Promote who?

MR. CAMPBELL. Capelhart, in case they wanted to run him for President.

MR. THOMAS. Who wanted to run him for President?

MR. CAMPBELL. McWhirter, and some of those people in Indianapolis, and they asked me my ideas on the thing, and I gave them to them.

MR. THOMAS. I can give you my ideas of you.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

It is my opinion that he sees the picture as we do, and will sacrifice himself, if necessary, for the welfare of the country.

I am leaving the office now for Washington and New York, and should have some extremely interesting information on this upon my return to Indianapolis next week. I suggested yesterday that he arrange a meeting for the three of us, week after next. With this advanced information, and knowing our plan, it will put you in position to deal with the situation accordingly.

May I take this opportunity of thanking you for a most enjoyable luncheon last Saturday and the privilege of being in on the dedication of your armory. Although I do most vehemently protest against having to sit and listen to a completely socialistic speech such as John Jennings made. The next time please place me in the balcony with a machine gun.

Most sincerely yours,

J. E. CAMPBELL.

That is the letter that you wrote him?

MR. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

MR. VOORHIS. Mr. William Allen White and Mr. Landon and Mr. Hull, that were mentioned in that letter, what good would it do to find out that there was a strain of Jewish blood on one side or the other of these families, what would be accomplished by that?

MR. CAMPBELL. I don't know.

MR. VOORHIS. Do you suppose that this is true, possibly, all of these men who have been mentioned, have been mentioned previously as possible candidates for President. Isn't it necessary that men like them have to be eliminated from consideration if possible? Would you say that was important to try to eliminate them from consideration?

MR. CAMPBELL. No; I wouldn't say so, to eliminate them from consideration?

MR. VOORHIS. Yes—

The CHAIRMAN. I think the letters speak for themselves.

MR. VOORHIS. I think so, too.

The CHAIRMAN. George Deatherage replied to your letter on December 14, 1938, on the letterhead of the "Knights of the White Camellia," "Established 1867":

DEAR JIM: I have your letter of the 13th and am sorry that you cannot find it possible to get here, and hope that on the Generals return the financial end will be taken care of in such a way that there will be something for your expenses. Rest assured that I will impress upon him that you should get here as soon as possible—and before we make the final plans for organization.

Please rest assured that our time is coming and that within the next 12 months, those that have borne the heart-breaking load of carrying on the fight—will come into their own. That sacrifice will not have been in vain—when the

crisis reaches its climax—and the Nation knows the facts. You may rest assured that the General will take care of that.

Who is the "General" that he is talking about, Moseley?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I assume so; yes.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

as you know him. He has already expressed to me that this must be the case—for he is now realizing a little of what a number of people have gone through and have sacrificed for the cause.

When I arrived, I found him with the idea that all these outfits that we know so well, were O. K.—and good Americans. I hated to disillusion him, but it had to be done. Fellows like Major Pease, who is now in Florida—

He is also disseminating anti-Semitic literature?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I have seen some of his literature.

The CHAIRMAN. Quite a bit of jealousy exists between Pease and these men engaged in this business?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Apparently.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

Gwiner of Atlanta, Mrs. Fry, and others who cannot be trusted, were active in attempting to get him swung into line. When he saw for himself what Gwiner here in Atlanta was trying to do—he began to wake up.

You are right in that no man close to him must come with other than clean hands—and that he must be ready to lay down his life if that is required without hesitation. It is our job to see to it that this fact is turned into reality—for one slip on his part, or ours, and we would be sunk.

The realization of this has caused the general to take it a little easy for a start—until he got his feet thoroughly under him. He thought as I did at the start, that this great America would rise up in their wrath and wipe this bunch off the face of the earth—

Don't you think that is dangerous stuff?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; that letter wasn't passed on, or anything else.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

when they knew part of the truth. Alas—he finds that there are skunks every place and that the enemy procedure is that of the oriental—sly, cunning, and crooked as hell.

However, he will decide on his return, just what procedure he will follow, and the plan now as he sees it, is to start a little G. H. Q. in Atlanta—

What is "G. H. Q."?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is general headquarters in the army.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing).

where we will map the enemy—our friends, consolidate with us those that we know are right, and prepare the plans for the campaign.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Go on and read the letter because I went into this thing to find out something.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing).

This—realizing that the situation is not yet where we can enlist the mass support of reaction. Many people are starting to react, but the main idea now is to build the framework of campaign, this army, and secure and qualify the leadership.

You didn't send this out, did you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; I didn't.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is a revolutionary letter which you didn't send out, but you were sending out revolutionary letters?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well—

The CHAIRMAN (continuing).

The mass reaction will follow the leader when they are hurt bad enough. Now, we must have State and county leaders all over the Nation that we know without a shadow of a doubt, are men that will stick under any kind of fire.

That is a job in itself, and a thing in which you can be of a great deal of help. Of course, the general must be careful in dealing with men of the R. O. A.

What is that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Didn't I tell you he tried to penetrate us before when I was chairman of that committee?

The CHAIRMAN (continuing).

or any outfit that is still in active service—for if he did, the accusation would be made at once that he was building up a Fascist army. We must deal with persons in a civilian status. I would much prefer, and I think that you will agree, that the leadership should be officers who have seen active service, for generally speaking they are men who hold decent positions in society, are more apt to be true, and are trained in the work that we must eventually do.

I feel sure that if these men, many of whom you and I know, were appraised of the situation, they would resign their commissions and enlist with us for this American-Jewish war, for that is all that it is—a war fought with money and propaganda instead of rifles. Of course that business of resigning cannot be suggested by the general—but it might be done through other sources which you have contact.

You will note from the generals' speech, a copy of which was sent you, that the plan is to do this job peacefully, and by force if that becomes necessary. He will go through if it takes everything that he has. He does not yet quite realize the tremendous forces that are against him, but, after his speech in New York on the same platform with Father Coughlin, he will be attacked from every quarter, this alone showing him the strength of the enemy.

I suggest to you that in your spare time, you make a list of leaders in the Nation that you are sure of, that this might be presented to the general when the time is ripe. I will do the same, and between the three of us we can decide on them. I am sure that he will not select them until we have a chance to put the old G-2 on them.

What is the "old G-2," the old intelligence?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

Right after the first of the year it is intention to call a small conference, say about 25, in some place as Chicago, quietly, and discuss the matter of what we are going to do about this thing. These will not be the organization leaders, but leaders of the main groups throughout the Nation—Father Coughlin, Winrod, Lodge Curran, John Fry, of the A. F. L., Homer Chaillaux, of the Legion, as well as other veteran leaders; Taber, of the Grange; Garrison, of the Associated Farmers—in all, men who are heads of large groups on our side of the fence. Out of that will come only a program—the rest we will do on the basis of what the general thinks can be done at the moment. Then he will get the temper of these men. In my opinion, he will find most of them pussyfooting the issue, and that it will end in his having to take the bull by the horns, and go to town on his own. However, you could not convince him of that now—he will have to go through with it himself.

I will send you the list when it is decided on, so that you can tell him what you know about each one—qualifying them as far as we can before they are brought in.

Did he ever send you that list?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). "About your G-2 reports"—that is the reports you are sending out?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Awhile ago you stated the G-2 reports mean the reports you were getting from Gilbert.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Any reports I get I refer to as G-2 reports.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

About your G-2 reports. I necessarily do not wish to know your source, but if we are to act on that information, we must be certain for the general's sake that we are right and do not slip. If you are absolutely certain that none of this is rumor—that he is safe on proceeding on that information, that is all that we need to know. You realize what would happen to our standing if we went ahead and then found that we were barking up the wrong tree.

Don't you regard these things as treasonable utterances?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Absolutely; and that is why I took the pains to go back behind this man.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Isn't he referring to the very reports you were getting from Gilbert?

Mr. CAMPBELL. When this fellow made contact with me again—

Mr. DEMPSEY (interposing). I don't care anything about that; isn't he referring right in that letter to the reports from Gilbert?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; he never received but one report I had, and that wasn't from Gilbert; that was a report I had on the Nazi activity in this country.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What is he referring to?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Some report on some Nazi activity and C. I. O.

Mr. THOMAS. He says "reports."

Mr. CAMPBELL. On the C. I. O. and the Mahoning Valley situation that I had sent him.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, on December 9, 1938, you yourself had written to General Moseley, telling him that Deatherage was all right?

Mr. CAMPBELL. All right; previous to this thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; on December 9 you said that you had checked him and found him to be in most instances subsequently correct. You were talking about Deatherage?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. To General Moseley?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Then here comes a letter from Deatherage to you containing this information.

Mr. CAMPBELL. On December 12, isn't it?

The CHAIRMAN. No; December 14.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I didn't have that letter and was trying to get back under this man and to try to find out what this man was doing and planning.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Should you have recommended him to Moseley?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I didn't.

Mr. WHITLEY. You had known him for 60 days back in 1936?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; I knew he was wrong then; I didn't know what he was doing now.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's go on.

It would discredit the general nationally and ruin us as well. Facts should be established as facts; and if rumors, we should qualify them as such, stating that they need confirmation. In the past it did not make a great deal of difference; now it may be life or death to the movement and possibly the people in it.

We are interested in this fellow Dies, for instance. I believe that he is wrong, for he is attempting the old smear—refusing to give me a chance on the stand, or anyone else that he feels will bring this thing out in the open. We need to get him and get him right.

Any information that you have—send it direct to the general, and if he feels that he wants to show it to me, he will do so.

Mike will not be in the picture. He cannot be trusted in this work, for he is the type of an Irishman that would do most anything for money. No soap as far as I am concerned. Kelly is taking an active part in New York and is hooked up with a half-dozen outfits. I wish you would confirm to the general, what you know about him. Major G in Huntington has already done so. We must not let that fellow near him as I see it.

Regarding your questions. It is true that Hull's wife is Jewish, and that she has a family connection with Kuhn, Loeb. I have her record at home.

I do not know anything much of Landon's connections except in a general way—that he and the Jews combined to lick Winrod, and that he is out. M has no use for him.

Don't know anything about White intimately, except that he is a pal of the Jews and is thoroughly wrong. Winrod can tell us in detail about both of them.

I believe as you do that it will take military action to get this gang out and the organization must be built around a propaganda organization now that can in a few hours be turned into a militant fighting force. That's the idea of the boss also, but must be kept on the Q. T.

As far as the program is concerned, that is something else. We do not need fascism or nazi-ism, that is true, but to my mind we will have fascism, call it what you may, for there can be no solution to this except a disciplined force under central leadership, and an economic program that will put these millions back to work and keep them there.

If we start a program that says that we are going back to constitutional principles, and ignoring the economic plight of the Nation, we have not licked it. This is a social revolution, just as much as the revolution against slavery or from the feudal age to the industrial. I do not think that we can create a program under constitutional framework—but there never will be a return to the old robber-baron days of predatory capitalism. We have got to make the system work, and do away with unemployment and suffering, or give in to some other system. What will make it work? That's the fly in the ointment. If we are forced to take disciplined action, under central leadership, to whip this gang, and we will get no place except with unit and disciplined leadership, plus a politico-economic program that will feed and clothe the masses, that is fascism, call it what you will.

Today, we have hundreds of thousands of families concentrated in a great city, dependent on wages. If the wages stop these hundreds of thousands, as they are now, stop eating and paying their bills. They cannot grow anything, they do not own the roof over their heads, they are a burden on government. People in the smaller rural communities can raise food, they can get along better in many ways. Certainly we must either supply them with a living, if they are not put in a position to make it by their own effort.

We must have a program that will appeal to the people and give them a fair crack at a living. If we do not do this, the problem still confronts us as unsolved. If the present spending continues we will have by 1940 a national debt of about \$75,000,000,000—which never can be paid. Irrespective of how we think or what we want to do in this matter, we are faced with economic break-down which will release the passions of the multitude and demand solution. If we don't have what we think is a solution, someone else will put it over. That issue must be primarily the point for discussion at Chicago. What are we going to do about it

It is no use to raise the issue that private property is to be inviolate—if private property is to be destroyed by economic break-down and depreciation of currency. As in Germany private property was destroyed; there was no such thing.

I have in mind what the solution is, but others will differ. It is sufficient to say at the moment, that we cannot, so it seems to me, lick this thing in a permanent way unless we make the system work, either by a return to old ideas or by revamping them. People cannot eat ideas and ideals.

As soon as we know how the finances are, and that should be soon, I shall let you know what I think can be done. Most certainly I should like to see you actively in the fight; in a position that will make up for what you have gone through in the work, and the sacrifices that you have made. There is a place at the top in this thing, for the men who formed the backbone of it, and there is no logical reason why they shall not have it. In my mind, in

this work, a man's position is established by the amount he has personally sacrificed and not by lip service.

Rest assured that I will keep in touch with you and, if I have anything to do with it, see that you are given a chance to come in the inner circle.

As far as I am concerned, only men who have proven themselves can be of that circle. That goes for me as well as anyone else. If you have any doubts of my honesty or sincerity, it is your bounden duty to write the general and tell him about it.

You had already written the general that you were satisfied he was all right?

MR. CAMPBELL. Wait a minute, I will answer that question in one way. The general never attended any conferences or never went on the platform with Father Coughlin, and I take credit for stopping the whole thing.

MR. DEMPSEY. You thought pretty well of Coughlin when you were sending his speeches out?

MR. CAMPBELL. I think he is all right but I didn't think Moseley had any business appearing on the platform with him.

MR. DEMPSEY. They were doing the same kind of work, weren't they?

MR. CAMPBELL. At that time General Moseley had never mentioned a Jew in his speech.

MR. DEMPSEY. What about now?

MR. CAMPBELL. He has now.

MR. DEMPSEY. What is the difference between the two of them now in the propaganda speeches they are making?

MR. CAMPBELL. Read the letter that General Moseley received.

MR. DEMPSEY. I am not asking you that; I mean what is the difference between the approach of Father Coughlin and General Moseley?

MR. CAMPBELL. General Moseley is trying to name individuals engaged in subversive activities.

MR. DEMPSEY. What is Father Coughlin doing?

MR. CAMPBELL. I think he is trying to include the entire race.

MR. WHITLEY. Do you think his stuff is general or not authentic?

MR. CAMPBELL. No; because I think he has offered his sources of information.

MR. WHITLEY. Offered to whom?

MR. CAMPBELL. He has given them in his publications.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

All I ask is that that what is presented are facts and not rumors. The time is here to lay the cards on the table—face up—and let the devil take the hindmost.

I shall be here until about next Monday when I shall go to West Virginia for the holidays. I can be reached there at box 467, St. Albans, and my telegraphic address is College Hill, St. Albans. Telephone St. Albans 691. In your letters and in mine hereafter let us refer to the general as the boss in case that Mr. Farley is interested.

My best to you, with a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Cordially,

GEORGE.

Will let you know when I come back to Atlanta and my address at that time. For the moment let us keep this correspondence on details confidential between us, not that we are doing anything that the general would not approve, but we have to educate him as to what this is all about without his getting the idea that we are trying to influence him. We will have to direct him in a way which is not obviously trying to control him. He has been in the Army so long that he has his own definite ideas, that will have to be allowed for. I see

now that we cannot give him all this in one dose without unsettling him. We do not want to force more food on a man that is already upset with indigestion.

What is he speaking of, mental indigestion?

Mr. WHITLEY. I have one or two questions about Father Coughlin. Do you consider or recognize him as being anti-Semitic?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Racially; no.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you consider that he is generally, he and his group and organization, considered a Fascist group?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. With Fascist tendencies?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; not from what I have read in his speeches.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have a great deal of confidence in his speeches?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; for this reason, in his public speeches he gives the source of the information which he is using.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever check that source?

Mr. CAMPBELL. It has never been discredited.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have here a folder captioned as "Col. Edward J. Quinn," containing a letter dated December 9, 1938, addressed by you to Col. Edward J. Quinn, 48 Winter Street, Portland, Maine:

DEAR COLONEL QUINN: Enclosed is another report. The press, motion picture, and radio should be your medium of checking the accuracy of these reports. I believe the evidence which Commander Chadwick will present to the Dies committee will bring out some of this in part.

May I suggest that you tune in at 3 p. m., central standard time, each Sunday afternoon and get Father Coughlin's speech on the current situation. I know definitely that the information which he is putting out is correct, as I have seen some of the official documents which he is citing in his speeches. You may pass the word along, as it also verifies some of the reports which you have received.

Shortly after the first of the year I am going on another 2 weeks' mission and at that time I expect to be prepared to send you a glossary, referring to names and places as abbreviated in some of the reports which you have received.

If you have noticed, Congressman Dies is not allowed on radio stations WEAJ, WJZ, WOR, WMCA, WHW, WABC. Do you remember in one of the reports when Sir William said, "We control radio."

Sincerely yours,

J. E. CAMPBELL.

Mr. WHITLEY. I would like to have this marked for the record.

(The document was marked "Exhibit No. 17.")

Mr. WHITLEY. This pile of correspondence came out of your files and represents, I believe, practically entirely correspondence between you and Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that correct?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You identify that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And this material came out of your files and represents copies, typewritten or mimeographed, of various reports which you have sent out; is that correct?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you identify those as such?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Only one other thing: I want you to explain this

telegram, dated New York, August 14, 1937, to J. E. Campbell:

[Telegram]

NEW YORK, N. Y., *August 14, 1937.*

J. E. CAMPBELL:

Your Long Island friend has sold you out completely to Snow. He had your Penn contacts Pew and Weir. She gave George your harmony letter; even your Ohio plan has been duplicated by them. Sent letter to Indiana address explaining in full.

DUDLEY.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who is that, Dudley Gilbert?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What does that telegram refer to?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is "Snow" instead of "Show." That is some people that we know that was down in Pennsylvania that I had contacted while chairman of the subversive activities committee. This is clear back in 1937 right after, a short time after, I met Mr. Gilbert—I mean when we had begun to work together in that summer, and I don't know who this particular friend he refers to at that time is.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who is "Pew" referred to there, and who is "Weir"?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That must have been J. Howard Pew that I wanted to see and didn't get to see him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who is Weir?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Of the Weirton Steel.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is on one of your lists?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you claimed that you didn't see him or send a report to him?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't see either one of those?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; I do not know them and never sent them any reports.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have here a bunch of special delivery, air mail letters, addressed to you by Mr. Gilbert, at Montgomery, Ala.; Denver, Colo.; San Francisco and Los Angeles, Calif.; Seattle, Wash., and so forth. Apparently you have traveled extensively in connection with your work.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. In the spreading of these report?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That was on a trip I made about a little over a year ago, and when I went out to see these boys personally, and we talked American Nationalists, and I met some of these other fellows.

Mr. WHITLEY. Gilbert was financing all this?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

(Off the record discussion.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand in recess until 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 6:25 p. m., the committee recessed until 9 a. m., May 19, 1939.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

MONDAY, MAY 22, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10:30 a. m. in the caucus room, Old House Office Building, Congressman Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present: Congressman Dies (chairman), Noah M. Mason, J. Parnell Thomas, H. Jerry Voorhis, and Arthur D. Healey.

Also present: Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

May we have quiet? There are a few preliminary remarks that the chairman wishes to make. In the first place, the witnesses will answer the questions that are asked them and not volunteer information. All answers will be responsive to the questions asked by the attorney for the committee. In the event any witness volunteers any information or undertakes to bring in someone's name that is not in response to the questions asked, that answer will be stricken from the record and will not be a privileged communication. I say that for the benefit of the press, because it is the purpose of the committee that the people concerning whom we do not have credible evidence will not have their names dragged in in the course of the hearings, and in the event some witnesses undertakes to do so that will be stricken from the record; and, of course, it won't be privileged in any sense.

I also want to say that we want to be absolutely fair to every witness. Of course, it is not always possible for a witness to answer a question "Yes" or "No." In the event a witness has a proper explanation to make in connection with his answer, he can so state that fact and the explanation will be permitted, in the event that the explanation is pertinent to the matter asked him and relevant. But we are not going to tolerate any volunteer statements on the part of any witness.

We also expect those spectators who are present to be orderly, so that we can conduct this hearing with proper decorum and undertake to get at the truth of the matter under inquiry.

Witness GILBERT. Mr. Chairman, as a point of information, suppose it was necessary for me to mention the name of a man—otherwise the thing wouldn't make any sense—am I not to mention his name?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is a matter that we can determine as we go along. There is no disposition to suppress the truth in this inquiry—we don't care who is involved; it is our purpose to do our duty

fearlessly, regardless of any question of partisanship or any question of politics or anything else; what we want to know is the truth. Of course, we don't want hearsay and mere rumors and some conclusion of some witness that isn't absolutely supported by his personal knowledge brought in, because, manifestly, that would enable such names to be publicized throughout the country and would do them great harm.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But that is a matter that we can determine as we go along. We will ask you, however, to make your answers responsive to the questions asked.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then if you do have an explanation in connection with some question—

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). With your permission I can then make it?

The CHAIRMAN. You state it, because we have no disposition to be unfair to any witness. This is not any third-degree proposition. What we want to know is the truth with reference to it.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that we may just as well proceed, Mr. Whitley.

ADDITIONAL TESTIMONY OF DUDLEY PIERREPONT GILBERT

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Gilbert, at the time of my examination of you in New York, last week, and also during your testimony before the committee on Thursday, this past Thursday, you stated that you organized and formed in New York in 1935 an organization known as the American Nationalists, i-s-t-s, Inc.?

Mr. GILBERT. That is quite correct, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. That organization was not successful, you could not spread the information and the type of propaganda you wanted to put out through the press, publicly, so that organization to all intents and purposes went out of existence the early part of 1937, is that correct?

Mr. GILBERT. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a second. I wonder if we may get through with whatever preliminary matters that there are, so that we can have quiet and order. We can't hear the witness.

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Chairman, may I object to one word in that question, the "propaganda?" We didn't attempt to propaganda people; we tried to show them the truth.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the American Nationalists, Inc., has not existed, has not operated, in any manner or any way, according to your previous testimony, since early in 1937?

Mr. GILBERT. We tried to continue, but without success. There may be around the country a few people that have charters of the thing, but we never got anywhere with it. We got no financial support. We haven't been able to go places at all. We have really got nothing left but Mr. Campbell and those 40 men.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, it has gone out of existence; it is not operative and hasn't been operative since 1937?

Mr. GILBERT. It has not been active. It is in existence still, but it hasn't been very active.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say it is still in existence?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir. I told you that the other day.

Mr. WHITLEY. You told me that you still had the charter but you merely kept that in order that someone else would not use the name.

Mr. GILBERT. That is quite true. In reply to another question of yours, I also told you that Campbell and I alone were trying to carry on the work of this thing in a new way through these 40 men, but were not very successful.

Mr. WHITLEY. May I show you for identification, Mr. Gilbert, a letter dated May 5—

Mr. GILBERT. Do you mind if I read it, so—

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing). Addressed by you to Mr. Campbell. (Remarks off the record.)

Mr. WHITLEY. In this letter, Mr. Gilbert, you are writing Mr. Campbell about an individual who has been in contact with you, apparently talking to you, about your work and Mr. Campbell's work.

Mr. GILBERT. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are more or less giving an appraisal of that individual to Campbell.

Mr. GILBERT. That is quite correct, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. On the first page of that letter you state: "Anybody you introduce him to should be posted. He must know nothing about A. N."

Mr. GILBERT. That is our committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does that "A. N." refer to the American Nationalists, Inc.?

Mr. GILBERT. That is what we call the committee; "A. N." is a nickname for the committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. For the committee?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. What committee?

Mr. GILBERT. These 40 men. If we used the whole letters of the whole Nationalist thing, it would be "A. N. I."; we use the "A. N." for short.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. That doesn't refer, then, to the defunct organization, American Nationalists?

Mr. GILBERT. It only refers to the name that we had in common use.

Mr. WHITLEY. That doesn't indicate that the old organization is still in existence, sub rosa?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir. I would like to find it, if it is.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you for identification, Mr. Gilbert, pages 5 and 6 and 7 of a letter addressed by you to Mr. Campbell.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir. Have you any date—idea what date that was written?

Mr. WHITLEY. The first folder of that letter was missing. It was in Mr. Campbell's files.

Mr. GILBERT. That must have been way, way back.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that your handwriting?

Mr. GILBERT. That is my handwriting. I should say it was way back, a few months after I first met Campbell, because we didn't make any attempt to raise funds after that. That was the time he thought he could raise some money from different people in the business world—he found he couldn't.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do identify this as your letter?

Mr. GILBERT. I most certainly do.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading from this letter, Mr. Gilbert, the fourth paragraph on page 5, you say: "Brown helping Northrup, Ind., Aircraft Workers Union. Information on these men would gain members for us, he says, among aircraft workers."

Mr. GILBERT. That was in the very first when we were still trying to run an organization. Brown was the man alleged to be a member of the Los Angeles police department, who later dropped out of sight in that we broke off negotiations with him. I do not know whether that is his real name or not, but that is the name we knew him under by correspondence.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. But that paragraph does refer to members for the American Nationalists, Inc.?

Mr. GILBERT. We were trying at that time to get members and get money, both.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. And that was subsequent to the time the American Nationalists, Inc., was supposed to have gone out of existence?

Mr. GILBERT. I believe Mr. Campbell has told you, we tried for a few months to go along, and found we didn't get anywhere, and resorted to this committee method.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading from page 6 of the same letter, postscript, "As soon as State organizations get large enough they must support a man like Mike's man, traveling through the State all the time." That refers to State organizations—does that mean State organizations of the American Nationalists, Inc.?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; we had a set-up planned to set up an organization we were getting together, and naturally would have a man traveling around doing that.

Mr. WHITLEY. And this again was subsequent to the time you closed the office of American Nationalists in New York and to all intents and purposes stopped operating?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir. We were trying to start something new, and weren't able to do it at that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say that State organizations when they get large enough "must support a man like Mike's man"—who is "Mike's man"?

Mr. GILBERT. That was some friend of Campbell who had a man he thought would be a good organizer, if we had the money to employ him to travel around the State, see, like Virginia or Texas or something—it is used by all organizations that are trying for membership. When you have got the money, you hire an organizer, whether it is a trade union or fraternal society, to go out and get members for you. We didn't have the money to hire such a man.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, according to this statement which you made in your letter to Campbell, although the American Nationalists, Inc., to all intents and purposes was out of existence, you

were trying to build an organization large enough in each State to have a full-time organizer?

Mr. GILBERT. That is right, and then we were going to try to bring them into the American Nationalists afterward, and they were to be organized under different names, I believe, in different States. Then they would come in, unite them all in one big movement. The idea, I think, was a good one.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, your program was not to have a very small or limited organization; you wanted a Nation-wide, highly organized organization?

Mr. GILBERT. We wanted a 3,000,000 membership.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you for identification, Mr. Gilbert, letter dated October 1, 1937, addressed by you to Mr. Campbell.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is your letter?

Mr. GILBERT. That most assuredly is.

Mr. WHITLEY. On page 2 of this letter, Mr. Gilbert—the letter being more or less a discussion of plans and activities—you state as follows: “Suppose new charters will be soon needed.” Does that refer to charters of the American Nationalists, Inc.?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; we thought we were getting enough interest at that time that I would have to have some new charters. I had a lot of old things that I had in my closet up there; I may still have some of them—and I was hoping that he was progressing far enough so that these different groups could be brought in and we really would be going places. He was writing me most enthusiastic letters at that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is with reference to this Nation-wide organization you were trying to build up through them?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes. He was giving me a very rosy picture.

Mr. WHITLEY. This letter was written October 1, 1937, which is approximately 8 or 9 months after the time the office of the American Nationalists, Inc., was closed in New York and to all intents and purposes went out of existence?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; but it was also about 5 or 6 months after I met Campbell again and started this other thing, as I told you.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you for identification, Mr. Gilbert, undated letter addressed to Mr. Campbell, and ask you if that is your letter?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir. That refers to the 40 men that we were sending the information out through for propaganda purposes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You refer to the 40 men. That is not in keeping with the indications in that previous correspondence of your ambitions and efforts to build up a Nation-wide organization, is it?

Mr. GILBERT. It wasn't a question of my ambitions. We had to face facts. What we had we had to use, whether we had 4 or 4,000,000.

Mr. WHITLEY. In this particular letter to Mr. Campbell you state in the second paragraph, “The A. N. chief accomplishments in 1938 so far”—are you referring to the American Nationalists, Inc.?

Mr. GILBERT. I was referring to the 40 men.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of course, this letter to Mr. Campbell was written after the office of the American Nationalists was closed.

Mr. GILBERT. That is right, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Because you didn't start operating with him until you had closed that office.

Mr. GILBERT. That is quite right, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And, to all intents and purposes, discontinued that activity.

Mr. GILBERT. That is right. The office was closed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Further down in this letter, Mr. Gilbert, you state also—this is by way of relating the accomplishments of the A. N. during this period, 1938—"Also we fought *Panay* war scare and through Pat got Coughlin to talk against it on the radio." Who is the "Pat" referred to there?

Mr. GILBERT. "Pat" is a man who has no connection with our organization. He is an editor of a Catholic newspaper in Brooklyn, Mr. Scanlon, of the Brooklyn Tablet. We asked him to use his influence with Coughlin to fight an attempt that we thought was to try to get the United States into a war with Japan at that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. The "Coughlin" referred to is Father Coughlin?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir. I have never met him.

Mr. WHITLEY. And your organization—or, rather, you and Mr. Campbell—were at least indirectly furnishing information to him to be disseminated?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir; we were not. It was only just that one case, where we asked a personal friend of his and of ours to try to get him to do something to fight it. We did not furnish him any information.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the only instance on which that happened?

Mr. GILBERT. There may have been one or two others—I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, Mr. Gilbert, instead of the American Nationalists, Inc., ceasing to exist and going out of business in the early part of 1937, it merely went through the motions of doing that, and continued as a sub rosa organization, and the work of that group is still being carried on today by you and Mr. Campbell—is that correct?

Mr. GILBERT. That isn't altogether a fair question; if you consider 40 men trying to do a work without an organization set-up as a continuation of a defunct organization, you are right. Otherwise, the answer is "No."

Mr. WHITLEY. But you are still carrying on the work of that organization under the original charter which you had?

Mr. GILBERT. I am not using that charter. That is in somebody's office files.

Mr. WHITLEY. But the organization is still legally in existence, although you deny that existence or its operation?

Mr. GILBERT. It is not operating. These 40 men never have probably heard of the organization, most of them. I only know they are friends of Campbell, working through him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Gilbert, at the time I interviewed you in New York and at the time of your examination before the committee on Thursday last you denied, responsive to questioning, any Nazi or Fascist sympathies or leanings.

Mr. GILBERT. I most assuredly do, and I say so again.

The CHAIRMAN. If I may ask, have you always been opposed to nazi-ism and fascism?

Mr. GILBERT. I have always been opposed to any un-American movement, whether it came from the extreme left or the extreme right.

The CHAIRMAN. That isn't answering my question. Have you always been opposed to nazi-ism and fascism?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have never had any change of heart?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir; I have never had any change of heart.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. That is what I want to know.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you denied any such sympathies or leanings to me at the time of the interview in New York?

Mr. GILBERT. That is quite right; and I still do.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading from letter dated August 19, 1937, Mr. Gilbert, which was addressed by you to Mr. Campbell, regarding the work of your organization, page 5, as follows: "Keep up your courage. Remember those who are finally successful always suffer much before victory. You and I are no exception to that rule. Mussolini was insulted, stoned, and driven from town to town. He and his family suffered much for lack of money. Hitler was jailed and persecuted for years. It is that very persecution that tries men's souls. It is that very suffering that has welded together the strong type of men that have led nazi-ism to victory in other countries. The same will be so here. We must win; we will win, because America must live and the Stars and Stripes must wave over every foot of North America from the Panama Canal to the Arctic Circle. Such is our future. You and I are destined to lead America to that greatness. Otherwise we would long ago have been crushed. Long live nationalist America! Let us fight harder than ever." Signed "Dudley," dated August 19, 1937.

Mr. GILBERT. I wrote that.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you that. You identify the letter?

Mr. GILBERT. I admit I wrote that. That still isn't nazi-ism or fascism. You can love your own country and be an American nationalist without picking out anything from Europe. The mere fact I pointed to other people who had accomplished things in other countries and had been successful in spite of opposition was merely to show if people could do it for a movement of that kind we could do far more with our type of movement.

Mr. WHITLEY. What did you mean by the statement that one of the ambitions of your organization was to see the American flag fly over North America from the Panama Canal to the Arctic Circle?

Mr. GILBERT. I have made that statement openly in speeches in the past. I believe that some day it will happen, as a necessity.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is the acquisition of territory part of the program of your organization?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir. That was merely suggesting and speaking like you would on the Fourth of July on the future of America. I believe that will have to come some day, otherwise we will have Germans to the north of us and Japs to the south of us.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. Why did you express admiration for Mussolini and Hitler, their ideals, and their accomplishments—

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). I didn't—

Mr. WHITLEY. Let me finish my question, Mr. Gilbert—and more or less, from the wording of that letter, why you were holding them up as ideals for yourself and Mr. Campbell.

Mr. GILBERT. May I answer?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. GILBERT. I am not holding them up as ideals. I was just trying to illustrate to him what men could do and had done in other countries, for a less good cause—the point that we who had much more merit than they had should be able to do as well, if not better.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Gilbert, are you related by blood or by marriage to Mr. Frederick W. von Meister?

Mr. GILBERT. He married a distant cousin of my wife's. I saw him exactly once, at his wedding. I was one of a thousand people there—never saw him before or after.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what his official position with, or connection with, the German Government is?

Mr. GILBERT. I do not know, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he is vice president of the Osilad Corporation and the American Zeppelin Transport, Inc.?

Mr. GILBERT. I do not know, sir. I know nothing about his business. I got an invitation to attend the wedding. He married a distant cousin or relative of my wife. And we went to the wedding and went to the reception, and I shook hands with him, I think, on the line, and congratulated him on his marriage, and that is all I know about the gentleman. I would hardly know him if I saw him in the street.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he the F. Willy von Meister—

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). I wouldn't know, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Just a minute, let me finish the question—who has been extremely active on the behalf of the German Government in its efforts to secure helium from the United States?

Mr. GILBERT. I wouldn't know, sir, that question.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he is the F. Willy von Meister who is referred to in the Congressional Record of May 5, 1938, page 1864, appendix, volume 83, part 10?

Mr. GILBERT. I do not.

Mr. WHITLEY. That particular portion of the Record constitutes two letters from Congressman Emanuel Celler, dated May 6, 1938, which were addressed to the Secretary of War and to the Secretary of the Navy, and in those letters Congressman Celler states as follows:

I noticed a statement in the press recently, eliding Secretary Ickes for not acting according to the Golden Rule with the German Government, in which the assertion was made that the writer had been introduced to Dr. Eckener in the Navy Department by Mr. F. Willy von Meister, his representative—

and you don't know whether that is the F. W. von Meister that your cousin, second cousin married?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't know. As a matter of fact, I don't even know Meister's first name. I wasn't sure who you were talking about when you told me.

Mr. WHITLEY. (Continuing the reading of this letter, which is in the Congressional Record:)

I would like to know if this Mr. von Meister is a commissioned officer or a civilian employee of the Navy Department. If not, is he by any chance the Mr. F. W. von Meister referred to in an article in *The Nation* of June 5, 1937, entitled, "What are the American Nazis Doing?", and in which the following statement appeared: "The center for German technical intelligence has been reorganized. The old—

I can't pronounce the German name:

"T-e-c-h-n-i-s-c-h-e-r Verein" is the formal screen. The leader of the New York Gestapo (German Secret State Police), Ernst Krause Wichmann, re-

placed Rudolph Wildermann, who was considered inefficient, with the Nazi-trained Rudolph Pickenbrock. Mr. Pickenbrock is responsible for conveying technical information to Dr. Matschoss, of the German Engineers Club, in Berlin. F. Willy von Meister of the New York office of the Deutsche Zeppelin Rhaderie, is still in charge of all technical intelligence and was recently reconfirmed in the office. Besides, he is an official liaison man for the Nazi party with the most important American industrial and commercial institutions.

You don't know about that?

Mr. GILBERT. I know nothing about that man. I can't honestly tell you anything. I don't know anything about him. I know nothing about him—more than I would some of the gentleman of the press here.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. Reading further from the same letter:

And is he the same Mr. F. W. von Meister, who, I am informed, makes the affidavit in support of the application of the German Government for the support of this quantity of helium, and whose unsupported statement that it is not of military importance was the sole evidence before the Munitions Control Board at the time the allotment was approved?

Mr. GILBERT. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Before we leave this letter of August 20, 1937—I believe that is the date—may I ask you what you mean by this paragraph—

Mr. GILBERT. May I ask what year that was?

The CHAIRMAN. This is 1937.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter in which you talk about Mussolini and Hitler.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You use this—you say, "U. Z. also told me." Who is "U. Z."?

Mr. GILBERT. She is a woman we know by the name of Mrs. Uzell out in Long Island—claimed to be somewhat connected with Army intelligence. I don't believe she is. We afterward had nothing to do with her.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

U. Z. also told me last week every Yiddish paper carried a full story of George's convention.

What George; George Deatherage?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

And a complete list of all persons accepting invitations to it. She stopped her foreign friend when he said Fritz—

who do you mean, "foreign friend" and "Fritz"?

Mr. GILBERT. Mrs. Uzell asked us to come to an office that she had on Forty-second Street, I believe, is run as a—her husband is in the amusement business, furnishes things for amusement parks—and I was taken in there one afternoon, or came to see her, and she had a number of strange people in there, and when I got out on the sidewalk my reaction was that these people were connected to some foreign government or another, and I wrote Campbell, probably another letter in addition to that one, if you have it, to warn him to have nothing to do with these people, I thought they were a peculiar outfit and I thought they were trying to, say, frame us.

The CHAIRMAN. You meant by "Fritz," Fritz Kuhn, didn't you?

Mr. GILBERT. No; I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Who?

Mr. GILBERT. She had a fellow in there by that name from New Jersey, who she claimed was a Dane.

The CHAIRMAN. What was his last name?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't know. That is all she called him by. He had a long-winded foreign name and I couldn't get it, and I knew that Campbell had seen him at one time, too.

The CHAIRMAN. You are sure that wasn't Fritz Kuhn?

Mr. GILBERT. It most certainly was not. I have never met that man in my life, and don't want to meet him.

The CHAIRMAN. "When he said Fritz would not last as there are always men in good positions ready to unseat him," and you have underscoring "good positions ready to unseat him." What did you mean by that?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. You can't explain that?

Mr. GILBERT. That is so long ago, I can't.

The CHAIRMAN. "Or any other man who makes a wrong move." What do you mean by "wrong move"?

Mr. GILBERT. I wouldn't know. You are taking something out of its context 2 years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. All right—

She also told me that Dineen you met with Inspector Kerr or Eakir was the man who wrote all the unpleasant magazine articles on Fritz and his organization.

Now, what did you mean by "Fritz and his organization"?

Mr. GILBERT. That particular case I meant another Fritz.

The CHAIRMAN. What Fritz did you mean?

Mr. GILBERT. I did mean him that time. But I didn't mean him before.

The CHAIRMAN. But you did mean him the second time?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you say that he wrote all the unpleasant magazine articles on Fritz and his organization?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the criticism of Fritz Kuhn and his organization was unpleasant?

Mr. GILBERT. I mean an article that was written about that organization was unpleasant for them, and I did not want the same man coming over to us and trying to tie us with him. We wanted no part—we thought he was one of these people trying to tie every anti-communist movement on the tail of the Nazi kite—and we wanted no part of it.

The CHAIRMAN. You weren't doing this for political purposes?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe you testified before the committee you were a Democrat?

Mr. GILBERT. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you mean by this: "U. Z.'s son also told me that Snow"—what Snow is that you are speaking of?

Mr. GILBERT. I am speaking of John Snow.

The CHAIRMAN. "Was building up a Nation-wide chain of Republican clubs for 1940 with the aid of the Crusaders. Several of T-a-k-u-a-r-d-i-a"—what is that? "Several of T-a-q-u-a-r"—no. "Several of LaGuardia's men I learned afterwards are helping him, including Jews, and deputy police commissioner McDonald"—what did you mean by this Nation-wide organization that was being built up by Snow?

Mr. GILBERT. Mrs. Uzell's son told me about this organization, and, whereas we were not in politics, I thought Campbell should know about it. It was a matter of information, just as I might take something out of the newspaper this morning and tell him I read in the paper. We always passed on to each other anything we thought at all interesting.

The CHAIRMAN. So you maintain in the same paragraph when you use the word "Fritz" twice that the first time you are referring to some Fritz whose name you can't recall, and the next time, when you said, "She also told me that Dineen you met with Inspector Kerr Eakir was the man who wrote all the unpleasant magazine articles on Fritz and his organization," you say that refers to Fritz Kuhn, but the first Fritz is someone else.

Mr. GILBERT. Quite right—you are quite right; and if you put that lady on the stand I think you will find out she will identify the other man.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, let's see. Now, you say:

U. Z. sure is working against us. She is handing out invitations to George's convention around New York for him. She admitted to me she is on a committee with Snow, explained so she could watch him better, but I think otherwise. Her son spilled the news to me that Snow had taken over your Pennsylvania friends—

What do you mean, "working against" you?

Mr. GILBERT. Well, we got suspicious of the lady about that time—still are—and we figured that she was working for George Deatherage's outfit, or some other outfit, and she was trying to get what little we had and pull it into some, shall we say, pro-Nazi movement, and we were very suspicious of her and we did not take her explanation about why she was playing around with Mr. Snow at that time. Does that answer your question?

The CHAIRMAN. Were you interested in building up these clubs throughout the country?

Mr. GILBERT. I certainly was not. That was a point of general information such as you might read in the paper this morning and write to a friend in Texas.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, go ahead.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe you have previously testified, Mr. Gilbert, that you never had any contact or relations or associations with Father Coughlin?

Mr. GILBERT. I testified that I had written one letter I believe was transferred to him by Mr. Scanlon. I never had any direct contacts with him, and I still maintain that I have never had any direct contacts with him.

Mr. WHITLEY. You never had any arrangement, cooperative arrangement, with reference to material?

Mr. GILBERT. I never have under any condition.

Mr. WHITLEY. I read you a letter dated December 9, 1938, addressed to Mr. Dudley P. Gilbert, care of the Brooklyn Tablet, 1 Hanson Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.:

MY DEAR MR. GILBERT: This is just a note to thank you for your recent letter which reached me safely and promptly. You may be sure that the information you sent to me is deeply appreciated, and I shall use it. With kind regards and best wishes, I am sincerely yours,

CHARLES E. COUGHLIN.

Mr. GILBERT. That is an answer in reply to a letter—the one letter I sent Father Coughlin, through Mr. Scanlon's the Tablet. That is the only letter I ever received from Father Coughlin in my life. I forget the exact nature of the information at the time. You will have to get that from Mr. Scanlon. It skips my mind for the moment.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't recall the nature of the information you were sending?

Mr. GILBERT. I do not. I know Mr. Scanlon——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Let's get the facts about this. Don't you know, as a matter of fact, that the information you are referring to are these reports about this club in New York that you were disseminating?

Mr. GILBERT. They are not. Father Coughlin never got any of those reports at any time.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are sure of that, but you don't know what you did send him—what the nature of the material you sent him was?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't know, but I am very sure that Father Coughlin will be glad to show it to you, whatever it was. It was something I clipped out of newspapers in New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether he did use it or not.

Mr. GILBERT. That I don't know; you will have to ask him.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't follow the broadcast or speeches?

Mr. GILBERT. I did not. I missed some of them as I missed part of one yesterday.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. And you are sure this is the only contact you ever had with Father Coughlin?

Mr. GILBERT. The only letter that I ever received from him, the only letter I ever sent. There may have been two other occasions, as I told you, through Mr. Scanlon that I may have sent an oral message to him by way of Mr. Scanlon.

Mr. WHITLEY. Or you may have had him use something that you wanted him to use on the radio?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir; he never used anything that we wanted him to use on the radio.

Mr. WHITLEY. You made reference in a previous letter which I read here a few minutes ago to material which he used at your instance regarding the *Panay* incident.

Mr. GILBERT. No, I didn't—oh, yes; in regard to——

Mr. WHITLEY. You remember that?

Mr. GILBERT. I remember that; yes, sir. I will qualify that. That is what I gave to Mr. Scanlon. It wasn't information; it was merely an idea to get Father Coughlin to fight that thing at that time. I saw no reason for the United States being thrown into a world war over a small incident in the East.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he use that?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't think he had to use anything. I think he knew all about it. I merely asked him if he wouldn't get back of the people in fighting an attempt to put us into a world war. I sent him no propaganda or information or anything.

Mr. WHITLEY. Just a suggestion?

Mr. GILBERT. Just a suggestion to one friend to use his good influence with another friend to go to work and fight an attempt to push us into a world war, and I still would do it, openly.

Mr. WHITLEY. Apparently, Mr. Gilbert, it wasn't necessary for you to have direct contact with Father Coughlin, you contacted him in writing or verbally through your mutual friend?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't think that was a fair question. I wrote him one letter and received one reply, and on two occasions I spoke orally to the editor of the Tablet and gave him some information, which he afterward forwarded, I am told—I have no proof, but I am told—to Father Coughlin.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the nature of this information? Now, there is three instances that you have admitted that you——

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). I admitted three from the very beginning. From your very first question I have admitted three things, two by way of Scanlon and one by way of a letter to Scanlon, and the letter that you got in reply is the only one I ever received.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the nature of that information?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; I can tell you. I don't know what the letter was; that you can get from Coughlin. I think it was clippings of certain things I got out of the New York Herald Tribune and New York Times that I thought he didn't see in the Midwest. In regard to the other two instances, I am very happy to tell you that one was the report of a parade in New York in March which was more or less of—supposed to be anti-Hitler but was actually a pro-war demonstration, and the other was a complete description of the 6-hour radical May Day parade held May 1, 1939.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, to clarify—to get your mental attitude about this thing—as a matter of fact, you did admire Mussolini and Hitler, didn't you?

Mr. GILBERT. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't have any use for them?

Mr. GILBERT. I thought that as men, regardless of the movements they represented, they had as individual men achieved a great deal of success. I might say I admire them in the same way that I admire a man I don't like at all. I admire Walter Winchell for the success he's had in the newspaper world. I admire any man who fights his way up from the bottom.

The CHAIRMAN. You felt that they were being badly mistreated.

Mr. GILBERT. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you say here in your letter, "Keep up your courage. Remember, those who are finally successful always suffer much"—and have underscored "suffer much"—before victory?"

Mr. GILBERT. I was trying to show Campbell that these men had fought their way up from the bottom for which I considered was an unworthy movement, and if they could do that for an unworthy cause, why couldn't we do it a lot better for something we considered on a much higher plane than what they were conducting?

The CHAIRMAN. But you didn't mention your worthy cause in the letter.

Mr. GILBERT. It wasn't necessary. Mr. Campbell knew my position on that and always has.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you further say, "You and I are no exception"—and underscore "no exception"—"to that rule"?

Mr. GILBERT. Because I thought that that rule is world-wide in any country. Any man that starts to fight his way up, whether it is in business or politics, Mr. Dies, is going to get a lot of knocks, and you know that better than I do.

The CHAIRMAN. And then, continuing, you say:

Mussolini was insulted, stoned, and driven from town to town. He and his family suffered much for lack of money. Hitler was jailed and persecuted for years. It is that very persecution that tries men's souls—

So you felt as though Hitler and Mussolini were being persecuted, didn't you?

Mr. GILBERT. I was only quoting from the history of those men I had read in books.

The CHAIRMAN. You think a man championing a worthy cause is persecuted by opposition?

Mr. GILBERT. I believe he could be; yes, sir. We are talking of the man, not the cause, gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN. "It is that very suffering that has welded together the strong type of man"—what strong type of man? You mean the Nazi party and the Black Shirts, don't you?

Mr. GILBERT. I do not. I meant the individual following of his at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, they afterward became the Black Shirts and the Brown Shirts.

Mr. GILBERT. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were speaking of them as a strong type of men.

Mr. GILBERT. I think they are, whether you agree with them or not. So are the Communists, for that matter.

The CHAIRMAN. "That have led nazi-ism to victory in other countries."

Mr. GILBERT. Their brand of nazi-ism was not our brand.

The CHAIRMAN. "The same will be so here."

Mr. GILBERT. I firmly believe it will. I will say that. I will shout it from the top of the Capitol. It will be here eventually.

The CHAIRMAN. "We must win, we will win." In other words, you were in favor of establishing nazi-ism in America the same as Hitler and Mussolini established it in their countries, isn't that a fact?

Mr. GILBERT. The American brand is not their dictatorship brand.

The CHAIRMAN. But it is nazi-ism just the same you were advocating, and you were admiring Hitler and Mussolini because they had succeeded.

Mr. GILBERT. I admire their personal success, and I thought our movement, which would not dictate, was much more worthy of success.

The CHAIRMAN. And you admired the men who followed because you said they were a strong type of men.

Mr. GILBERT. They undoubtedly were.

The CHAIRMAN. But your only difference with them is you want a nationalistic movement in the United States fitted for America.

Mr. GILBERT. Right!

The CHAIRMAN. But you want the same principle involved, isn't that right?

Mr. GILBERT. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. Let's find out what Mr. Gilbert means by that. What do you mean is going to be here?

Mr. GILBERT. What do I believe is going to be here?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. GILBERT. I believe, gentlemen—am I allowed to speak the whole thing, Mr. Dies?—because if I am not there is no use explaining it.

The CHAIRMAN. How long will it take?

Mr. GILBERT. About 2 minutes, 3 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. GILBERT. I believe, sir, that the conditions in this country now, after 10 years of depression, 12,000,000 people unemployed, that something has to be done. Otherwise, the American people will drift into one of two dangers: Either nazi-ism, which I do not like, or communism on the other hand. To counteract that, some strong movement of a patriotic type of Americans must arise, for it is quite apparent to all—and I know I am being very unpopular to the gentlemen here present—that neither of the great political parties so far, after 10 years, have been able to do that for the American people.

If it doesn't arise the Republic is sunk, and what you call democracy will be in the ashcan. Now, if that is disloyal, I am willing to admit it.

Mr. VOORHIS. But, Mr. Gilbert, that isn't an answer to my question.

Mr. GILBERT. If that isn't an answer I don't know what it is.

Mr. VOORHIS. You describe here the movements of Hitler and Mussolini and then in answer to the chairman's question you said that you believed that it would be here in this country in a short time. I want to know not why or how or where but what you mean by "it"?

Mr. GILBERT. I meant the American people would have to adopt an American form of nationalist movement to protect and save themselves and save the Republic.

Mr. VOORHIS. What would that movement signify? What would it mean in the average life of the everyday man? What kind of government would it mean?

Mr. GILBERT. It would mean a probably strong movement to bring political pressure on both parties, regardless of party lines.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it be in the form of storm troopers?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it be uniformed men?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why were you trying to attract generals and Army officers to this program?

Mr. GILBERT. I wasn't.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew it was being done by Campbell, didn't you?

Mr. GILBERT. They were patriots. I think a man that wears the uniform of his country is a pretty good patriot.

The CHAIRMAN. Nobody is denying that. But why was it you were so anxious to interest men who had been in the Army and the Navy?

Mr. GILBERT. Because I think that a man who is willing to work for the country in the Army and Navy, his type of patriotism is a type you can't question.

The CHAIRMAN. And you think that is the type of man that ought to head a nationalist movement?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't say to head it. They are the type of men we wanted to work with it.

Mr. HEALEY. What is your cure for the condition? What do you mean by a "nationalist movement"?

Mr. GILBERT. I mean that a large bloc—or "group," more than a bloc—of the American people have got to get together to fight the present difficulties and troubles before the country, and to put enough backbone in some of our political friends so they won't hesitate to go ahead and make the necessary cures, instead of wasting time in the last 10 years when we were gradually drifting down toward revolution.

Mr. HEALEY. Are you opposed to the present form of government of the United States?

Mr. GILBERT. I am not; but I am opposed to the present inefficiency and lack of going anywhere.

Mr. HEALEY. And you are not opposed to representative government?

Mr. GILBERT. Not at all.

Mr. HEALEY. And your movement did not sponsor some other kind of government?

Mr. GILBERT. No; it did not.

Mr. HEALEY. To take over the present representative form of government?

Mr. GILBERT. It did not.

Mr. HEALEY. Constitutional form of government.

Mr. GILBERT. It was sponsored to put some backbone in the present set-up so we won't have another form of government.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you are unable to explain what you meant by the words "She stopped her foreign friend when he said Fritz would not last as there are always men in good positions"—underscored, "good positions"—"ready to unseat him"?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't know. You will have to put that lady on the stand.

The CHAIRMAN. But you are the one making the statement. How is it you can't remember this and can remember all these other things?

Mr. GILBERT. Well, you can't remember everything you ever put in a letter. I bet I can get some things you couldn't remember.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; but here, you understand, the words were not lost: "Fritz would not last as there are always men in good positions"—underscored, "good positions"—"ready to unseat him, or any other man who makes a wrong move"—what sort of a wrong move did Fritz make?

Mr. GILBERT. I wouldn't know.

Mr. HEALEY. What Fritz is it?

Mr. GILBERT. That is what I would like to know. Tell me who it is.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, in the next breath you say where you made another reference to "Fritz" you meant Fritz Kuhn. As a matter of fact, haven't you been referring to Fritz Kuhn right along?

Mr. GILBERT. No; I don't think so.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean to tell me that when you couldn't—let me read the letter, to refresh your memory:

She stopped her foreign friend when he said Fritz would not last as there are always men in good positions ready to unseat him, or any other man who makes a wrong move. She also told me that Dineen you met with Inspector Kerr or Eakir was the man who wrote all the unpleasant magazine articles on Fritz and his organization.

Now in the same paragraph you mention Fritz twice—the same sentence—but you say the first Fritz mentioned is not Fritz Kuhn and the last Fritz is Fritz Kuhn.

Mr. GILBERT. I firmly believe that is the answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you know it or not? Are you testifying here upon your knowledge or upon opinions?

Mr. GILBERT. I am answering your questions, under oath, to the best of my ability.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know those two men are different men you are referring to?

Mr. GILBERT. I believe they were.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, believing is not knowing. Do you know it?

Mr. GILBERT. No; I don't.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, the truth is that they were the same man; isn't that true?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know?

Mr. GILBERT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. But you won't undertake to say they weren't?

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Dies, a few minutes ago you told people this wouldn't be a third degree. If you are going to ask me questions whether I stop beating my wife, all right, let the public know it too.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Gilbert, correspondence between you and Mr. Campbell indicates that you were very friendly with the party you referred to as "Pat," whom you identified as Pat Scanlon.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; I have known him for about 16 or 17 years, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And your letter to Mr. Campbell dated September 30 makes five or six references to Pat and information he had furnished you and your relations with him.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Apparently very cooperative.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir. I don't know what they were until I see the letter, and I can tell you.

Mr. WHITLEY. Your letter dated May 7, Mr. Gilbert, 1939, to Mr. Campbell, page 2 of that letter you state:

My parade article on page 8 and 9 of Pat's paper made the sixth edition. The P. S. added to it about sailors on page 9 written by Pat. Be sure you get it. It will help on pictures, etc.

Was that an article that you prepared for Mr. Scanlon's paper?

Mr. GILBERT. That was the thing I testified a few minutes ago, on the May Day parade, that I sent to Mr. Scanlon and asked that

he make a copy of it and send it to Father Coughlin. The reference at the bottom was something that I didn't put in. I always want to have clearly in mind what I write and what other people add.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. Mr. Gilbert, I will ask you to identify this letter, dated February 18, no year date on it, addressed by you to Mr. Campbell.

Mr. GILBERT. What address did it have? Was it Indianapolis, do you know?

Mr. WHITLEY. I don't have the envelope.

Mr. GILBERT. I see. Yes, sir; that was this year.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was this year.

Mr. GILBERT. That was after one of these reports were sent to Campbell. It was a reference about it.

Mr. WHITLEY. This letter is in the nature of a report, one of the longhand reports, you——

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). I think supplementary report to a longhand report.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing). Frequently followed to Mr. Campbell for dissemination.

Mr. GILBERT. I think that was supplementary to one of those. I judge from the way it starts it was. Probably Campbell already had the report.

Mr. WHITLEY. The last paragraph of this letter you state, "Uncle believes Spanish method will have to be used early this summer regardless of what method enemy use, only 3 would advance the date." Who is "Uncle," Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. GILBERT. "Uncle?" I think that question probably referred to myself.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, that is the way you identified yourself constantly to Mr. Campbell and to others, isn't it, as "Uncle"?

Mr. GILBERT. Not always. You have found me under varying things there.

Mr. WHITLEY. But quite often in your letters or telegrams to him you signed them "Uncle" or "Uncle Dudley."

Mr. GILBERT. I sign "Uncle Dudley," yes, sir. It is a nickname of mine.

Mr. WHITLEY. And in transmitting copies of those letters or those reports you sent him, in referring to his source of information he would say "Uncle says this" and "Uncle says that."

Mr. GILBERT. That is quite right.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was referring to you?

Mr. GILBERT. There may have been some other people called that, but I think it was largely me.

Mr. WHITLEY. What do you mean by "Spanish method will have to be used early this summer?" That means this coming summer?

Mr. GILBERT. I figured, as I told the committee the other day, and as I told you in New York, that very shortly in this country we were faced with civil war from the left, I thought the American people, in order to put that down would have to arise and put it down after it had started.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you thought——

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). I thought if they took over part of the country that what was left of America, the South and Middle West, would have to arise under some American officers such as the Franco type and put it down, otherwise we would be a "red" republic.

The CHAIRMAN. Just 1 second.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you mean by that that you were advocating some sort of a military dictatorship?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir; I was not. I was advocating Americans combine if such a thing did take place and the ordinary police and militia were overthrown we would have to have some kind of movement to counteract.

Mr. HEALEY. Similar to the Franco movement in Spain?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; which I don't think is fascism.

Mr. HEALEY. But in reality, then, you advocate a military movement.

Mr. GILBERT. I didn't advocate a military movement at that time. I advocated the people would have to combine and look forward, if that emergency occurred they would have to fight back. I still say they would have to fight back.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say "Spanish method will have to be used early this summer"—did you mean by that that your side, or the forces or groups allied with you and Mr. Campbell, would have to precipitate a revolution?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is what happened in Spain, wasn't it?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir; they had already started. You don't know your Spanish history very well.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. But this paragraph you say does indicate that military force was going to be necessary, was going to have to be used to accomplish your purpose early this coming summer?

Mr. GILBERT. Do you think you could put down a revolution without military—

The CHAIRMAN. Let's have a clear understanding. There is no disposition to be unfair to you—

Mr. GILBERT. I don't know, sir; I have seen a lot of things unfair—

The CHAIRMAN. There is no disposition to be unfair or to apply any third-degree method. If you will just answer the questions that are asked you and not ask questions to the attorney, we will get along fine.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no disposition here to be discourteous to any witness.

Mr. GILBERT. I think you have been very unfair to me, all right. I don't mind telling the press that.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Will you answer the question, Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you read the question?

The REPORTER:

But this paragraph you say does indicate that military force was going to be necessary, was going to have to be used to accomplish your purpose early this coming summer?

Mr. GILBERT. That is not a fair answer—a fair question, because it was not my purpose. It is merely a fact that if there is a “red” revolution, military force will be necessary to put it down. Does that answer your question, Mr. Attorney?

Mr. WHITLEY. That was the method that you were suggesting that would have to be used?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Before the summer was over?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Military force?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And in effect to accomplish the objectives or purposes of your organization?

Mr. GILBERT. Well, I wouldn't say my organization—but the purposes of America to save itself, regardless of whether my organization or any other organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, you had more or less taken it upon yourself, by building up this organization, to be ready—

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). We had hoped to educate the American people up to that point. We had no organization to do it with ourselves.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you know that that letter of yours, your letter of February 18, 1939, just referred to, was copied by Mr. Campbell and mailed out to his mailing list?

Mr. GILBERT. I did not, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Typewritten copies of Mr. Campbell's file indicate that, and that letter contains your prediction, reading from one of those typewritten copies: “Uncle ——” and, again, as I stated a moment ago, Mr. Campbell's mailing list very frequently saw that word “Uncle” used, and they knew it meant his source: they didn't know what his source of information was, that was a way of covering it up—“Uncle believes Spanish method will have to be used early this summer regardless of what method enemy use”—who is the enemy referred to?

Mr. GILBERT. The Red revolutionists.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean—you say “regardless of what method enemy uses”—you mean whether they try anything or they try to start anything or not, you still advocate military force?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir; regardless of what method they used of violence.

Mr. WHITLEY. What method of violence?

Mr. GILBERT. Absolutely. If there was no violence, there could be no revolution and would be no counter movement.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, the word there, regardless of what they do, you still think that military force should be resorted to.

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir; that isn't a fair answer—fair question.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the way it read.

Mr. GILBERT. I can't help how Mr. Campbell writes.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is exactly the way you wrote it. When he copied it for dissemination, why he wrote it exactly as you had it.

Mr. GILBERT. Regardless of whether they should start this movement by an out-and-out revolution or whether they should precipitate it by a complete tie-up of the country, raid on Government bonds, and so

forth, we must be ready, because in the secondary stage of that, regardless of what method they use in starting it, you would be faced with a Red civil government in this country. That I am willing to say openly anywhere.

Mr. WHITLEY. Don't you, Mr. Gilbert, think that the dissemination of statements of that kind to a mailing list that is sympathetic—or at least they have been receiving this material apparently sympathetically for a long period of time—don't you think such statements being sent out to this mailing list is apt to put them in a frame of mind that they would want to start or participate in some type of military action?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't. I would very gladly have given that to the press, if they would have printed it, but I don't think they would have.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Gilbert, you said awhile ago that when you said regardless of what method the enemy might use that you meant some kind of violence.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. But in answer to the attorney's question immediately afterward—

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). Otherwise it makes no sense.

Mr. VOORHIS. All right; but in answer to the attorney's question immediately afterward you gave us one instance of a method that might be used—a raid on Government bonds. Well, that is hardly a violence.

Mr. GILBERT. That would be coupled, sir, with general strikes, shutting off the people's food and water supplies, shutting off transportation, and bringing the country as near as they could possibly to its knees. Now, such a thing is just as much revolution as if they started shooting the policemen in the streets of Washington.

Mr. WHITLEY. The last portion of that sentence, Mr. Gilbert, you say, "Only 3 would advance the date." What do you mean by "3"?

Mr. GILBERT. I figured by No. 3, sir, was—their plan No. 3 was their direct-action plan. No. 3 referred to an attempt to get us in a foreign war and then during the excitement of having us enter a foreign war they would take over their revolution much easier, just as they did in Russia when Russia was in a foreign war.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you mean by this, then, that if they—if the United States became involved in a foreign war prior to this coming summer that would advance the date—

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of the military action which you are predicting here.

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir; it meant in this way—let me answer that fairly so everybody can understand it. It meant if they used the method of getting us in a foreign war they would be in a position much earlier to start their own revolt due to the conditions that would exist in this country immediately following our declaration of war, and, therefore, under such circumstances, the date for a counteraction on our point would be advanced. Is that clear to everybody?

Mr. MASON. May I ask a question now? A while ago, according to the testimony, you had made an attempt through Father Coughlin to head off getting into war because of the *Panay* incident.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. MASON. Was that attempt to head off war because of the *Panay* incident an attempt to delay or head off this No. 3 plan that you talk about?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; certainly was.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Gilbert, referring again to this last sentence of that letter which has been quoted several times, "only 3 would advance the date." You say plan No. 3 which was referred to here meant in the event the United States became involved in a foreign war; is that correct?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir. That was to precipitate us into a foreign war.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you mean by that advancing the date in that event if it came to pass your group would advocate military force or violence within the country?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir; only we were going to rise in support of the Government against the radicals when they tried to take advantage of the fact that troops were being sent abroad, and so forth, to create a Russian revolution back of the line as they did to the Russian army, and that is a matter of history.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. And then under those circumstances you were advocating military force?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; under the American flag, under the American Government, not against it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Gilbert, what were your relations with Mr. Felix McWhirter of Indianapolis, Ind.?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; may I answer that in full?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. GILBERT. I met him through Mr. Campbell on three or four occasions. I was told he is a Reserve officer of the United States Navy and also an intelligence officer of the United States Navy in the Midwest section. He told me that himself.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. Do you know whether Mr. McWhirter received copies of these reports which you sent out or were sent to Mr. Campbell for dissemination?

Mr. GILBERT. I do not know, sir. I imagine Campbell may have sent a few of them for his personal information, but he was not one of our regular list, I do not think. You will have to ask Campbell on this. I am not in a position to answer.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you consider Mr. McWhirter a part of your organization?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir—a friend.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he cooperate with your organization?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. He did not?

Mr. GILBERT. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was not considered an adviser?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Or he was not frequently contacted for assistance of one kind or another?

Mr. GILBERT. He never gave us a cent that I know of, and he never got any of his friends to give anything as far as I know. He might possibly have advised sometimes about not making foolish mistakes

and sounding off the handle and so forth that sometimes jealous people like Campbell might do.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever suggest to Mr. Campbell that he furnish certain information to Mr. McWhirter or did you ever suggest that he contact Mr. McWhirter about certain matters?

Mr. GILBERT. Knowing Mr. McWhirter to be naval intelligence, or believing him to be naval intelligence from his own statement, I thought it was only just if we found something that would affect those matters which naval intelligence should know that we should give them over to Felix McWhirter and as he was a naval man we thought he was the best man to have. I believe his rating is captain or commander—I don't know. Your chairman knows better than I do.

Mr. WHITLEY. Page 39 of the transcript of your testimony last Thursday, Mr. Gilbert, the question was asked: "Realizing the seriousness of the information contained in these reports, if it were true, did it occur to you or Mr. Campbell that they should be turned over to the proper officials so that it could be handled through official channels?" your answer to that question was: "Some of the men we worked with—and I will not divulge their names; you can put me in jail, if you want to—are men who worked for the G-2 section of the Army and Navy."

Mr. GILBERT. O. N. I. section of the Navy. The O. N. I. is equivalent to G-2 in the Army.

Mr. WHITLEY. "And they were of the opinion that where copies in the past had given information of a certain type they had not received cooperation when it got to Washington, and in some cases reports had been lost." Is your statement there, "some of the men worked with," does that refer to Mr. McWhirter?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You considered him one of the men you worked with?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; and to that extent.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. I show you for identification, Mr. Gilbert, your letter dated Newport, October 30, 1937, addressed to Mr. Campbell.

Mr. GILBERT. 1937, sir?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the date, I believe, on the letter.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir. I didn't read it all. I just looked at the front page. If you want me to read the letter I will have to take longer.

Mr. WHITLEY. This letter is furnishing to Mr. Campbell certain information in which your organization was interested, and you state on page 2 of the letter: "Hope F. will do his part when you meet him and not put things off again." Does that refer to Mr. Felix McWhirter, does that paragraph?

Mr. GILBERT. No. Will you read that over again, because I think I know who "F." was.

Mr. WHITLEY. "Hope F. will do his part when you meet him."

Mr. GILBERT. What year was that?

Mr. WHITLEY. October 30, 1937, is the date of the letter.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; that particular date, "F." would refer to him. It wouldn't if it was this year. At that time we were trying at that

time to get Mr. McWhirter to get some of his friends to help us, but he declined to do that and never did.

Mr. WHITLEY. To help you financially?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; we needed money. But he never did.

Mr. MASON. May I suggest that counsel read the full letter so that we may have the full context.

Mr. WHITLEY. Some of these use a lot of names.

Mr. MASON. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe, Mr. Gilbert, that you have previously stated that you and Mr. Campbell or your organization didn't solicit funds or financial aid.

Mr. GILBERT. We were not an organization, but we were trying to get a little money to go on with things. After all, I am not a rich man, in spite of what the papers said about me, and it was still a little tough to carry the expense of Campbell, who was also in a lot of debt and financial trouble and had a family to support.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. GILBERT. That wouldn't have meant big money; might have meant a few hundred dollars.

Mr. WHITLEY. You still say that there is no organization?

Mr. GILBERT. I still say it is work we were doing.

Mr. WHITLEY. There is no organization?

Mr. GILBERT. There is no active organization. There is one with a charter, yes; in the State of New York. There may have been a few old charters around the country.

Mr. WHITLEY. In spite of the frequent references you made to the A. N. and so forth, or the American Nationalists, in those previous letters, you still say there is no organization?

Mr. GILBERT. There is no active organization; no.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you for identification, Mr. Gilbert, letter dated October 7, 1937, addressed to Mr. Campbell.

Mr. GILBERT. 1937—yes, sir, I sent him that.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is your letter?

Mr. GILBERT. That is what we heard, and that is what I forwarded to him as a matter of intelligence. Remember, I also believed he was close to naval intelligence—to the Army intelligence section.

Mr. WHITLEY. Wait until I ask you the questions about the letter before you answer it, Mr. Gilbert.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. In the first paragraph of that letter, you state: "Here is some more information for Mc." Does that statement refer to Mr. McWhirter?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You stated a moment ago, I believe, that you didn't think Mr. McWhirter was on the mailing list or that he got many of the reports.

Mr. GILBERT. He didn't get reports, sir. He got things which I thought were of interest to him. He wasn't interested in the whole picture. He was interested in the things as part of his official duty as a naval intelligence man.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, at your instance, and voluntarily, Mr. Campbell maintained very close contact with him, didn't he?

Mr. GILBERT. I wouldn't know how close. You would know that better than I. I believe they are very old friends, for many years back.

Mr. WHITLEY. At least on many occasions you suggested that certain information be turned over to "Mc."

Mr. GILBERT. I thought it was the proper channel; yes sir; but he didn't get the regular reports, I am very sure.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you for identification letter dated October 5, no year on it, addressed to Mr. Campbell.

Mr. GILBERT. October 5—maybe I can tell from the wording what year it is. Yes, sir; this refers to—well, you ask me the question and I will answer.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is your letter?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; that is my letter.

Mr. WHITLEY. On page 6 of this letter, Mr. Gilbert, the letter is furnishing certain—or transmitting certain information to Mr. Campbell, in line with the type of information which you were constantly sending him. On page 6 you state: "Please get this to all that should know, especially Felix" and so forth.

Mr. GILBERT. That is right, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does that reference—does that mean Mr. Felix McWhirter?

Mr. GILBERT. It most certainly does.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. Mr. Gilbert, at the time I questioned you in New York, and at the time you testified before the committee last Thursday, you were asked numerous questions with reference to this alleged source of information of yours, this mysterious individual.

Mr. GILBERT. I did, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was an employee in this permanent club in New York City.

Mr. GILBERT. I did, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And who was constantly furnishing you the information which formed the basis of these reports which you sent to Mr. Campbell for dissemination.

Mr. GILBERT. I did, sir. I described the gentleman to you, gave you the name I knew him under, though I don't believe it was the name he was employed under.

May I add something in there? And your representative this morning said, would I identify him, and I said to the best of my ability I would if you brought him before me.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you pay him? Was he in your pay?

Mr. GILBERT. He was paid something from \$10, \$15, to \$25 tops. I thought that that was a good indication of his honesty. If he was a racket boy he would be asking large sums.

Mr. WHITLEY. You stated, or have stated in your previous testimony, that the only reason you had to believe that this man was what he represented himself to be or that there was any real basis of fact in these reports which he furnished you, was the fact that on frequent occasions he made predictions in those reports which subsequently were confirmed by newspaper accounts.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, that was the sole basis on which you accepted this information and had it broadcast, or, rather, disseminated to your private mailing list by Mr. Campbell.

MR. GILBERT. Yes, sir; and I might add I also told you at that time that that was the reason, because it was only from that source, I did not give it to the public press, as I wanted to have conclusive evidence before I hurt anybody.

MR. WHITLEY. You stated that you knew this mysterious waiter or employee under the name of "George Rice."

MR. GILBERT. That is the name I knew him under; yes, sir.

MR. WHITLEY. That is all you knew about him?

MR. GILBERT. I told you I had met him at various times from 1934 up to the present date, or within recent date.

MR. WHITLEY. That is right. I gather from your yesterday's testimony that if there hadn't been some way to confirm this information that he furnished you, you would not have felt free to disseminate it?

MR. GILBERT. I would not have felt free to give it to the press.

MR. WHITLEY. In other words, that was the basis, that was what convinced you there was something behind it, and he was what he represented himself to be?

MR. GILBERT. Yes, sir; and unless I could have gotten additional information it would never have gone to the press.

MR. WHITLEY. I believe, Mr. Gilbert, at the time I interviewed you in New York the early part of last week you stated that you had seen this individual enter the employees' entrance of that club on one occasion only.

MR. GILBERT. On two occasions, I told you.

MR. WHITLEY. You stated at the time I talked to you in New York, Mr. Gilbert, one occasion.

MR. GILBERT. I think you are mistaken. I remember it was two.

MR. WHITLEY. I can refer to the transcript on that.

MR. GILBERT. Well, it was pretty late at night, then—both of us pretty tired—I don't know whether the stenographer made any mistakes or not, but I know I told you two occasions. We were all pretty tired after a 6-hour session that time—hot night.

MR. DIES, could I make a small statement?

THE CHAIRMAN. You will have ample opportunity.

MR. GILBERT. All right.

MR. WHITLEY. Well, in any event, on your examination Thursday you testified you had seen him enter that employees' gate on two occasions.

MR. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

MR. WHITLEY. Once at your instance and once, I believe you said, when he didn't know you were watching him.

MR. GILBERT. Yes, sir; I saw the man on the street and I followed him.

MR. WHITLEY. To refresh your memory regarding your testimony on Saturday—on Thursday you stated that the procedure followed in obtaining this information was for the mysterious informant to call you up.

MR. GILBERT. That is correct.

MR. WHITLEY. You stated you did not know how to get in touch with him.

MR. GILBERT. He always made that the basis of it for some reason or other. He didn't trust me altogether. I don't know why.

Mr. WHITLEY. That he would call you up and arrange to meet you in some place.

Mr. GILBERT. Railroad station, hotel, any place that he wished, and I would——

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). You would meet him at the place designated and at the time designated and he would hand you a report written in longhand.

Mr. GILBERT. And then we would go to a desk in some hotel and I would copy it down and hand it back——

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). Let me bring it out in questioning. And that you would take that report and in his presence immediately copy it down just as he had written it out himself?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that you would then transmit that report to Mr. Campbell.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir. That explains why some of those things to Mr. Campbell are so badly written. I had to do them in a hurry; the fellow wanted to go.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did not rewrite those reports?

Mr. GILBERT. Only when they were too much of a scribble, otherwise Campbell could not have read them.

Mr. WHITLEY. You ordinarily took the report as he gave it to you and copied and mailed it immediately?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; or within 24 hours.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, all of those, practically all of those reports to Campbell were sent air mail, special delivery, were they not?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir. I wanted him to get it as soon as possible. A few may have been sent just air mail, but I think they were probably all air mail, special delivery.

Mr. WHITLEY. Most of them you sent were?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, time was of the essence; you wanted to get those reports through to him?

Mr. GILBERT. I thought they were most interesting and he should get them as soon as possible.

Mr. WHITLEY. And there may have been a few occasions when you made slight corrections in the report as furnished you?

Mr. GILBERT. Well, if the fellow had used bad English, something like that.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you made the corrections——

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). In his presence.

Mr. WHITLEY. You made those corrections at the time you were copying the report in his presence?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And then you took that report that you copied in his presence and sent it out usually immediately, never more than 24 hours afterward, to Mr. Campbell, air mail special delivery?

Mr. GILBERT. Well, I would think within 24 hours, yes; sometimes more likely within 2 or 3 hours afterward.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't, though, rewrite those reports or delay the transmission?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir; I did not. I got them out of my hands as quick as possible. I didn't like even having them.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the predictions which he made and which came true were practically the sole basis or the only thing that you had to convince you that there was anything to those reports and that was what caused you to feel free to distribute information of the type that was in those reports?

Mr. GILBERT. That was what caused me to feel free to give that information to the 40 men working with us, but not with the press. I did not want to hurt certain people I thought had been hurt enough already.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, that was the only confirmation of any kind you had that there was anything to those reports, is that correct?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you, Mr. Gilbert, letter dated Sunday, April 16, and the envelope in which that letter was mailed.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. The envelope is dated Atlantic City, N. J., April 16; that is, it is post-marked "Atlantic City, N. J., April 16, 1939, 8 p. m."

Mr. GILBERT. I think you will find the 16 on that with reference to the date.

Mr. WHITLEY. I will ask you to identify that envelope as the envelope that was mailed to Mr. Campbell.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir. I got I think a special delivery letter that day, and a man called me on the phone also.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, that constitutes one of your reports?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Which you transmitted to Mr. Campbell in that manner?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. After obtaining the information in the manner in which you have just described?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. From your mysterious source of information, Mr. George Rice?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir. I knew him as that name. I don't know what other name he had.

Mr. WHITLEY. In this letter, Mr. Gilbert—

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). He called me—may I tell you where he called me? He called me at a booth in Child's Restaurant which I had written him the number of.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. In this instance why the information was furnished to you by your informant by telephone.

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir; he merely called me up to O. K. what he sent me. He was afraid it didn't get through to me down there and he wanted to make sure I got it.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. In your previous testimony before the committee, you stated that one of the predictions which he made and which was subsequently confirmed in the newspapers and which caused you to have confidence in the accuracy of his reports was his prediction that the fleet, then in the Atlantic, was going to be ordered back to the Pacific?

Mr. GILBERT. That is one of the most recent ones of his.

Mr. WHITLEY. You stated that prediction was subsequently confirmed in the press?

Mr. GILBERT. It was, within a few days.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that convinced you that he was all right, because he had predicted this move on the part of the Navy and then it came true?

Mr. GILBERT. That was one of the more recent things. He had been doing this right along, and I cited it because it was more in my memory at the moment. I took the things nearest to date and went back with you.

Mr. WHITLEY. You stated that was one of the instances in which his predictions, as you called them, were confirmed?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading from this letter which you have identified, dated Sunday, April 16, addressed by you to Mr. Campbell, and which was in the nature of a report of information received from your informant, second paragraph:

Fleet has been ordered to Pacific at once, canceling program of Navy Department.

Mr. GILBERT. I read that in the paper——

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). That is the prediction he made and which you were transmitting on to Mr. Campbell?

Mr. GILBERT. No; I think that was a confirmation of the prediction.

Mr. WHITLEY. No; you are reporting, according to the letter, Mr. Gilbert. Let me read the preface to that, to show where you got that confidential information:

DEAR J. E.: Your Friday letter received late Saturday, just after I had finished a long-distance talk with our friend——

by your friend you are referring to your informant?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing reading):

who covers the music. He said following: "Fleet has been ordered to Pacific at once, canceling program of Navy Department"——

that is the prediction you referred to in your testimony Thursday that was later confirmed in the press?

Mr. GILBERT. He had said that both in writing and over the phone.

Mr. WHITLEY. You know, Mr. Gilbert, as a matter of fact, the Navy Department officially released the information that the fleet was being ordered back to the Pacific at 12:15 p. m. on Saturday, April 15. That was more than 24 hours before your letter was mailed to Mr. Campbell. Would you call that convincing confirmation of a prediction?

Mr. GILBERT. Will you look at the post date on that other thing; when was it sent?

Mr. WHITLEY. The post date on the envelope?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is postmarked Atlantic City, April 16, 8 p. m.

Mr. GILBERT. When was that released?

Mr. WHITLEY. It was released on Saturday, April 15, at 12:15 noon; more than 24 hours before your letter transmitting this prediction with reference to the Navy, transmitting this inside information,

was sent to Mr. Campbell, why it had been officially released by the Navy Department.

Mr. GILBERT. If the Navy had in the meantime officially announced the thing, I see no reason why that in any way discredits the letter, as the information in there was several days before I sent the letter, and therefore before the Navy Department issued that statement.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you got this information about the fleet being moved several days before you wrote the letter?

Mr. GILBERT. I did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did not?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir. And may I add something right here which calls attention to the committee: I have told you gentlemen of the committee recently that whereas in the beginning of these reports, gentlemen, we sometimes waited a month or 2 months for confirmation, more recently they have come very rapidly, within 3 to 10 days, and this is one of the rapid examples that I told you about.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, you referred to this as a prediction, in your previous testimony.

Mr. GILBERT. It still is.

Mr. WHITLEY. There is no prediction in it—

Mr. GILBERT. Certainly is. Certainly is, because that man got the date there—

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). Just a minute. I will accord you the courtesy of letting you finish your remarks.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. There is nothing in the nature of a prediction, although you call it that, because the information was not sent out until more than 24 hours after it had been officially announced by the Navy Department.

Mr. GILBERT. It was certainly a prediction, and the statement was made before the Navy Department issued the thing, and the fact I was in Atlantic City and didn't send it to Campbell until after the thing had been confirmed by the Navy Department does not discredit the original statement.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. You had received this information several days before you sent it out?

Mr. GILBERT. I had not, but if you look into that thing, the date, look at the date, what does it say, Thursday or Friday, a day or two before the Navy issued the statement, which you say was Saturday, and I get the thing afterward, isn't that correct, sir? Will you read that thing? Doesn't it say Thursday or Friday? What does in say in there? You just told me a minute ago. And Saturday your Navy report came out.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. GILBERT. And I got the thing—

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). And that confirmed the prediction which had been evidently made previously?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; that is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. I will read again, Mr. Gilbert, for your information, the first paragraph of this letter, your letter being written on Sunday, April 16. You state: "Your Friday letter received late Saturday"—which was the previous day—"just after I had finished a long-distance talk with our friend who covers the music"—in other

words, you received a letter from Mr. Campbell on Saturday and you also talked to your friend on Saturday.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that is the basis for this report which you are making, transmitting this prediction which was made by your informant.

Mr. GILBERT. The man sent me a letter, and he called me on the phone and confirmed that letter. He doubted me getting it down in that place. I told you where the call came from. I told you the place. And Mr. Campbell happening to write me a letter had nothing to do with that letter. Mr. Campbell's letter came from the West. Now, if you have got Campbell's letter you can read it.

Mr. WHITLEY. The fact remains that this wonderful prediction which your informant made, insofar as your letter reflects and the postmark on your letter reflects, was sent to Mr. Campbell approximately 36 hours after it was released by the Navy Department officially. That is correct, isn't it?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't think that is a fair question, for this reason: You give the audience the idea that I waited for the Navy to release it and then gave it. This thing was sent to me as reported of a date previous, gentlemen, to the Navy's release of this statement. It is no fault of mine if the United States Navy makes the announcement in between the date this information was gotten and the date I received it and sent it to Campbell. I hope that is clear to everybody. As I said before, more recently things have been coming quickly. Before they were a month, 2 months, but now very recently, and that was the point that was getting me worried and why I was going to give this to Mr. Dies in a couple of months more if this thing continued this way.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Gilbert, your first paragraph here indicates—of this letter to Campbell—that you had talked to your informant by long distance Saturday—you don't say Saturday afternoon or Saturday morning—and that he had at that time furnished this information, made this marvelous prediction which you are transmitting on to Mr. Campbell for dissemination.

Mr. GILBERT. He confirmed his prediction which had been mailed to me.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. Was that the usual procedure; for him to write you a report when you were out of town and then call you and confirm it by telephone?

Mr. GILBERT. No; it was not, but I think he was so worried and excited over the situation that he called.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you say that was several days previously that he wrote you?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes. Your own thing there says Thursday or Friday. I don't remember, whatever you read.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are referring to Campbell's letter—you say, "Your Friday letter received late Saturday."

Mr. GILBERT. That is—yes; Campbell's letter came late Saturday. I thought you were talking about the other gentleman.

Mr. WHITLEY. Campbell's letter came in, you say, "just after I had finished a long-distance talk with our friend."

Mr. GILBERT. I don't know what date Campbell's letter came in.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, you are referring to Campbell's letter, and you say "late Saturday," which would be the previous day. Late Saturday would be Saturday afternoon.

Mr. GILBERT. I don't know. You can mix me up at 4:30 in the afternoon and 2 in the morning, I wouldn't know, off the record.

Mr. WHITLEY. Let's work this out logically.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You state in your letter to Campbell that you had received Campbell's letter the previous—late the previous day—Saturday. You say that "just after I had finished a long-distance talk with our friend," which means that you talked, had a long-distance talk with your friend late Saturday.

Mr. GILBERT. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You said "just after."

Mr. GILBERT. It doesn't matter what time it was, I received this thing and it was made—the statements in it were made several days before, and I do not see, Mr.—

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). You don't have that letter in which he wrote you several days before and made this prediction and then waited until it was announced by the Navy Department to confirm it?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't have it in my possession?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. GILBERT. I haven't anything in my possession.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you save the letter he wrote you several days previously?

Mr. GILBERT. I said at that time to Mr. Dies I was not working under the similar conditions where the man was present and asked me to write things down and tear it up immediately. I did keep it a few days.

Mr. WHITLEY. You kept it a few days?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes. That was one of the exceptions. You see, he wasn't standing over me and getting me excited. He sent certain things in a rather coded way, and mailed them to me, as I explained to you, in that place down there, and that was an exception to the rule.

Mr. WHITLEY. In spite of your explanation, Mr. Gilbert, the fact remains that your letter or your report to Campbell was not written and was not sent out until 36 hours after this information had been officially released by the Navy Department.

Mr. GILBERT. In spite of that I am willing to say, Mr. Whitley, that the information I got was several days—dated several days before the Navy sent it out. Regardless of when I sent it to Campbell or not, it does not take away from the fact that it was made several days before the Navy announced such fact.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. So that is one of the remarkable predictions that lent credence and made you believe that these reports were absolutely correct?

Mr. GILBERT. That is one of the later ones.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. That longhand report of yours, of course, according to Mr. Campbell's files, was typewritten by him and sent out to his mailing list, which he claims was 40, and no doubt was interpreted by the persons receiving that report as another one of the marvelous predictions which your source of information was making.

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Whitley, I am here as a witness to tell all I know about this thing. I know as a lawyer you have a right to discredit a witness. I don't think it is being fair. I think the whole attitude here has been to discredit people trying to give information for the Government and protect the people whom we allege are doing it. Citing proof of that, I wasn't allowed to see the press the other day.

Mr. WHITLEY. With further reference, Mr. Gilbert, to the reports which were sent out, based on the informant and his predictions, I show you a copy of a report dated April 5, for identification.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; I remember that letter.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is one of the original reports, longhand reports, you sent Mr. Campbell?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't know whether the April 5 there means when I sent it to him—usually I had two dates on some of those things, one the date I sent it to him and one the date when the thing happened. Now you will have to read through that to see for yourself. I don't think it is fair to ask me to answer that.

Mr. WHITLEY. This was April 5, 1939?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. This report is in the usual form, which supposedly is verbatim information furnished by your informant based upon conversations he had overheard in this club?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITNEY. This is one of the reports that you met him and sat down in his presence and wrote it out and then forwarded to Mr. Campbell?

Mr. GILBERT. Wait a minute. May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman? What date was that?

Mr. WHITLEY. April 5, 1939.

Mr. GILBERT. Then that is not a true statement, because I was in Atlantic City, I think, on the 24th of March, as I remember.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. GILBERT. I believe, to the best of my ability, Mr. Chairman, I remained there about 4 weeks.

Mr. WHITLEY. Quoting from this report: "First speaker, (blank), from Washington, D. C., who said Frank's son James will in a few days leave for England with a special message from his father to our London friends on plan 3. It will be said to the public that he is going abroad on a business trip for motion-picture concern he is connected with." Then immediately after that in your own handwriting you state, "Proof: Washington papers on April 8, 3 days later, said James had sailed from England"—I suppose you mean "for England"—"in interest of motion pictures, a motion-picture company"——

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Just a minute: "He sailed on the *Queen Mary*, a British ship." Now, how does it happen——

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). I picked that paper up on the C. & O. train coming back from——

Mr. WHITLEY. Just a minute. Let me ask the questions. How does it happen that this prediction, this prediction which was furnished to you over, or rather which was based on information fur-

nished by your informant on April 5, was in the same report transmitting that inside information, transmitting that prediction, that you give the proof of it by quoting the Washington papers of April 8?

Mr. GILBERT. Very easily, sir, I can explain that very easily to everybody. I was away, the thing was sent to Atlantic City. I was away. You can find the date on the hotel registers, Owenboro, Ky., and Indianapolis, and I did not see that thing until I got back to Haddon Hall, Atlantic City, and in the meantime on the train on the way in I bought the Washington papers when the C. & O. train stopped at this city, and I knew nothing about the report until I got in, and had the papers under my arm. I did not get things forwarded to me, as I was in the Middle West and there was no possible way of doing it.

The CHAIRMAN. In every case did you send the proof of the predictions along with the predictions?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir; things a month or 2 months, a week or 2 weeks afterward, certainly not, only when they came close like that. You can find a few instances. And I don't think that should discredit the whole thing, because coming so close after, it was impossible for me to get Campbell through some of these things that were happening. That is how quickly they were happening.

Mr. WHITLEY. In this particular instance you did, in your report of April 5, transmit the prediction and the proof in the same report?

Mr. GILBERT. I tell you that I did, frankly, that I was on the train, that the report couldn't reach me, and I got this paper, by accident, and when I got back and got the report I sent it in the same thing with the report. And may I also say, gentlemen, that if I wanted to be dishonest on that thing I would have held it up and sent it in a later letter.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. The report is dated April 5 and your proof is Washington paper of April 8, so when you wrote this report at least it was April 8?

Mr. GILBERT. I wrote it when I got back to Atlantic City and found the report there.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. Mr. Gilbert, do you read the Daily Worker?

Mr. GILBERT. I do not.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not?

Mr. GILBERT. I do not. Maybe Mr. Campbell does, but I don't.

Mr. WHITLEY. In this same report which I have just been referring to, report of April 5, your informant furnishes information regarding plans for the May Day celebration in New York.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. This information supposedly coming from having been overheard by—or being based on conversations overheard by him in this club. That was the basis of all of his reports, wasn't it?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Conversations he heard in this club.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes. Sometimes they were outside of the club, according to him. I told you about that, and Mr. Dies the other day, too.

Mr. WHITLEY. On the third page of this, your report, which you transmitted to Mr. Campbell, you state: "The May Day committee

was an unusually good one this year." You go on and list the committee, David Leeds, Manning Johnson, and four or five others.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does it occur to you, Mr. Gilbert, that it is a coincidence that your informant lists those names exactly in the order in which they are listed in the Daily Worker several days prior to this report?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't read the Daily Worker, but, even if it was so, I wouldn't think it would discredit him if he heard the names given in the same way at the meeting they were published later in the Worker. I should say that would confirm it, rather than show it wasn't so.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, these names, these seven names——

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). I don't know; I haven't seen the Daily Worker.

Mr. WHITLEY. These names as he heard them in the club, it just happened he heard them given or discussed in exactly the same order in which they had appeared in the Daily Worker?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Several days previously.

Mr. GILBERT. I wouldn't consider that was discrediting him at all. If the names were announced of a committee—if I said "Mr. Dies and Mr. So-and-so," that might make that report in a meeting and might also be printed in a paper, and that wouldn't be saying I didn't give the proper roll of the Dies committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you think that the informant in overhearing these conversations which he heard in the club would remember these names, these seven names, and the exact description of each one?

Mr. GILBERT. I am sure he would, sir, because, remember, he was in the May Day parade himself, an international workers' order.

Mr. WHITLEY. You just consider, then, this was a coincidence that he had a list of seven names with the identification of those names——

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). I think it was the normal thing for him to do.

Mr. WHITLEY. Let me finish my question: You just consider that a coincidence, he heard these names given in conversations in the club, confidential conversations, in exactly the same order and with the same descriptive data as to them as it appeared in the Daily Worker several days previously?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't see where that discredits him in any way, whether he heard it said in the meeting or read it in the paper afterward.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. That is just a coincidence as far as you are concerned?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir. I don't see anything wrong about that.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, I doubt if the witness is getting the significance of this thing. The statement is that these names were given in the Daily Worker in this particular order 3 or 4 days before this supposed informant gave them to you as having overheard them in this club. Now, the significance is that he may just have read them in this Daily Worker 3 or 4 days before and then handed them to you as if he had heard them in these private conversations.

Mr. GILBERT. I might recall to your memory, if you can dig it up in the newspaper files, that they were listed after that I think in the New York Times sometime around there, weren't they, and the other New York papers—I don't recall.

Mr. MASON. I don't recall that.

Mr. GILBERT. I don't recall which paper it was in. The mere fact that they appear in the paper in the same way, Mr. Attorney, that he heard them in the meeting doesn't discredit the gentleman, and the mere fact that he knew the names of the organizations, as a man in the radical movement himself he would know the names of the leaders—would be familiar with them.

Mr. HEALEY. But they were available to the public prior to the time that you are supposed to have had your information. That is the point that the attorney is trying to make here.

Mr. GILBERT. I gather all that, and I also gather that the man heard them in the meeting, and the fact that they were available to the public doesn't mean he was a crook.

Mr. HEALEY. But he conveyed the information to you subsequent to the time they appeared in a newspaper.

Mr. GILBERT. That I have no knowledge of, Mr. Attorney.

Mr. WHITLEY. If I recall correctly, Mr. Gilbert, during our conversation in New York you told me you read the Daily Worker quite often.

Mr. GILBERT. I didn't tell you that, sir. That is a misstatement—mistake. I know you wouldn't make a misstatement, but it is a mistake.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading from page 4 of this same report of April 5: "Fourth speaker, (blank), stated Frank and Hull would both attack enemy nations again next week to help No. 3"—I suppose that means to help No. 3 plan. Right under that in your handwriting, "Proof: New York Times and New York Herald Tribune of April 9, front page, report them so doing." That means, of course, that this report of April 5 could not have been written before April 9 at the earliest; is that correct?

Mr. GILBERT. No; it means that report—what date was that, gentlemen? I was told.

Mr. WHITLEY. The report is dated April 5.

Mr. GILBERT. Is that this year?

Mr. WHITLEY. And your proof is newspaper items of April 9.

Mr. GILBERT. I was still in Atlantic City, gentlemen, as I have told you before, I think, several times, that in Atlantic City we did not use the same method we used in New York. I wasn't under any excited fellow standing over me insisting I give it back. I took my time about it. After all, you go down there for a rest, and I think I was probably sitting around on the beach and had no great hurry to send it back.

The CHAIRMAN. These 40 people, Mr. Gilbert, the friends—

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). Friends of Mr. Campbell's, sir. I don't know most of them. I wouldn't be able to name them to you. I don't know who they are. I know who he's told me different times, but I honestly—

The CHAIRMAN. They are rather prominent people, are they not?

Mr. GILBERT. Well, sir, I think from what Mr. Campbell tells me they are men who are outstanding—they are either retired Army

officers or Legion men, Veterans of Foreign Wars—yes, they are somebody in their community. They are somebody who has a standing in their community. That is what he's told me. Now I can honestly tell you, Mr. Dies, I have never met any of these men.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand we have a list. But the point I am trying to get at is this: How do you know that these men didn't disseminate this information all through their communities? For instance, Mr. Cooke who testified, said that he had shown it to his friends. Do you have any idea how far this information was disseminated through the country?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't think it got very far, sir. If it had, the gentlemen of the press would have had it on the front page long ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, we found in Mr. Campbell's file a list of 200 names. What assurance have we that this information wasn't sent to 200 people?

Mr. GILBERT. You have my word and Mr. Campbell's word that it wasn't.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you know these reports were mimeographed by Mr. Campbell.

Mr. GILBERT. And sent to 40 people, and the fact that Mr. Campbell had 200 names on his file—I might have a thousand on my files, too—sent them to—

The CHAIRMAN. You knew Mr. Campbell was traveling all up and down the country?

Mr. GILBERT. I knew he was—friends would see these at times.

The CHAIRMAN. He wrote you he was going to different States to make contacts.

Mr. GILBERT. That is right. He was seeing these men—these 40, this committee of 40 he was organizing.

The CHAIRMAN. Did this committee of 40 know they were in this organization?

Mr. GILBERT. It wasn't an organization. It was a group working together.

The CHAIRMAN. All were working together?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; they were.

The CHAIRMAN. And you don't know how many men they had told this to in their respective communities?

Mr. GILBERT. I do not, sir, but it couldn't have been many. A thing like that would have bound to have made the press.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you know a whispering campaign can go on all over the country without making the press?

Mr. GILBERT. It always does get in the press.

The CHAIRMAN. There are those of us who remember the 1928 Al Smith campaign.

Mr. GILBERT. I campaigned for Smith that time, and it wasn't long before a lot of those things got in the paper in short order.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you say there wasn't any politics in this, despite the fact that you mentioned here that "U. Z.'s son also told me that Snow was building up a Nation-wide chain of Republican clubs for 1940 with the aid of the Crusaders."

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, isn't it a fact that in one of your reports or letters to Campbell that you suggested six questions that Campbell ought to circulate among his friends, particularly in the South, and

that among those questions were some very scurrilous things about the President and his wife; isn't that a fact?

MR. GILBERT. I don't remember that. If you will read it to me I will be able to answer.

THE CHAIRMAN. We are not going to read it in the record.

MR. GILBERT. I can't answer something you don't put in the record. Put it in the record; I will answer it. But may I say something here I think will half answer your question, sir, without putting anything in the record you think derogatory to our President? May I say this: In regard to the reference of a gentleman forming Republican clubs, the Crusaders, that was one of the reasons I was warning Campbell to lay off that fellow, we didn't want to be tied in with any political organization.

THE CHAIRMAN. You don't recall suggesting that this scurrilous literature or whispering campaign be circulated throughout the South with reference to the President and his wife?

MR. GILBERT. I don't recall that. If it circulated among our members throughout the South, that is one thing.

THE CHAIRMAN. Do you recall circulating that among your members?

MR. GILBERT. I think possibly there were 12 or 15 men in the South; yes, sir.

THE CHAIRMAN. You had no politics in mind?

MR. GILBERT. I had no politics in it. I refused to allow Campbell to dabble in politics, refused to allow in this particular instance—you have just quoted here in your question—I was warning Campbell. I was warning him against having something to do with the man because I felt that man was tied up with the Republican Party organization. We wanted no part of a party movement.

THE CHAIRMAN. You don't know how many people were believing these reports, do you, and how many people they were whispering it to throughout the various States in the Union, do you?

MR. GILBERT. I don't know any more about that than you do.

MR. HEALEY. May I just ask one question?

THE CHAIRMAN. Yes.

MR. GILBERT. There couldn't have been many, or it would have been in the papers long ago.

MR. HEALEY. Mr. Gilbert, this list of 40 were spread out pretty much throughout the country?

MR. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

MR. HEALEY. So that your information—you knew that your information which you forwarded to your man down at Kentucky, Campbell—

MR. GILBERT (interposing). I didn't know the address of every one, sir.

MR. HEALEY. You knew it was going to be disseminated throughout the country, didn't you?

MR. GILBERT. Yes; he told me he had a group of men he knew throughout the country.

MR. HEALEY. That, then, was your purpose in sending that to him, so he would immediately transmit that to this list that were in practically all parts of the country?

MR. GILBERT. Yes, sir; and in many cases, as I told you, when they could check back and finding anything for us, information that might

confirm that in their section—and I think I named them for you and Mr. Dies the other day, two incidents of that fact.

Mr. HEALEY. All right, you have answered my question, sir. As I understand it, when you received this information from your informant, that it was your custom to transcribe that as quickly as possible from the report which he gave you, and without any further checking for facts or for the truthfulness of that report, you sent that immediately to Campbell, knowing that Campbell was about to disseminate that throughout the country to this list of people he had.

Mr. GILBERT. I knew Campbell was handing it over to—you say 40 men; I don't know whether 41 or 39.

Mr. HEALEY. But there was no effort on your part to check it on facts or truthfulness?

Mr. GILBERT. It was up to Campbell and them to check it. I had only the source of information.

Mr. HEALEY. But you knew it was your intention in sending your intelligence was to have Campbell send that out to his mailing list.

Mr. GILBERT. My intention was to have those gentlemen check on it with Campbell, not to give it to the public, which I haven't done.

Mr. HEALEY. Don't you think it may be more effective not to have this appear in the press, rather to have this take the form of a whispering campaign?

Mr. GILBERT. I do not. I have never known a whispering campaign in the history of American politics that has amounted to 5 cents.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the 1928 campaign? You don't think the whispering campaign that went throughout the South had anything to do with who was elected?

Mr. GILBERT. I think that old-fashioned prejudice was here a hundred years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't think the whispering campaign that was carried on, not in the press but outside the press, had anything to do with that in the South?

Mr. GILBERT. I think that feeling was there regardless of any whispering campaign, and would have made no difference whether that campaign was made against Smith or otherwise, that feeling existed in the South. I think it does today. I think it is unfortunate. I think many people are laboring under that impression. I want to defend the South, sir; I think there was more of that damn stuff in the North and West than there was in the South.

Mr. THOMAS. Quite a bit has been mentioned lately relative to campaigns, to political campaigns. What has been your politics?

Mr. GILBERT. My part in political campaigns?

Mr. THOMAS. What has been your politics? Have you been a Republican or a Democrat?

Mr. GILBERT. I have been a Democrat.

Mr. THOMAS. You have been a Democrat?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir. I have never voted a Republican ticket in my life.

Mr. THOMAS. And who did you vote for for President?

Mr. GILBERT. I voted for Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Mr. THOMAS. How many times have you voted for Franklin D. Roosevelt?

Mr. GILBERT. Once, at least, and I am not so sure the last time I didn't refrain from voting. I voted for him twice as Governor of New York.

Mr. THOMAS. Didn't you state you voted for him four times?

Br. GILBERT. No, sir; I said I voted for him I thought four times.

Mr. THOMAS. Two for Governor and two for President?

Mr. GILBERT. I do know positively that I voted for him once for President. I don't remember which time it was. I kind of think it was the first time.

Mr. THOMAS. Who was this Snow you have been mentioning? What was his full name?

Mr. GILBERT. His name is John B. Snow, and he is no particular friend of mine. He came over to see me.

Mr. THOMAS. You say he's been forming Republican organizations?

Mr. GILBERT. I said that was the information given me by Mrs. Uzell's son, and I gave it to Campbell for what it was worth.

Mr. THOMAS. How long ago was that you passed that information on?

Mr. GILBERT. Whatever date is on the thing there.

Mr. HEALEY. You are opposed to President Roosevelt now, aren't you?

Mr. THOMAS. Let me finish.

Mr. HEALEY. That is in connection with your question.

Mr. GILBERT. I can't answer you both, gentlemen.

Mr. HEALEY. You are opposed to President Roosevelt now?

Mr. GILBERT. As this particular date I am.

Mr. HEALEY. Very bitterly.

Mr. GILBERT. I wouldn't say very bitterly. I would say if he might do some other things I might switch to him in 1940.

Mr. THOMAS. Who did you get this information on Snow from?

Mr. GILBERT. The person that the attorney here has stated, Mr. Uzell's son. He read it to you a few minutes ago.

Mr. THOMAS. And how long have you known him?

Mr. GILBERT. I had only met him that day in his mother's office.

Mr. THOMAS. And he just gave you that information in the conversation and then you immediately wrote——

Mr. GILBERT. He did. I never saw him before or afterward. He called me on the phone a few times.

Mr. THOMAS. You knew nothing about him at all.

Mr. GILBERT. I only knew he was connected with that kind of thing, and, therefore, I thought Campbell should be warned.

Mr. THOMAS. But as a result of that conversation with a man whom you didn't know, you have never met before, you passed the information on——

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). I knew his mother for some time.

Mr. THOMAS. Let me finish. You passed the information on to Campbell, knowing it was going to be disseminated among the other 40 people, isn't that true?

Mr. GILBERT. That was not quite true. That was a personal letter to him, not a report. Will you read that? It is a personal letter. Personal letters I did not think were taken to other people. They were letters between myself and James E. Campbell.

Mr. THOMAS. You had no promise from Campbell that any information passed on by you to him wouldn't be passed on to others, did you?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir; and I had no reason on the other hand to think that it would be.

Mr. THOMAS. Since the hearing on Thursday, last Thursday, where have you been? Have you been here in Washington, or did you go back to New York?

Mr. GILBERT. I will very gladly tell everybody where I have been.

On Thursday night I arrived back after taking my old aunt to the moving-picture show, about—I think the show got out around 11:30, and I was very much surprised to learn on getting to my hotel that the story of this thing had been given to the press, as I had been told by the chairman not to talk to the press. I tried to avoid them, and some of them did find—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Let's correct that.

Mr. GILBERT. You asked where I was.

Mr. THOMAS. I want to find out where you had been.

The CHAIRMAN. You weren't told by the chairman not to talk to the press.

Mr. GILBERT. I most certainly was. I was told not to see the press. I was put out a side door and told to go down the stairs.

Mr. THOMAS. My question is where he had spent his time between Thursday and now. That is what I want to find out.

Mr. GILBERT. I spent my time—I will go back with you—I spent my time yesterday at Mount Vernon at the shrine of Washington and looking over the battlefields of the Civil War. On Saturday I was in Washington, D. C., as I was on Friday.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you spent any of this time in New York?

Mr. GILBERT. I have not been in New York, sir. I will tell you exactly—

Mr. THOMAS. Have you telephoned?

Mr. GILBERT. My wife called me to say a lot of newspaper people were yowling at her and wanted to find out—my father called me.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you make any attempt to contact this alleged informer in this club?

Mr. GILBERT. I most certainly did not.

Mr. THOMAS. Has he made any attempt to contact you?

Mr. GILBERT. He most certainly has not.

Mr. THOMAS. Wouldn't you say that the newspaper publicity over the past few days has been unfavorable to you?

Mr. GILBERT. Decidedly, particularly when you told me to keep my mouth shut, and you can damage me.

Mr. THOMAS. Isn't it reasonable, then, you might try to contact this informer in order to prove your statements?

Mr. GILBERT. I did not.

Mr. THOMAS. But isn't it reasonable to expect?

Mr. GILBERT. I wouldn't think it was. I should think, after what you have done, that man is running like hell, if he is still alive.

Mr. THOMAS. You made no attempt to contact him at all?

Mr. GILBERT. I certainly did not. I try to play fair with the committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Gilbert, getting back to the report of April 5, which we were discussing a moment ago.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have already read you two predictions in that report, with the proof of those predictions written out just under them; on page 4 of that——

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). Those things are from Atlantic City, may I ask? Are they Atlantic City?

Mr. WHITLEY. What?

Mr. GILBERT. What dates were they this year?

Mr. WHITLEY. What dates were the proofs?

Mr. GILBERT. No; what dates were these things? Was it in March or April 1939?

Mr. WHITLEY. They were April.

Mr. GILBERT. In the year 1939?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right.

Mr. GILBERT. Then I was still in Atlantic City, gentlemen. Remember, I had a little different method there than I did in the other plan. There was nobody standing over me to force me to write at all. I was taking a vacation.

Mr. WHITLEY. Page 4 of that same report contains another prediction, one of the predictions which was later confirmed in the press. The prediction supposedly obtained from your informant reads as follows:

Governor Lehman in Army Day speech after parade in New York on Saturday, April 8, would demand United States at once prepare for war. Would thus speed No. 3 sentiment.

Mr. GILBERT. That was my remark, No. 3—not his remark.

Mr. WHITLEY. Immediately under that prediction is written out in your handwriting: "Proof: New York Times, front page, April 9, so reports." Did that happen in the same manner as the other predictions and proofs which you have described in this same report?

Mr. GILBERT. May I ask you a question to clarify that? Are you stating now that I put something in a letter in the way of a clipping to some report I had received that was made before and that I did not send the letter until I got the clipping and the clipping and letter went together, and therefore you discredit the letter? The answer is that if I wanted to do that I wouldn't have been dumb enough to do that; I would have waited 4 or 5 days and sent it.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, this report is dated April 5, and it couldn't have been written until after April 9 because you make references to newspaper articles of April 9.

Mr. GILBERT. That is right. What I have been telling you gentlemen, at Atlantic City I took it easy, nobody standing over me.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, Mr. Gilbert, when Mr. Campbell received these reports you will notice before he had them typewritten to send out to his mailing list that he had the proofs that you had furnished in there all stricken out.

Mr. GILBERT. I had no knowledge of that.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, his typewritten report based on your longhand report just contains the prediction, it doesn't contain the proof which was contained in the same report. He struck all of the proofs out, and has just the predictions copied in the typewritten report which he sent out to his contacts.

Mr. GILBERT. I think that is perfectly fair, for this reason: He was giving a report, not my side remarks on it. He wasn't writing any-

thing in that wasn't the man's report; he wasn't writing my side remarks in the letter.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of course, he could then, Mr. Gilbert—

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). You see, mine were in parentheses.

Mr. WHITLEY. When he got in touch with the members of this mailing list he could make reference to this report of April 5 and point to the predictions and then he could say, "Now go look at the press and you will see this confirmed, 3 or 4 days later."

Mr. GILBERT. I think he did better than that. I think he used to put a little slip in it, in the same letter: "This is in the press such and such a date."

Mr. WHITLEY. He would also point out those confirmations?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir. They had no business in there. They were not in the man's statement. They were in my remarks, and they were in parentheses so they wouldn't be mistaken for the man's in there.

Mr. WHITLEY. He would strike those out, circulate the predictions, and then several days later why he would—

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). I don't know, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Let me finish the question—several days later or weeks, when he was in touch with that particular person on the mailing list who had received that report, he would say, "Now do you question this fantastic information? Why, look, right here is a prediction which is confirmed here, 4 or 5 days later."

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Whitley, what you are trying to insinuate is that Mr. Campbell held things up deliberately that way. If we wanted to play that kind of game I could have held things up a week, which we did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Maybe some of these reporters were held up a week. We will see in a few minutes.

Mr. GILBERT. That is your idea, not mine.

Mr. WHITLEY. The fact remains, that particular report contains three predictions, inside information obtained by your informant, and the report transmitting those predictions contains the proof in every instance, the proof being 4 or 5 days after the date of the report, the date that was on it.

Mr. GILBERT. And they were all written, were they not, from Atlantic City? And it wasn't my fault if things happened so fast between the date I forwarded the thing on and the date he sent the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, gentlemen, let's recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:45 p. m., Monday May 22, 1939, the hearing was recessed until 2 p. m. the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The hearing reconvened at 2 p. m.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

Mr. Gilbert, will you please resume the stand?

Whereupon,

DUDLEY P. GILBERT, the witness on the stand at the time of recess resumed the stand and testified further as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gilbert, I have here a letter written by you on Tuesday, April 18.

Mr. GILBERT. What year, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. The year is not on the letter.

Mr. GILBERT. May I see it; maybe I can identify the year.

The CHAIRMAN. It is on the envelope, it is April 18, 1939.

Mr. GILBERT. All right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I will read part of the letter.

Mr. GILBERT. I was still in Atlantic City at that time.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

DEAR J. E.: New York Times editorial April 17, clipping enclosed, takes point of view Frank's peace talk not really so, but only a smart move to put Italy and Germany on spot. Times goes further and says even if Germany and Italy accepted it would be ignored. Russia, France, and Britain would go right on preparing for war. The words of Italy and Germany are worthless. Then why invite them to conference if you refuse to accept in advance anything they would agree to or promise? The answer is Frank makes it impossible for them to accept. Then he uses that fact that they do not accept to incite American people to point where they would easily follow plan No. 3.

What is plan No. 3?

Mr. GILBERT. Plan No. 3, gentlemen, was getting the United States involved in a foreign war, out of which we would become sovietized as a Nation.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

Finally, by, as a Pharisee, talking peace in which he does not believe, he protects himself from being called a warmonger. He enjoys baiting Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain, and Hungary, while perfectly covered up with a phony peace smoke screen. The music boys get paper, the Jewish-owned New York Times lets the cat out of the bag. Read and see for yourself. Our friends must all see that as soon as possible it is very important in fighting plan No. 3.

That represented your views?

Mr. GILBERT. It does, it did then, and it does today. I stand 100 percent back of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I see here where you have requested questions to ask "our Dixie friends." I am not going to read those questions.

Mr. GILBERT. Well, I can't answer them if you don't read them for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. I am going to let you read them, but we are not going to read them into the record because they are too vile for publication. I want you to look at them and as you do, I want to ask you, do you think that is the type of stuff to circulate with reference to the President of the United States and his wife?

Mr. GILBERT. If it is so, why not? If you want me to answer it, put it in the record and I will answer it gladly.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't know whether it was so or not?

Mr. GILBERT. Well, it is quite evident that the lady did resign from the D. A. R.—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). That is not going into the record. I asked you, did you know that anything of the things you had to say there were true?

Mr. GILBERT. I just said I did, and named one, and you ruled me out of order.

Mr. HEALEY. Does he admit that that is his own handwriting?

Mr. GILBERT. Certainly, why not.

Mr. HEALEY. And he is the author of those charges?

Mr. GILBERT. I am the author of those remarks.

Mr. HEALEY. And you furthermore directed that it be disseminated throughout the South, is that right?

Mr. GILBERT. I thought they ought to look into it; yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you say they ought to look into it or that it ought to be spread around?

Mr. GILBERT. Read what my words were.

The CHAIRMAN. You say this: "Questions to ask our Dixie friends." Then you list six questions.

Mr. GILBERT. You will note I asked question.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; but isn't there a way of asking questions that would forward a whispering campaign to assassinate someone's reputation and character?

Mr. GILBERT. I didn't know that, I am not a lawyer like yourself. As far as giving it to people in the South, I think the South has a right to know the truth.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; but you yourself didn't know whether that was true?

Mr. GILBERT. I just showed you I did know one of them was the truth.

The CHAIRMAN. Why were you suggesting that the questions be asked, if you knew them to be true?

Mr. GILBERT. Because I didn't want to accuse anybody of anything, I wanted the matter proved elsewhere.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed, Mr. Whitley.

Mr. HEALEY. Before he resumes, may I ask this one question?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. HEALEY. Of course in writing such a letter you have indicated your state of mind with reference to President Roosevelt and Mrs. Roosevelt?

Mr. GILBERT. I have only asked a question in there.

Mr. HEALEY. But you directed that those questions be asked; in other words, the subject matter of the questions you wanted disseminated, spread around, spread about particularly in the South?

Mr. GILBERT. I wanted the answers from those men down there—does that sound as if I was disseminating it?

Mr. HEALEY. I would think that that was your purpose, in having it disseminated.

Mr. GILBERT. I wouldn't say so.

Mr. HEALEY. It is perfectly obvious.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Whitley.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Gilbert, will you furnish a description of this mysterious informant of yours, George Rice?

Mr. GILBERT. I gave it to you once. I told you to the best of my ability he was a man of medium height and I figured weighed around 160 pounds. You have in the record there also the way he parts his hair, and he parted his hair, I think, on the right side. We said it was the same as that of the distinguished chairman. His hair was a very dark brown, as I remember. You asked me if I knew if he had any marks about him or the color of his eyes, and I told you that I couldn't tell you the color of anybody's eyes on the committee, I can't.

Mr. WHITLEY. How old was he?

Mr. GILBERT. I told you he appeared to be at the time in his late 30's or early 40's. I am not a good judge of age.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Gilbert, you said you saw the alleged informant walking in a parade?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. THOMAS. Where were you when you saw that?

Mr. GILBERT. I was at the corner of Twenty-ninth Street and Fifth Avenue, sir, on May 1, 1939, in the afternoon.

Mr. THOMAS. Approximately how many people were there in that parade?

Mr. GILBERT. In my estimation there were between fifty and sixty thousand.

Mr. THOMAS. And you picked him out of the fifty or sixty thousand?

Mr. GILBERT. I was right on the front curb, next to the policemen, and I was looking to see who I knew. I didn't expect to see him there.

Mr. WHITLEY. You know, of course, that anyone can march in those parades; they don't have to be members of that organization?

Mr. GILBERT. I didn't know that, I thought you had to be a member of the organization or union.

The CHAIRMAN. Just in that connection, you told the committee in executive session, as I recall, that after you were subpoenaed to come here, after Mr. Whitley talked to you, Mr. Rice called you on the telephone?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you told him something to the effect that he ought to appear before the committee and testify?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that right?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he say?

Mr. GILBERT. He accused me of selling him out, was mad as hell, and hung up on me.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the last you have heard of him?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; and after all this publicity I think I would have an awful hard time finding him.

Mr. THOMAS. But you have made no attempt to find him?

Mr. GILBERT. That is the business of you men, not mine.

Mr. THOMAS. Nevertheless the publicity was unfavorable and in order to clear up your own name isn't it natural that you might try to find him?

Mr. GILBERT. It would be, but I knew he couldn't be found.

Mr. THOMAS. Why did you know that?

Mr. GILBERT. For the simple reason that when you put in the papers a thing like that, and that man was in mortal danger of his life, he would be a damned fool to stay around and be bumped off. I wouldn't know where to reach him.

Mr. WHITLEY. He called you up, and according to your statement you tipped him off that we might be looking for him, several days before there was anything in the papers about him, is that correct?

Mr. GILBERT. That is not exactly correct. I didn't tip him off. I was trying to help you and Mr. Dies at the time, and you said to me that day in New York, "See if you can get this man to testify," and I did my best to try to help you and Mr. Dies. I didn't try to tip him off and that is all the treatment I got out of it.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you, for identification, Mr. Gilbert, a letter or report addressed by you to Mr. Campbell. The report is dated May 2, and the envelope in which it was forwarded to Mr. Campbell, air mail special delivery, from New York, is postmarked May 7, 1939. Will you identify this?

Mr. GILBERT. This, you will note, gentlemen, is not an actual copy of proceedings at these alleged meetings.

Mr. WHITLEY. I just asked you to identify the letter, is that your writing?

Mr. GILBERT. That is my handwriting, yes. That is merely remarks of his that were sent to me and I forwarded them at a later date.

Mr. WHITLEY. This purports to be information or a report made to you by your confidential informant?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; but it was not a report of a meeting, it was a general hash of things that he had picked up.

Mr. WHITLEY. It represents alleged conversations he had overheard which is the basis of all of his reports?

Mr. GILBERT. No, some of his reports, may I correct you, most of his reports are reports of meetings, actual meetings that occurred, regular formal meetings. That one is not, that is just simply stuff he had jotted down and sent to me, and there was no necessity of putting that through right away, the way the other reports were.

Mr. WHITLEY. You said he sent it to you. I thought he always called you up and you met him some place?

Mr. GILBERT. No; I didn't say that. I said that in this particular case there was no necessity, after me getting that thing, to send it out immediately. If I made a slip in the words, it is because you have been asking me about Atlantic City, where he has sent things.

Mr. WHITLEY. There was no hurry about this one?

Mr. GILBERT. No; that was not a report of a meeting, that was merely his opinion on different things he had heard here and there.

Mr. WHITLEY. This report is captioned: "Notes on what our friend heard around Music Boys, May 2 to 4, inclusive."

Mr. GILBERT. May I ask you, do you see anything on there to indicate what we used to call a "score"? Does it say "score" of such and such a date?

Mr. WHITLEY. No.

Mr. GILBERT. Therefore it is not one of his regular reports.

Mr. WHITLEY. But it is a report of information he furnished you?

Mr. GILBERT. Not one of his formal reports, one of his informal things that didn't require immediately being sent to Campbell.

Mr. WHITLEY. Under date of May 2, in this report, it reads as follows:

* * * tells a small group Negrin, Red leader of Spain, is in New York on way to Mexico where he will arrange to concentrate 200,000 Spanish Red troops now interned in France. Most of these will be within 2 or 3 days' march from United States border, a great help in No. 2 plan.

Right under that, in your handwriting:

Proof.—May 3, New York newspapers state Negrin is at Plaza Hotel for 1 week on way to Mexico, where he will arrange with Mexican Government for transfer of Red Spaniards now interned in France, to Mexico.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; I wrote that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that one of the marvelous predictions that gave you such confidence in your informant?

Mr. GILBERT. That is a prediction that hasn't yet come true. The men are not yet transferred to Mexico because Negrin himself says he is going there to arrange for it.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you furnish, as proof, quotations from New York newspapers of May 3?

Mr. GILBERT. Why not? The New York newspapers had it in.

Mr. WHITLEY. That report was not forwarded until May 7?

Mr. GILBERT. There was no hurry for it.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is 5 days after the first period covered by this report?

Mr. GILBERT. Certainly, there was no hurry for that. That wasn't one of the regular reports but a supplementary thing that he wrote once in a while.

Mr. WHITLEY. You weren't in Atlantic City at the time this report was received, were you?

Mr. GILBERT. I was back in New York, and there was no hurry about it.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you obtained it in the usual manner?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; as I recall I got that in the St. Moritz Hotel, Fifty-ninth Street and Sixth Avenue.

Mr. WHITLEY. In the same report, under May 3, you state:

Music Boys thanked by Harry Bridges union for sending 150 gas masks to striking sailors at Everett, Mass., after they had been gassed by police in riot.

Immediately under that:

Proof.—May 4 (the following day), the papers report several pickets arrested with gas masks.

That is another one of the predictions that came true?

Mr. GILBERT. That is not a prediction. I told you what type of letter that was. But it did prove that what the man was saying was true because you again have the American press proving it themselves.

Mr. WHITLEY. And we again have the report, not being sent out until several days after it had been confirmed by the American press, also.

In the case of this report, which you say was unusual——

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). There were a number like it, you will probably find some more in Mr. Campbell's files.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Campbell did the same thing that he did in the previous reports we have referred to, in that, in having it typed to send out to his mailing list, he struck out the proofs which you had put in there and just sent the predictions. You don't know in what manner Mr. Campbell used to later call it to the attention of his mailing list that the predictions had come true?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't know what Mr. Campbell did. I wasn't out there, as you know.

Mr. WHITLEY. But this is another one of the unusual ones?

Mr. GILBERT. I take exception to that remark as trying to bias the people against me.

Mr. WHITLEY. You stated the previous ones I read you were unusual because you were in Atlantic City?

Mr. GILBERT. All right, read one back when I wasn't in Atlantic City.

Mr. WHITLEY. I ask you to identify the report dated January 25, 1939?

Mr. GILBERT. What was the date on this envelope?

Mr. WHITLEY. I haven't got the envelope for that one, it couldn't be found.

Mr. GILBERT. It is apparently in my handwriting; yes, sir. I sent that. That was given to me and I sent it to Campbell for what it was worth.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was there anything unusual about the manner in which you obtained this one or was this routine?

Mr. GILBERT. Routine, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is, your informant called you up?

Mr. GILBERT. As far as I know there is nothing unusual about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Right in that connection, is there a single instance of any of these reports sent out that you actually sent the report out before it was confirmed in the newspapers?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; I think you will find dozens of those instances if you will look back in the older reports you have. The only reason these things got out later in the last few months was, as I told the committee the other day, these things, instead of coming a month, 5 or 6 weeks afterward, came in such rapid succession that we had hardly time to get them out.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have been over all the available reports, I think, very carefully. I haven't as yet found any as described by Mr. Gilbert. I would be glad to make those reports available to him after the session and see if he can find any.

Mr. GILBERT. How long back have you these reports, for a year and a half?

Mr. WHITLEY. They go back for at least a year and a half.

Mr. HEALEY, Mr. Chairman, does counsel mean the information that is transmitted in these communications was already published in the newspapers prior to the information being disseminated in the manner that he uses for that purpose?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right, that is not published prior to the date on the report, but published prior to the date the envelope was mailed.

Mr. THOMAS. How does that, Mr. Counsel, jibe, with the information that we got in the executive hearing the other day, the statement that was given out to the press and what we read in the press. I am not trying to defend the witness at all, but I want you to get this thing cleared up for the record. Were there any incidents that were reported by the informant and then reported by Mr. Gilbert to Campbell, that took place some time afterward?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you recall the testimony of Mr. Cooke, who testified that some of the predictions were made prior to the announcement in the press. That was the evidence we had before us the other day in the executive session. We then recessed until Monday to afford us an opportunity to check the files which we had seized, but had not had an opportunity to go through. This is a result of an examination of the files themselves.

But the information you are asking for is answered by the testimony of Mr. Cooke, who, as you recall, did testify that some of the predictions came true later, as indicated in the press.

Mr. THOMAS. Have we found, then, by a later test, that that was not correct, that all of this information was reported in the press at about the same time or immediately thereafter?

Mr. WHITLEY. We are just citing a number of instances, Mr. Thomas, some of which were cited by the witnesses in previous hearings, in which the proof of the prediction is contained in the same report that contains the prediction, which means that the report was written after it appeared in the press.

Mr. THOMAS. I see, but are there any instances where the report was written long before it appeared in the press?

Mr. WHITLEY. I haven't found any and I have just offered to let Mr. Gilbert go over the records.

Mr. GILBERT. May I cite one example now, and if you will look back as far as the spring of 1938, there is, in one of these reports, a reference to eliminating the older officers of the Army because of their connection with the veterans' organizations. Gentlemen, 1 year afterwards it took to confirm that thing, and only a few weeks ago it was announced in the papers, and went out to the Army, the order for all officers over 40 years of age to take a physical examination before special boards.

Mr. THOMAS. Is that the only instance you know of?

Mr. GILBERT. That is one, offhand, there were a great many of these things.

Mr. THOMAS. Can you recall one other?

Mr. GILBERT. Not right off the bat, I don't know exactly. I would be glad to go through it with the attorney and look into those things.

May I make a statement right now, too?

One thing hasn't been brought out here, is this, and that is that this man would get these reports, he didn't always find it convenient nor was he able to reach me immediately, a day or two afterwards. Sometimes it was 2 or 3 days before he reached me. Now, I am not responsible for the fact that he didn't reach me before that date, and that in itself would sometimes make these things later than they should be.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you mean sometimes or quite often he would get information in advance, through conversations in the club, and then before he could get to you to give it to you, it would be confirmed in the press?

Mr. GILBERT. I wouldn't put it that way. I only wanted to say that there were times when he gave me the reports 2 or 3 days after he had gotten them. I didn't get them within 24 hours.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean after he said he had gotten them?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have identified your report of January 25?

Mr. GILBERT. Is that the one I just looked at?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; which you sent to Mr. Campbell for dissemination through the medium of the mailing list.

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. This report allegedly has to do with a meeting of the group at which the confidential informant was present and overheard conversations. The report reads as follows:

* * * of star boys, read a letter from * * * which stated that if the music boys wanted anything from the Army or Navy to see * * * was assured by * * * that he had his permission to interfere in Army or Navy

any time he saw fit. * * * ended by saying that the generals and admirals were of no more importance than the big, stupid gentile uniformed doormen that stood outside Jewish-owned apartment houses in New York, and like the doormen we can fire them if they do not please us. Watch what happens to some of them this year.

Immediately under that in your handwriting:

Proof.—New York Herald Tribune, January 27, 1939 (2 days later), stated: “* * * had gone over the head of the Army and allowed French officers to learn our plane secrets. Clippings enclosed.”

In other words, this report was not written or mailed out until after the mysterious prediction had been confirmed in the press?

Mr. GILBERT. Because the gentleman at that particular time—will you give those dates again?

Mr. WHITLEY. The report is dated January 25, and in your proof which you write just under it you make reference to newspaper reports of January 27, 2 days later, to prove the accuracy of the prediction.

Mr. GILBERT. I just told you the man gave his reports sometimes 2 or 3 days later.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, maybe he had had a chance to see the papers before he made the report?

Mr. GILBERT. No; he didn't.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, there is a 2-day lapse between the date of the report and the date of the proof, which you state in your own handwriting in your own report?

Mr. GILBERT. That referred, as I understand what you have just read, to the head of one department going over the head of the other, without mentioning names, in the French deal that everybody read about in the papers, about the planes, which wasn't found out until a plane crashed out there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, you have the proof of the prediction right here; you furnished that with the report. Tell me this: You stated Thursday, and you stated again this morning, that this was the procedure followed: You would meet the informant at a designated place; he would hand you a longhand report?

Mr. GILBERT. Quite true.

Mr. WHITLEY. You would sit down and copy that right there and then would send it out immediately, air mail, special delivery?

Mr. GILBERT. Quite true.

Mr. WHITLEY. You said sometimes there would be as much as a 24-hour delay, but the mere fact that you used air mail, special delivery, showed that time was of the essence?

Mr. GILBERT. Quite right, if he handed it to me a few—

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). You also said that you did not re-write or recopy those reports after you wrote them in his presence. Did you write in the proof while he was standing there, as you were copying the reports?

Mr. GILBERT. I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he furnish you the proof with the reports in each instance, or did you just supply it?

Mr. GILBERT. I knew about it in one instance. I said, “This is very extraordinary, but it is in this morning's paper.”

In other instances, I didn't write them in until later.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, in some instances you did rewrite the reports so you could prove the predictions, by putting the proof in there?

Mr. GILBERT. Sometimes where a thing was badly written I took it home and rewrote the thing; and if the cases of proof came up then, I put them in.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't indicate this morning that you might have written these reports on a few occasions, rewritten them, but they were exceptionally rare?

Mr. GILBERT. They were exceptionally rare.

Mr. WHITLEY. Most of the time you got them off immediately?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; I believe that was written in his presence, that one; I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he didn't furnish the proof; you just supplied that to supplement his report?

Mr. GILBERT. If I happened to know of something at the time.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, if he was giving you information upon several occasions you happened to have the proof with you, and you said, "That is extraordinary."

Mr. GILBERT. I said, "Here is the New York Times this morning; I read it in there, and it is rather extraordinary that you had the thing in here."

The CHAIRMAN. You were talking to him, and he showed you a prediction, and you said, "Here it is in the New York Times, showing this is true"?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; I said, "You ought to give them to me a little earlier."

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Gilbert, one of the cases you cited Thursday, where a wonderful or rather mysterious, unusual prediction had come true, was confirmed, I believe you said, a considerable time later. That was the French mission to purchase Army planes from this country?

Mr. GILBERT. I think you read that testimony from another witness, a Mr. Cooke, or whatever his name was, from Tennessee, and he testified to you that he got it 12 days later.

Mr. WHITLEY. You can readily understand, can't you, that where the mailing list received these reports, dated January 25, and containing a prediction, and then they checked up the newspapers and saw that 3 or 4 days later that thing had come true, they would naturally think that was a prediction, and it wouldn't occur to them that that had been written after the matter appeared in the newspapers?

Mr. GILBERT. Well, I think it was written before. I don't want you to put words in my mouth which I didn't say.

Mr. WHITLEY. I wasn't quoting you, I was just making an observation.

Reading from the same report of January 25, this relates to the incident which has been used, not by you, but by another witness to establish the authenticity of these reports:

* * * has arranged for French to buy 100 million worth of planes and plane equipment. These and other credits were being secretly arranged, which would force United States to enter world war to protect Government investment or go bankrupt. In either case we win, as their choice is between No. 3 and No. 2 plans only.

Immediately under that prediction, written in your handwriting:

Proof—late edition of New York Evening Sun January 27, 1939, clipping enclosed.

Did you carry the clipping with you when you went to meet the informant?

Mr. GILBERT. No; I cut that out afterward before I sent it. See what time that thing was mailed. I told you I usually sent those things within 24 hours.

Mr. WHITLEY. We know it was mailed after January 27, because you make reference in the report to clippings of that date.

Mr. GILBERT. What date was that clipping, what time of day was the thing mailed?

Mr. WHITLEY. I don't have the envelope, but in any event we know it was mailed after January 27, or you couldn't be referring to a news item of that date.

Mr. GILBERT. I sent it out, as I have told the committee repeatedly, within 24 hours after, in the usual way. If, before I sent that out, I read a paper that bore on it in some way, I usually sent a number of clippings along. I had nothing to do with printing the newspaper.

Mr. WHITLEY. To complete reading the proof which you offer for that statement:

Late edition of New York Evening Sun (that is January 27, 1939, 2 days after the date of the report) clipping enclosed, stated—had failed to clear up sale of 600 United States military planes to France. Frank said he approved of this deal.

Mr. GILBERT. What was wrong with saying that?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is another one of the predictions that has been cited to establish——

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). Mr. Whitley, I don't know what you think of me or not—it doesn't make any difference particularly; but I am not dumb enough to send that thing in the same letter; if I wanted to fool anybody it would be easy to hold the letter up for 3 or 4 days.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you know Mr. Campbell was going to hold that up when you sent it to him?

Mr. GILBERT. I did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. In this, as in the previous instances cited, after receiving the report Mr. Campbell struck out all of the proof, and he just published in his typewritten report for circulation to the mailing list, the predictions; he didn't cite in the reports the proof which you furnished him.

Mr. GILBERT. You told me that this morning. I didn't know anything about how Campbell handled things.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you ever receive any copies of reports back from Campbell?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. You never saw any of the reports sent out by Campbell?

Mr. GILBERT. Not until I saw them here.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Gilbert, this same report contains two other similar instances, but I assume your explanation would be the same?

Mr. GILBERT. It probably would.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is, a prediction and a proof—so we won't go into it.

Mr. GILBERT. I can't answer it when I don't know what you are asking.

The CHAIRMAN. Why not afford him an opportunity—we have another witness here we want to proceed with—so why not afford the witness an opportunity to go through this with you when you get through, and find out if he can give us a single example where the prediction was actually sent out before there was some announcement in the paper to that effect.

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Dies, before you send me out of the room, could I make a little statement, and may I preface it with this?

It has no hard feelings for anybody. You told me this morning I could make that statement.

Mr. HEALEY. I would like to ask just a few questions before that.

You said this morning that your objective was to obtain 3,000,000 members for the organization known as the American Nationalists, Inc.?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. Was it your purpose and the purpose of the other founders of this organization to charge a membership fee—initiation fee?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. You weren't going to charge any membership fee at all for this organization?

Mr. GILBERT. No; that was one of the foolish things we did. If we had, we would have probably gotten somewhere.

Mr. HEALEY. Were you going to sell them anything, any insignia or such?

Mr. GILBERT. Nothing at all.

Mr. HEALEY. So you didn't depend on getting any money from your membership at all?

Mr. GILBERT. No.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, now, the State of New York issued to the American Nationalists, Inc., a charter of incorporation?

Mr. GILBERT. That is quite right, they did.

Mr. HEALEY. When was that?

Mr. GILBERT. As I remember it, I am not sure of the exact date, I think it was back in April 1935. The exact date you will have to find out. I think it was the latter part of the month.

Mr. HEALEY. Was this corporation or organization a charitable or eleemosynary corporation?

Mr. GILBERT. You will have to read the preamble of that thing to see that.

Mr. HEALEY. Can't you of your own memory cite what the purposes were as related in your articles of incorporation?

Mr. GILBERT. I can answer you—not being a lawyer and being at a disadvantage in that respect—I can answer you that I remember the attorney who drew it up said, "This charter is wide enough to conduct most any kind of an organization within reason."

Mr. HEALEY. You purposely framed it so you could cover a lot of ground?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; we didn't know what we might want to do at any time. He said, "You can have anything here from a social club to a chowder party or a baseball team."

Mr. HEALEY. You stated in there that the purposes of your organization were charitable——

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). I don't think so.

Mr. HEALEY. Haven't you any memory of what purposes were cited?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't. A man, using legal language which I don't understand very well, drew it up.

Mr. HEALEY. Has that charter ever been canceled?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir; not to my knowledge.

Mr. HEALEY. It still exists?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir; but it isn't in use. The reason I didn't turn it in and ask to give it up was that I was afraid that some of these fanatical types of organizations would take it over and do a lot of harm with it because it was a good name.

Mr. WHITLEY. What type of organization?

Mr. GILBERT. Fanatical type, which might be tied up with some foreign government.

Mr. HEALEY. Now just one or two more questions, and I will be through.

You referred this morning to the necessity of using the Spanish method this summer. I don't know that you fully explained what you meant yourself, what was in your mind when you referred to the "Spanish method."

Mr. GILBERT. If you didn't personally understand, I should be pleased to answer you.

I meant this, that if there was a leftist uprising in this country, something of the nature of counter attack that came in Spain under Franco would have to be gone into after the left had taken the field, not before.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you feel that something of a militaristic nature would have to take place?

Mr. GILBERT. I was afraid that it would be necessary in support of the Government.

Mr. HEALEY. Is that your understanding of the Spanish method, some militaristic movement?

Mr. GILBERT. I would understand that; yes.

Mr. HEALEY. To supplant the present form of Government?

Mr. GILBERT. No; not to supplant it, to defend it.

Mr. HEALEY. Now this operation of yours has entailed some expense, hasn't it? These reports that were forwarded to Campbell and in turn disseminated by Campbell, have entailed a considerable expense?

Mr. GILBERT. I think you will see that in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. The record shows the amounts.

Mr. HEALEY. How much out-of-pocket have you been up to the present time, from the time you started this movement up to the present time?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't know; but I don't think it is anywhere near as high as you say.

Mr. HEALEY. What is your recollection?

Mr. GILBERT. Well, it is different for different months. You will find that some of those things which Mr. Whitley gave me this morning have reference to \$25 or \$30. I would imagine, on the basis of 2 years, it was 5 or 6 thousand dollars. I didn't have the money myself and my wife didn't get busted in 1932 as I did, and she loaned me the money to give to Campbell.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Gilbert, would you say that the great majority of the American people believe in and want very much to keep democracy; would you agree to that?

Mr. GILBERT. I certainly do; and I do, also.

Mr. VOORHIS. Would you agree also that if that be true, then, that certain things have got to be brought about in the minds of the American people if any group which seeks to change that democratic form of government is to be successful; do you agree to that?

Mr. GILBERT. It isn't always necessary for—

Mr. VOORHIS (interposing). I mean—

Mr. GILBERT (interposing). Do you want me to answer that question? I will answer it if you will allow me to. Most revolutionary movements are not backed by a majority but a well-organized minority with sufficient authority to force its purposes on the majority.

Mr. VOORHIS. And what is the thing that gets that small group working together, isn't it usually the fact that that group of people is sold on the idea that they must carry out this forceful movement in order to forestall a movement of somebody else?

Mr. GILBERT. It doesn't usually work that way.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, I believe it has, and I think I can point to a great many instances.

Mr. GILBERT. May I ask your name, sir?

Mr. VOORHIS. The next question I want to ask you is this: The most important thing about these reports was not the prediction, but it was the fact that the things that you put into those reports were put there as though they were part of a plot to overthrow the Government, isn't that the most important part?

Mr. GILBERT. We believed it was all equally important, every part of it.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, what reason did you have to believe that that was actually the case; I mean, what proof did you have when you sent these reports out, that the things that were reported therein were actually a part of such a plot; what proof did you have?

Mr. GILBERT. They subsequently occurred, as I showed you a few minutes ago.

Mr. VOORHIS. An event occurred. But I think Mr. Whitley has fairly well demonstrated that those events had already happened before the reports went out. But even if they had been accurately predicted, the important thing is the fact that you said this event was a portion of a plot. What I want to know was, what proof did you have to say that that was a portion of a plot?

Mr. GILBERT. Other than this course of events, and may I state further both to you and Mr. Dies, that for that reason we didn't give it to the public, we didn't want to do harm to people who shouldn't be harmed until it was absolutely proven, and that is the reason we didn't give it to the press. You know if we gave it to

the press or even certain organizations of a bigoted nature, they would spread that throughout the country, and I think that is proof that we didn't want to malign people until it was proven.

And may I add also that I did not give anything out about a certain club. That came from the committee. I tried to protect that club's name. I think a lot of the men in there are good, God-fearing people, but the committee saw fit to put it out, and they can blame the committee, not me, if their names are hurt.

Mr. VOORHIS. You know, don't you, Mr. Gilbert, that people on both extremes in our society would say that the reason that they have to contemplate the possible use of force in the future is because somebody else is going to do it?

Mr. GILBERT. I wouldn't doubt that is true amongst the fanatics of the left and right.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think so. But isn't it also true, therefore, that the things that you put in these reports were calculated to create that very sort of state of mind which would lead people to be entirely ready to take up forceful action against a danger, real or imagined, which you had pictured?

Mr. GILBERT. I disagree with you because they did not go to fanatics or fanatical organizations.

Mr. VOORHIS. I didn't say they did.

Mr. GILBERT. Sane people wouldn't act on a thing like that until they had thoroughly analyzed it and got sufficient proof, in addition to these clippings, and that is the reason we didn't give them out.

Mr. VOORHIS. I can't understand what their reason would be.

Mr. GILBERT. Maybe you can't, I can.

The CHAIRMAN. Isn't it a fact that you testified that the reason you didn't go forward actively with your first plan, the American Nationalists, Inc., is because you didn't get any publicity?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes; I testified we got plenty of publicity in the beginning, and it didn't do any good. I also testified that I hadn't the money to do a thing, like the Democratic or Republican Party in a campaign fund.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you testify that you couldn't get anywhere with your first plan?

Mr. GILBERT. We couldn't organize the big organization of 3,000,000 men, it wouldn't go off, it wouldn't go over.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, you sent out your material to every newspaper in the land, in the beginning?

Mr. GILBERT. That is quite right.

The CHAIRMAN. To every editor?

Mr. GILBERT. Whether they were favorable or not, I wanted their reaction.

The CHAIRMAN. You tried that as your first plan, and failed?

Mr. GILBERT. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Then your next plan was this method of sending out these reports to a confidential list?

Mr. GILBERT. If you will look back at my testimony, you will see that there was a long time in between before I did anything.

The CHAIRMAN. Whether it was long or short, your second plan was the one under which you are now operating, isn't that a fact?

Mr. GILBERT. That is right, and that wasn't confined to sending out lists, it was also getting information from different people.

The CHAIRMAN. Won't you agree that the most effective way of disseminating any information, or propaganda, or whatever you may term it, is through a whispering campaign, cloaking it in mystery and causing people not to make it public? Don't you know that that is the most deceptive form of propaganda that can be disseminated?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't believe that is altogether so, but if that is true, gentlemen, the mystery put around this investigation will spread that thing quicker than anything that anybody else could do, and the Chairman is largely guilty of that.

The CHAIRMAN. You have your own opinion with reference to that.

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Chairman, is it possible for us to have the charter of this organization?

The CHAIRMAN. We have that charter.

Mr. MASON. If and when there is a Red uprising, you have stated that the Nation or groups in the Nation should be ready to launch a counter attack?

Mr. GILBERT. By that I mean they should volunteer their services at once to the constituted authorities, be they police or Army or Navy.

Mr. MASON. But there shouldn't be any counter attack until after the overt act of the Red uprising?

Mr. GILBERT. Certainly not, so as to be within the law.

Mr. MASON. But what should be done to get ready to make this counter attack so that the counter attack will be ready at the time the Red uprising comes?

Mr. GILBERT. The manpower to hand over to the police departments of the various cities, and the National Guard, when they may be short of manpower.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you recognize that racial or religious hatred, or class hatred, in the country paves the way for some form of dictatorship?

Mr. GILBERT. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you know that in Germany and Italy that was the preliminary preparation made?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't remember it was true in Italy.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think you are serving a patriotic principle, or doing a patriotic service, when you are spreading reports that you haven't even verified? Do you think you were rendering a patriotic service when you did that?

Mr. GILBERT. In the first place, I wasn't spreading them, I was only giving them to 40 people.

The CHAIRMAN. But don't you know that these 40 people were talking these things over in their respective States?

Mr. GILBERT. Why didn't it get into the papers?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think the papers would print the stuff you have got in there, most of the things you have in these reports?

Mr. GILBERT. Some of it would have gotten in under one form or another.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you know they would be guilty of libel? You didn't even know they were true, how could a paper print something which you didn't even verify?

Mr. GILBERT. All those things weren't libel, and you know there are a good many organizations that would have spread it, and didn't.

The CHAIRMAN. There are a good many organizations in this country that are spreading about the same type of stuff, aren't there?

Mr. GILBERT. I don't think so, and I think if it is being spread, it is due to the fact of the state of mind created by this rather strange investigating committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You may have one opinion of that, and I have a very definite opinion of you.

Mr. GILBERT. I have a very definite opinion of you, too, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are excused.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Campbell, will you take the stand?

ADDITIONAL TESTIMONY OF JAMES E. CAMPBELL

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Campbell, I believe at the time you testified before the committee last Thursday, you stated that the American Nationalists, Inc., the corporation which Mr. Dudley P. Gilbert has set up, ceased to exist or ceased to function in the latter part of 1936 or the early part of 1937 as an organization?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I said that I met Mr. Gilbert in 1936, and in the latter part of 1937 and in 1938 I did some work with him, to try to see if we could extend his organization, and because he was attempting to put in chapters without dues, that it was impossible to make the thing a go, that you couldn't get the membership.

Mr. WHITLEY. And after that attempt had been made and failed, then the American Nationalists, Inc., as an organization, ceased to function?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right. As far as I know that is absolutely the truth because I have only operated as an individual.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you for identification, Mr. Campbell, a carbon copy of a letter dated April 6, 1939, which was in your files. It is addressed "Dear Friend."

Apparently it was prepared for widespread distribution to a mailing list. Will you identify that, please?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; but that had nothing to do with this, and I can explain it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Let me ask you the question. I just wanted you to identify it, Mr. Campbell. You will have an opportunity to explain it.

In the first paragraph of this letter you state:

DEAR FRIEND: Shall we passively allow an organized minority to push us into another World War? I am assuming that your answer as an American nationalist is no.

This letter is dated April 6, 1939. How do you reconcile that with your testimony that the American Nationalists ceased to exist?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Because in all of my statements ever since 1932 I have classified myself as an American nationalist, as opposed to the internationalist propaganda which is going on in this country by the Communist Party, not from the standpoint of democracy because it has been so misused, but I am an American. I believe in national American ideals and principles, and I have stood on that platform, as

opposed to the international ideology that has been rife in our country, particularly for the last 6 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Another paragraph of this letter, Mr. Campbell, follows:

It is recommended that yourself and all persons whom you can contact or influence who are interested and would be affected by this country's entry into another foreign war immediately petition your Senators and Congressmen requesting the passage of a strong neutrality act, with full authority vested in the Congress of the United States.

To whom were you sending these letters?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I sent that to a list of approximately 150 people that I knew, and in that I enclosed the address that I made on April 6, on Army Day, because I am personally opposed to going into any foreign war.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we are all opposed to that, so you won't get any controversy on that.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you for identification, Mr. Campbell, a carbon copy of a letter dated May 9, 1939, addressed:

Dear Skipper.

Could you identify that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was that letter addressed to?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Gilbert.

Mr. WHITLEY. You called him "Skipper"?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You also referred to him as "Uncle" and as "Uncle Dudley," did you not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Occasionally.

Mr. WHITLEY. In the last paragraph of this letter you state as follows:

R. S. J. is definitely a Christian NO.

Who is R. S. J.?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't remember that initial right now, or what it had reference to.

Mr. WHITLEY. Why did you just use the initials, was that by way of precaution to keep from revealing a name?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; most of the time I do everything that way.

Mr. WHITLEY. "Is definitely a Christian NO." What does the "NO" stand for?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think that should have been Naval Reserve.

Mr. WHITLEY. A Christian Naval Reserve?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. What would be the purpose of such an identification?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I will be frank with you right now, I don't know what that was.

Mr. WHITLEY. You just used initials of that kind?

Mr. CAMPBELL. NO isn't Naval Reserve.

Mr. WHITLEY. It must have meant something, you used it descriptively?

Mr. CAMPBELL. But I don't recall right now what it is.

Mr. MASON. What does the word "Christian" signify? Does it have the connotation that we regularly give it, or does it have any other particular significance beyond that?

The WITNESS. It has the connotation that we regularly give it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you usually, in your letters, describe your contacts as to religious beliefs or connections?

Mr. CAMPBELL. If I have found somebody a Communist I am not going to call him a Christian, and I call everybody that isn't a Communist a Christian, to my own knowledge.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

But we are advised to not give out too much information until he is properly educated.

What do you mean by "properly educated"? Properly educating R. S. J., whoever he might be?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, by that I mean until we are absolutely convinced, or rather have convinced him that there is a propaganda afoot to throw the United States into a foreign war. I have been interested in this thing, as I said, primarily from the standpoint of the American, or I will call it a nationalist, as opposed to internationalist, international ideology, and the propaganda that has been going on, and I have tried constantly since 1932 to educate people to that belief that the job of Americans is to stay at home and attend to their own business, and I have tried to show them what we lost out of the last war, that there is nothing to be gained, and I think if I could get you alone for 2 hours I could convince you of that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you consider the spreading of antiracial or anti-religious propaganda as a necessary part of your educational program?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; and I am not antireligious or antiracial. If you will read the statement that I gave to Mr. (Committee Investigator) when he came into my office, I think that qualifies my stand.

Mr. WHITLEY. We are trying to determine your stand from your own writing, and from your own letters, and not just from your own statements given to the committee.

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Chairman, do I understand the witness is not able to define what he meant by the words "Christian NO"?

Mr. WHITLEY. He doesn't recall what he meant.

Mr. HEALEY. You want to say to the committee that you don't know what you meant by that?

The WITNESS. I don't know what I meant by "No."

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing). "That will be done by degrees, but fairly rapidly," referring to the fact that you can't give him too much information until he is properly educated.

Would you explain there what you meant by that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir, I will; because I have seen a lot of people, friends of mine, who have felt that we should go to war right now against either Europe or Asia or some other foreign nation, without knowing the background or the reasons, nothing more or less than an economic ideal to take us abroad for an international ideology. And I have tried in my own humble way to show that America couldn't possibly gain anything by it, and asked them what we had to gain, and who are we afraid of, and what nation could attack

us, and it does take a little time, but you can do it fairly rapidly with them.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, under your system of disseminating these reports, you consider the educational system, you have to build up gradually until you think the individual is convinced as to the accuracy of the reports, and then you can give him more information, probably more startling or more fantastic information, and he will be able to absorb it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; the reports that were sent out, as I told you, had been only sent to a very select mailing list of people whom I knew personally. It was sent for their own personal guidance. At no time and under no circumstances have I ever disseminated one of those reports where they could have been broadcast or made public, because if they had been, it would have created strife in this country, which I am opposed to, and it was merely for their guidance, as I testified the other day.

Mr. VOORHIS. You think these reports would have created strife in the country?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't know.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did you have any assurance that they wouldn't be given out?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir, I talked to most of the people; in fact, all of them personally.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading from the fifth paragraph of the same letter, Mr. Campbell—this is your letter to Mr. Gilbert—

If what these reports indicate, namely that fireworks are liable to start shortly after July 1, we certainly have to speed the detail considerably on the shack. I will be sending you a copy of the revised blueprint at the end of this week.

"If what these reports indicate"—will you elaborate on that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is a personal letter between Mr. Gilbert and myself. I was referring to the reports which he had sent me, which seemed to indicate that under that plan 2, there was an attempt to be made for an internal revolt if No. 3, which was to embroil us in a foreign war, failed, and Mr. Gilbert was fearful for his family, they were in New York and as he explained before the committee, he was advancing the money for me to build a house in Kentucky where he could take his family in the event of any kind of any emergency.

Mr. THOMAS. Did Mr. Gilbert ever see any of these reports of yours?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Only in my book form, I kept a copy.

Mr. THOMAS. He saw the reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't know whether he read them through thoroughly, but I have always had them in my portfolio.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you send them to him?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. How did he get them?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He sent the reports to me. When I would meet him in New York, or some place else, I always had that book in my portfolio.

Mr. THOMAS. And then he had an opportunity to see those?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't think he ever looked them over thoroughly because he knew what was in them.

Mr. THOMAS. How did he know what was in them?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He had sent the reports out to me.

Mr. THOMAS. This book that you had, and that you offered to show him, didn't he ever glance through that at all?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; it was just a copy of each one of the reports as it had been received and filed there for my own reference.

Mr. THOMAS. And you took them up there with you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. All the time.

Mr. THOMAS. Why did you take them with you if you didn't want him to see them?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I didn't object to him seeing them.

Mr. THOMAS. What was the purpose of your taking them to New York?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I always carried that book in my portfolio. It was a binder, and every time I got a report from him I would file one of them in this book binder.

Mr. THOMAS. But you did have them in New York and he had an opportunity to see them?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; if he wanted.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading paragraph 6 from the same letter, to Mr. Gilbert:

Comments continue to pour in from over the country. Under separate cover I am enclosing a couple of things which I think will be of interest to you and thence have been sent out to contacts.

"Comments continued to pour in from over the country." Mr. Campbell, do you mean that literally?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; I meant from the people that I had sent that Neutrality Act letter to, the one that you asked me about here, and that is the one in which I sent the comments out on the Neutrality Act, and asked people to call upon their Senator with a copy of the speech which you have in the files, that I made.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the one that you gave a distribution of about 150, I believe?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Paragraph 7 of the same letter:

Postage is becoming a decided factor, but I believe the returns we are getting certainly justify the expenditure.

Mr. CAMPBELL. It cost 12 cents apiece to send those out.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, your mailing list was increasing or your volume of outgoing mail larger?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; the mimeograph expense was increasing for the literature we sent out. The list itself had not increased, but the packages were heavier.

Mr. WHITLEY. With further reference to your mailing list, Mr. Campbell, considerable has been said about it previously here today, at the hearing, or in your testimony before the committee on Thursday last. You were shown and identified a folder containing a list or various lists, the total of the names in those various lists approximating 200. You stated at that time that that was not your mailing list but it was the various lists, and you only sent out these reports regularly to about 40 of the names contained in that mailing list?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. The other 160 in there were just for reference purposes?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Some were for reference purposes, and some were the ones I sent those speeches to, but in that some two-hundred-odd names there were some forty-odd names that were receiving the reports.

Mr. Dies, if it isn't out of order, and you can leave this out of the record if you want to, I would like to make a statement here to prove, and I think it proves conclusively, that I haven't tried to stir up strife.

You had in my testimony the other day that in 1934, 1935, and 1936 I was national chairman of the subversive activities committee of the Reserve Officers' Association. During that time I received much information. I went into various organizations and I tried to do what any other officer, perhaps dumbly, but honestly and sincerely, would do. I had made quite a number of contacts over the country.

I am also department chairman of the Veterans of Foreign Wars for the department of Kentucky. I explained to you my connection with General Moseley in a business way. Of course, we naturally had talked subversive activities some, and how Mr. Hamilton came into the picture, and these various people. During the past 6 months I have had in various cities, both from Legion posts and Veterans of Foreign Wars posts, and from individuals I have talked to, concrete evidence, and have been taken into department stores by discharged American service men and shown where they have lost their jobs and it was given to political refugees in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you got any evidence of this sort that you will give this committee?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; if this committee will go to Nashville, Tenn.; Louisville, Indianapolis, Cincinnati, and Columbus, it can find out by going into those department stores.

Mr. THOMAS. But what evidence have you got?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I went with some of those people to see it. If I had been trying to create trouble I would have gone out and taken affidavits from those people that had been fired at these various posts, and broadcast that information.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know it is true?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The fellows were fired.

The CHAIRMAN. Who told you that they were fired; the men that had been fired?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Legionnaires, Veterans of Foreign Wars.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get the statement from a single man that had been fired telling you he had been fired?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I told you I did not make any personal investigation on that.

The CHAIRMAN. You heard that from hearsay?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I did not want to concern myself—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). In other words, all you found out was from what somebody told you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; because men said they would take me to the others who had been fired.

The CHAIRMAN. But you didn't go?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No.

Mr. HEALEY. You aren't able to furnish this committee with a solitary name of a person fired in that manner?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Isn't it a fact that you yourself advocated a military dictatorship in the United States?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I have not advocated that.

The CHAIRMAN. In your letter—do you mean to say that you have never advocated the establishment of some military dictatorship to save the United States?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; I have made this statement, that if things go bad in this country, the Army may have to establish, under proper authority, a military dictatorship until it is straightened out.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what you said in one of your letters?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That that would be the ultimate solution?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That the Army would be the ultimate solution, or rather, salvation.

The CHAIRMAN. That they would have to take over the Government?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; that they would be acting under the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you say that they would administer the Government in the 48 States?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't know whether I said they would administer it in the 48 States or not, but I said that would be the ultimate salvation.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you say, in a letter dated December 13, 1938—

Frankly, I say to you that this thing has gone so far that there is only one remedy and that is a military action which will put a military court in charge of the United States Federal Government and each State government, and let them operate under the Constitution until each State proves itself worthy of the right of self-government, and that can be done only by the citizens within each State cleaning house and exercising the right of free-born men.

You said that, didn't you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What else were you advocating except a military government?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, I still think we may have to have it.

Mr. VOORHIS. May I ask just one question there?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am sincere in my belief—

Mr. VOORHIS (interposing). May I ask under what circumstances?

Mr. CAMPBELL. In the even of a Communist revolt in this country.

Mr. VOORHIS. But you haven't got any revolt now?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I didn't say that it had to be done now.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't say anything about a revolt. You said:

Frankly I say to you that this thing has gone so far that there is only one remedy and that is a military action which will put a military court in charge of the United States Federal Government and each State government, and let them operate under the Constitution until each State proves itself worthy of the right of self-government, and that can be done only by the citizens within each State cleaning house and exercising the right of free-born men.

You were advocating the establishment of a military government now to take over things until the States later on should prove themselves worthy of resuming the civil powers, isn't that a fact?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That isn't what I meant.

The CHAIRMAN. What other interpretation can be gathered from such plain language as that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That isn't what I meant. I meant if this thing breaks it would have to be done in that manner.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't say that; you were very clear that you thought the time was ripe now.

Mr. CAMPBELL. How would I advocate that, Mr. Dies?

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know how you would, I only have your own language.

Mr. CAMPBELL. How would I in any way be advocating anything like that?

Mr. HEALEY. You said things had gone so far now.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That letter——

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). Was that the reason, Mr. Campbell, that you confined your mailing list and the distribution of these inflammatory reports practically exclusively to members of the Reserve Officers' Corps or to officials of the American Legion—was that in keeping with your plan?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; I had no plan or advocacy of that nature; that is my own personal belief. I have expressed that.

The CHAIRMAN. This was written to Mr. George Deatherage, 1007 West Peachtree Street, Atlanta, Ga.?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You know who he is?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You know he is head of the Knights of the White Camellia?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have correspondence from him in which he shares your views and believes in setting up some form of militaristic government——

Mr. CAMPBELL (interposing). I said under the Constitution, Mr. Dies.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you think, under the Constitution, you could set up a military court in charge of the United States Federal Government and each State government; how do you think that can be done?

Mr. CAMPBELL. If you have a revolt, can't the President do that?

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't say anything about in the event of a revolt. You said, "I say to you that this thing has gone so far that there is only one remedy."

Mr. CAMPBELL. Because I honestly and sincerely believed that things I had been receiving were true.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you still believe those things are true?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think so, I think Mr. Gilbert is right and he is telling the truth.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think those reports are true?

The CHAIRMAN. I will tell you what I think. I think——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). You can answer that, can't you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; let me answer it this way, will you?

The CHAIRMAN. There is only one way to answer it, either you do think it is true or you don't.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I do think it is true, but let me answer this way. I think it could have been proven definitely, instead of bringing this out publicly if the same investigation had been made to run down that fellow, and again, if you read my statement to Mr. (committee investigator) in which I asked him if this information would be run down quietly, and if it was true, let's blow the detail out of the water, and let's clean this country of subversive forces, but if it is not true, to quiet it up.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you say in another part: "There is an answer to all of this which I would like to discuss with you and then sit down with the general"—what general do you mean, General Moseley?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; that was to have General Moseley go to Washington and see Colonel Craig.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

But at the present time I am financially unable to spend the \$40 or \$50 which a trip to Atlanta would require. If I had it, you could expect me down there Friday. I have one client now with a new product which we are working hard on. If proper distribution can be had of this and one other that I hope to secure, then the revenue from those two will be sufficient for me to follow through in my determination to see America return to the sound basic principles of constitutional government.

* * * * *

Relative to the source of any reports: I believe I can show you enough of subsequent happenings to prove them correct. You and the general both have had enough G-2 experience to realize that we cannot expose sources of information which would mean the liquidation of the individual or individuals concerned.

You are talking about these reports you received from Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Let me tell you this: Mr. Deatherage did not receive any reports from me. He saw one or two that I had given the general, and he wrote and asked me about it.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

Now, I want you to know that I believe in your sincerity and will do all I can to assist in outlining a program and working closely with the general.

You mean General Moseley?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

As you have learned to know and love him, don't forget that in almost every State in the United States I know personally other individuals equally as loyal. The travesty being—one's financial lacking which prevents a close coordination of efforts.

In that same letter, while we have it before us, you say:

Please give me answers if you can to the following three questions, as it is extremely important, because of the source which has inquired.

1. Is it true that Hull's wife is part or full-part Semitic
2. What do you know of Landon's Semitic connections?
3. What do you know of William Allen White's Semitic connection?

You are writing to George Deatherage to supply you with that information, are you not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I was asking him what he knew about it. Go one step further and go back to my testimony of Thursday, will you?

The CHAIRMAN. You will have an opportunity to make any explanation.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Isn't it in order that I should answer that question now?

The CHAIRMAN. You said that you asked those questions.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I did, but I told you in my experience that I had run across every organization in the country, and I want to know what they are doing, and still would, tomorrow, if I walked out of here and found some other organization, I will be friendly with them to find out what they are doing.

The General will testify to you also that my advice to him in December, the 29th of December, in Indianapolis, was to join no organization, to operate as an individual, and that was given advisedly after years of experience and knowledge and friendship for the General.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Campbell, you testified Thursday, before the committee, I believe, that you didn't have any confidence in Mr. Deatherage, or his organization, and that you thought it was just a hang-over from the old Ku Klux Klan; is that correct?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is correct. I didn't say from the Ku Klux Klan, but I said I thought it was an organization that had been discredited as being anti-Jewish and for that reason I had told the General not to have anything to do with any organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the reason you state in this letter to Deatherage that you believe in his sincerity and that you want to assist him in outlining a program?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I believe Mr. Deatherage, himself, was sincere, but I couldn't see his organization.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you get any funds from Mr. Deatherage?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you refer to your financial condition in that letter with the hope that you might receive some funds?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Absolutely not, because I did not care to go down there and have any conversation or interviews at that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever been in Germany, Mr. Campbell?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. With reference to the reports which you received from Mr. Gilbert, you testified Thursday that the reason you thought these fantastic-sounding reports—and you described them as fantastic—were true, and the only basis you had for believing those reports was the fact that predictions contained in those reports subsequently were proven correct by the press; is that correct?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; and I gave as an example of that a report of February—or, rather, November 1937—that is before they were being sent out to my close friends, and subsequent reports either in April or May, dealing with the situation to rid the Army of the older officers, and I did not start on that until I found out that that thing later came through. Then the Gellerman report likewise received before, and I sent those reports out to those people, and said, "This is for your own personal information, and your own personal guidance, watch the situation yourself." I did not try to influence them one way or the other.

Mr. WHITLEY. Why did you, Mr. Campbell, when these reports came through dated one date, making a prediction and then having the proof of that prediction right in the same report, the proof confirmed by the press, why did you strike out the proof before you sent those reports out to your mailing list if it had already been confirmed? Why didn't you leave the proof in there?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Because he only sent 1 clipping, and there was about 40 on the mailing list.

Mr. WHITLEY. He not only sent clippings in report after report, but he made the prediction which had allegedly been made by his informant, he sent out the prediction and under that in his own handwriting he wrote in "proof," citing such and such a paper on such and such a date, usually several days subsequent to the date of the reports, stating that that "confirms this by saying the same thing." Now, why did you strike all of those proofs out of the reports when you had them typed to send to your mailing list?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Because when I talked to these fellows on the mailing list I said, "I am going to send you reports as I get them. Then you check the papers and the things yourself and see whether or not they come true."

Mr. WHITLEY. But when they did that, based on the date of the report, they would think that that prediction was made and sent out prior to the time the event occurred, or transpired, wouldn't they?

Mr. CAMPBELL. In most instances they did.

Mr. WHITLEY. In most instances—

Mr. CAMPBELL (interposing). I didn't stop to check days when I got a report. I looked it over and sent it out.

Mr. WHITLEY. You very carefully struck out all indications of proof?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I didn't have a sufficient amount of copies of newspapers to send out with those reports.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't need to send out the clippings of these reports, you could send out Mr. Gilbert's statement of proof. He quoted the newspapers and the date on which the confirmation had appeared. Why did you strike that out?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I just struck it out because I had told them when they got these reports they could see for themselves.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of course, when they got that, the report being dated one day and several days later confirmation appearing in the press, they would naturally assume that that report was written and sent out before it was confirmed in the press, they would look at it as a prediction?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, it wasn't a prediction, was it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I never sent any of those reports out until after some of them began to prove themselves true.

Mr. WHITLEY. You had the proof when you got the reports, you didn't have to wait to get confirmation, the proof came with the report.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I said I never sent any reports out at the start until after they were proved.

Mr. WHITLEY. After you had deleted the proof and sent out the report, did you later on follow up the mailing list and point out to them that this prediction had been confirmed?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You repeatedly pointed out by way of lending authenticity to these reports, pointed out that they did make amazing predictions which were confirmed, didn't you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think they did.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the way you defended the reports when your mailing list said, "This can't be true, it is too fantastic," you said, "It does sound fantastic but here is the proof, this prediction has been confirmed." Isn't that correct?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Right in that connection, if I may interrupt, you wrote several letters telling about the way you were organizing the United States for the Republican Party, didn't you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Not several.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you say there ought to be an organization in every congressional district?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. For the Republican Party, wasn't it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And that you were going to enlist the veterans and various patriotic groups, didn't you say that in substance?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That was long before August or the cornfield rally, wasn't it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. It has been an ideal that I have had for a long time, even before I knew Mr. Gilbert. If you will go back into that, Mr. Dies, you will find years ago I had the same idea and it has always been with me.

The CHAIRMAN. In your letter of November 1, 1938, to Mr. Felix McWhirter, you said:

DEAR FELIX: Monday afternoon was spent with Homer.

Who did you mean by "Homer"?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That was Mr. Capehart.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does Mr. Capehart live?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Washington, Ind.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He used to have the Capehart Automatic Phonograph.

The CHAIRMAN. Does he still run that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He is running it partly with the Wurlitzer Music Co. now.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing).

One hour of it was taken out to attend the speech of Secretary Woodring, which the Democratic Central Committee pulled off as a rebuttal to the cornfield conference. It was a complete flop. There were no news-reel photographers, it was not broadcast, and less than 2,500 persons present.

I covered the situation with Homer, and he is coming to Indianapolis Thursday for a discussion with you. I told him of the 15,000 posts, the 435 congressional districts, the type of organization that was to be perfected therein, the necessity of infrequent public appearance until next year, the State meetings, and how this program could be controlled and developed.

Now, I did not discuss with him the cost. That is a variable factor, because each one of those 435 individuals must be properly contacted to develop a State organization and coordinate the progress that has been made to date.

So your plan, way back there, was to organize each one of the 435 congressional districts, is that right?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. For the Republican Party?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Not so much for the Republican Party, if you will go back into your Constitutional Protective League years ago it

was primarily to tie in Americans in every community with an idea of combatting the subversive forces in this country, and then I saw that in this particular case, I talked to this gentleman, he wasn't particularly interested, but I had talked with him and that has nothing whatsoever to do with this. You are bringing a partisan political issue into this and that particular issue here is aside from Mr. Gilbert's reports.

The CHAIRMAN. All we want is facts; we are not bringing in any political issue. You know as a matter of fact from your correspondence that you were corresponding with Mr. McWhirter?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were telling him of the advisability of organizing each congressional district for the Republican Party?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you say that I am bringing in a political question?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That has nothing to do with this.

The CHAIRMAN. You were talking about this organization prior to August 1938, weren't you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I never talked about it in detail with Mr. McWhirter at all.

The CHAIRMAN. But you were writing about it?

Mr. THOMAS. Will the chairman please explain to me what the contact is between this matter of organizing the Republican Party in the United States with these subversive activities?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is what I want to know.

The CHAIRMAN. My idea is that your purpose was to disseminate this same sort of literature throughout the country for political purposes.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I deny that statement, because I told you a minute ago I wouldn't disseminate that——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I want to get the facts.

Mr. CAMPBELL. The chairman said: "Isn't it a fact that I was going to disseminate that information?"

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I want to know.

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You did disseminate it to 40 people?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You did have a list of 200 people?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Including the national committeemen and national committeewomen of the Republican Party?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But you say you didn't disseminate it to any but the 40?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But you did mimeograph the reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; because we got to the point where it was too much trouble for the girl to type the thing and easier to mimeograph it.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean to say that with 40 people to send the reports to, that you would go to the trouble of preparing the stencil and mimeographing it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; that is easier.

Mr. THOMAS. Has the committee any proof that any of the reports were sent to any Republican national committeemen?

The CHAIRMEN. We want to know from him whether they were.

Mr. THOMAS. He testified the other day that they weren't.

Mr. CAMPBELL. And I testified the same—

Mr. VOORHIS (interposing). If you felt the way you have just indicated about the reports, what I can't understand is why you sent them to anybody.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I told you those were being sent for the personal guidance of those people only. Suppose I know you quite well and we have been in the service together, and I get something in, it interests me, and in my conversation with you I find that you would be interested in the same thing. I will send them to you the same as you would send me things, not for dissemination.

Mr. VOORHIS. But if I were a friend of yours, Mr. Campbell, and you sent me a report leading me to believe that there were all these terrible things about to happen, I don't think I would appreciate it unless you had a far better basis for these reports than what has been indicated.

Mr. CAMPBELL. If I sent those to you and tell you to keep them for your personal guidance—

Mr. VOORHIS (interposing). I don't want to be misguided.

Mr. CAMPBELL. You are not being; that is for your personal information, isn't it? Then, if something does happen, all right. We were trying to do one thing, to get this information together and get it in such form, and we cooperated willingly, and I asked Mr. (committee investigator) when he came into my office to keep the matter quiet and run it down and ascertain whether it was correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have been trying to keep it quiet for a number of years now, haven't you, Mr. Campbell?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; I haven't disseminated that broadcast.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you have sent it out to a carefully selected mailing list that you thought would receive it and at least keep it circulated only in the circles they thought might be sympathetic?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; that it was to themselves, if they had a very close friend that they wanted to give it to, why not?

Mr. HEALEY. And the close friend could give it to another close friend?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; I don't think that would be so.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading from your letter dated July 22, 1938, addressed to Mr. Felix McWhirter:

Dear Felix:

I will omit the first part of this letter and the last paragraph of the letter states:

The thought occurs to me that if this gentleman whom we are discussing about a contract is of the right material and personally informed, it might be a good idea to start selling him over the country as a 1940 potential."

Whom were you referring to there when you said—

the thought occurs to me that if this gentleman whom we are discussing about a contract is of the right material and personally informed, it might be a good idea to start selling him over the country as a 1940 potential?

Mr. CAMPBELL. You have come back to the Republican issue again.

Mr. THOMAS. Who did you refer to there?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The same gentleman as before.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Homer Capehart?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. You were going to make him a candidate for President?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That was my own idea.

Mr. HEALEY. What is the date of that letter?

Mr. WHITLEY. July 22, 1938.

Mr. HEALEY. That is during the time he was engaged in this other work?

Mr. THOMAS. That was when he was going to organize the 435 districts for the Republican Party?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. You state: "Is of the right material and personally informed."

Mr. CAMPBELL. As to the economic conditions in this country. The man is not a politician. He has never been in politics. If he was the right material, in other words, if the people would accept him, that was a conjecture on my part.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing to read):

However, I am primarily interested, at the present moment, in being able to conduct the activities as started, and of which you are familiar, including not only the convention in September, but the organization of all States as completely as several of them now are.

"To conduct the activities as started"—does that refer to the dissemination of this information?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. What does that refer to?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That refers to the program that I was trying to develop and get in shape on this 435 congressional districts.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you say "including not only the convention in September"—does that refer to the corn-field convention?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; the American Legion convention in Los Angeles.

Mr. THOMAS. Did any one in the Republican Party ask you to organize these 435 districts?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Absolutely not; that was my idea that I advanced.

Mr. THOMAS. That was your own idea?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But Mr. McWhirter was in constant correspondence with you about it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Not a great deal.

The CHAIRMAN. You did correspond with him about this organization?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you talked to him, you met him many times?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Not many times.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he approve of this organization?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He didn't say yes or no.

The CHAIRMAN. He didn't approve it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. During all the time you had this conversation and correspondence he never did approve it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. McWhirter let me do the talking.

The CHAIRMAN. And he listened to you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You were running two organizations, one for the Republican Party—

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). No; he wasn't running one for the Republican Party, he was running this on his own.

The CHAIRMAN. You were running one organization that you thought would help the Republican Party, weren't you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; I wasn't running any organization for the Republican Party.

The CHAIRMAN. You were trying to start one?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were also running this organization to spread these reports; is that not true?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Wait a minute—I wasn't running an organization to help the Republican Party.

The CHAIRMAN. I didn't say that the Republican Party asked you or that it was in their behalf, but you yourself had plans to set up an organization in 435 districts to help the Republican Party; isn't that a fact?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I had plans myself; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking about you, not anybody else.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, during the time that you were doing these two things, the only money you got from any source was from Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. No one else contributed any money?

Mr. CAMPBELL. What was wrong with my having an idea like that, at the same time I am working on ideas on business?

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you a specific question; if during the time you were on the one hand distributing this racial prejudice to 40 people, as you say, on the other hand—

Mr. CAMPBELL (interposing). I didn't say racial prejudice, I sent out these reports.

Mr. HEALEY. They all referred to a people of a certain race, didn't they?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; they might have been Irishmen or Frenchmen—

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). But they all referred to people of one race?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. During the time you were sending this information out, you were likewise conferring with people with reference to the establishment of an organization for the Republican Party?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Not with people.

The CHAIRMAN. Not in their behalf or with their authority—

Mr. CAMPBELL (interposing). Not with people, with one person.

The CHAIRMAN. With Mr. McWhirter?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; and he gave no comment, yes or no.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he contribute any money to you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He did not.

The CHAIRMAN. You wrote him and asked him for money?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, I did; one time.

The CHAIRMAN. You never wrote and asked him for \$1,000?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; I told him one time what it would cost to set the thing up.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you ask him to raise that money?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Never asked him to raise that money?

Mr. CAMPBELL. In what year?

The CHAIRMAN. Any year—did you ask Mr. McWhirter to raise any money for you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. If I did, it was for that particular plan, and the answer was "no," he did not.

Mr. THOMAS. You were going to organize these 435 districts with \$1,000?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; I was not.

The CHAIRMAN. I am trying to get a specific question—during all the time that you were having these two organizations going you never got any money from any other source but Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And that paid for your expenses both in disseminating to 40 people the reports, and also in carrying on your activities to perfect this other organization, is that right?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I carried on no other activities except the correspondence that I had with Mr. McWhirter.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you go around over the country and talk to people about it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I never did.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you make many trips?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I made trips in connection with business.

The CHAIRMAN. You had no business, did you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I told you the other day what I was doing.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get any money out of any business during that time?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Gilbert is backing that thing. Shall I go into the details?

The CHAIRMAN. I say, did you have any source of revenue during that period except Mr. Gilbert's money?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right, none.

The CHAIRMAN. So that actually you were being paid by Mr. Gilbert, or rather the money you got from Mr. Gilbert you were using for the dual purpose, as you say, for the purpose on the one hand of disseminating these reports, and number 2, to organize 435 congressional districts?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; not to organize 435 congressional districts.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you spend any of that money on the Republican Party?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Nobody is saying that.

Mr. THOMAS. He was going to organize them for the Republican Party, not for the Democratic Party.

Mr. CAMPBELL. There wasn't any organization done.

Mr. MASON. May I interject this thought, that all of the testimony that we have listened to, last Thursday and Friday too, as found in the record, will just simply say that this gentleman submitted to Mr. McWhirter this plan of organization, but not one thing in any of the evidence goes to show that he was out organizing or trying to organize or doing any activity in that direction.

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Chairman, I submit that the evidence will speak for itself.

The CHAIRMAN. Now in your letter of December 9, 1938, to Mr. Felix McWhirter, you say:

I'll make you a wager, knowing the General as I do—

you are speaking of General Moseley, are you not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

That his speech will never go over the radio out of New York City. He, too, has been able to confirm some of the musical scores.

You are speaking of the reports that Mr. Gilbert sent to you, are you not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

May I suggest that you tune in on Father Coughlin's speech Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock, central standard time. I trust you heard it last Sunday afternoon.

As soon as we hear from Homer, I'll be up, but if you can do anything to expedite this matter so that I can make that New York trip, I think it will be most valuable.

What was Mr. McWhirter to do to expedite the New York trip?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I was trying to get a survey out of Mr. Capehart or out of his company. However, as I explained to the committee the other day, in my engineering work we survey markets, and I had also contacted him on that basis only, and Mr. Dies, you are bringing a straight—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Just answer the questions.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I had contacted Mr. Capehart to try to get a contract out of his company to make a market survey.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what you are speaking about?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is what I am speaking about.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Now, on December 13, 1938, in your letter to Mr. Felix McWhirter you say:

DEAR FELIX: I am enclosing a copy of General Moseley's address to be given before the New York Board of Trade tomorrow noon. Please return this for my files. Am also enclosing copy of a letter received from George Deatherage your personal and confidential advice.

At the same time I am in record of a letter from Dud—

You mean Dudley Gilbert?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

In which he says Mundelein's crowd is going to attack him along with Coughlin. He is also being attacked by G. O. Masonry.

What does G. O. Masonry mean?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Grand Orient Masonry.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

As you know, I have gone about as long and as far as I can go on these matters without an intelligent, well-informed organization in back of us, capable of providing the sinews of war.

There is not a hell of a lot of time left, and I have things pouring in constantly proving that No. 2 and No. 3 are being worked simultaneously. Anyone with the least amount of intelligence who has studied this situation knows very definitely the reason for Eden's visit here. And you have evidence of No. 2 all about you.

I realize next month will be an important meeting in Washington, and am planning to go.

What meeting was that that you were going to? This was written in December, December 13, 1938, and this important meeting in Washington that you were talking about, what was it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I didn't get to attend the meeting.

It was in February.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the meeting?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The National Association of Reserve Officers, National Council meeting, and I wanted to attend it, and I didn't get to it.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

I had hoped Homer would be in the picture by now, because this is just one of the emergencies that is confronting us.

I have made things stretch to beat the very devil, but there finally becomes an elastic limit, and I do not have the 50 bucks or so that would be necessary to make this trip at the present time. I am asking you for your frank advice, and if you feel that calling Homer at Chicago would do any good, I am leaving that to you.

Right now I am sitting tight on the lid and await your reply.

What do you mean by "sitting tight on the lid"?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I wasn't doing any running around the country.

Mr. HEALEY. What do you mean by sinews of war?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Financing or carrying on a program.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, outside of the 40 people, these other 160 that you had, including the list of national committeemen and women, you sent General Moseley's speech to them, didn't you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have copies of General Moseley's speeches before he actually delivered them?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The only copy I had was the copy he delivered before the New York Board of Trade in advance. The rest of them I received after the speeches were delivered. The copy which was received was sent to me at the same time he sent the copy for release to the press, that was a press release.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the only one you had—

Mr. CAMPBELL (interposing). Previous to the delivery of a speech.

The CHAIRMAN. But you did read each one of the speeches you disseminated?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You know some of the things that were in those speeches, don't you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. For instance, you knew that in the speech of General Moseley, dated December 29, 1938, there was the following paragraph:

And then I listened to the rabbi on my left. He gave me a lecture on internationalism, how we should change the instruction of our children in the schools. Finally, he pointed to a flag that was on the speaker's stand, and he said, "General, that flag to me is only a worthless piece of bunting." I said, "Rabbi, to me it is a wonderful symbol of all we have accomplished in the battles that we have fought for our liberty, to me it symbolizes both our victories of peace and war," adding "if you tell me that is nothing but a worthless piece of bunting, I will tell you that perhaps a cross is only two worthless sticks nailed together." He said, "No; that is a little different," but that was at the same speaker's table in the United States of America.

Mr. CAMPBELL. What is wrong with that?

The CHAIRMAN. You were familiar with the contents of these speeches?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; and I wouldn't care if that had been a Catholic or a bishop or Methodist minister.

Mr. MASON. Was that speech released to the press that General Moseley made?

The CHAIRMAN. Delivered at Indianapolis, December 9, 1938, which the witness sent to this list of people that he had.

Mr. MASON. But it was released to the press before it was mailed?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I presume so.

You arranged for General Moseley to be present and make that speech, didn't you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I asked General Moseley to come to that meeting; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In behalf of McWhirter, didn't you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. In behalf of quite a group of gentlemen in Indianapolis.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you have correspondence from Mr. McWhirter in reference to that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were the contact man between McWhirter and other people in Indianapolis to secure General Moseley for this occasion?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. On January 9, 1939, to Mr. McWhirter you say—and if there is anything here that you don't recall, say so; that is, if there is any statement I read that you don't recognize as your statement;

DEAR FELIX: Enclosed is a copy of a short note received from our mutual friend in the East.

This letter is dated January 9, 1939. Who is your "mutual friend in the East?"

Mr. CAMPBELL. Go on with that and I will tell you.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

The trip to Lexington was well worth while, as it gave us the opportunity of bringing the issue before the entire department.

Don't forget the naval directory, as I have already accumulated the rest of the information and would like to present it to the gentleman who requested it next week.

Sincerely yours,

J. E. CAMPBELL.

Who was the "mutual friend in the East?"

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Gilbert.

The CHAIRMAN. And you wanted the naval directory?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I wanted the naval directory because I take the Army and Navy Journal, and have an Army directory.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you want with that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I keep up with the events happening in relation to national defense, and I want to see what officers are going to be retired. I know a great many of them.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean when you say, "as I have already accumulated the rest of the information"—what is that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The Army and Navy journals.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that the information you were talking about?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now on January 12, you wrote to Mr. Felix McWhirter, January 12, 1939, and you said:

DEAR FELIX: Allen Zoll's testimony before the Senate committee yesterday about Frankfurter was certainly a beautiful job of an agent-provocateur.

Did we or did we not have the right dope. I say it was most fortunate that we were able to steer the recent speaker clear of any affiliation with that gentleman.

Sent you a rather interesting music score yesterday. We are now looking forward to hearing Roosevelt's address on national defense.

So far, no communication, relative to equipment or anything else, has been received.

Some of the speeches I sent out are beginning to bear results——

Were those General Moseley's speeches?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send out some of Father Coughlin's speeches, too?

Mr. CAMPBELL. At subsequent times I had; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

And they are wanting a mammoth meeting to be held in New Orleans within the next month or 6 weeks. This will also be spread to Texas and other States as per schedule.

Is that right?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; I sent that copy of General Moseley's speech to the people on that list and some of my personal friends had asked if it was possible to have the General speak there.

The CHAIRMAN. On January 24, 1939, you wrote Mr. Felix McWhirter:

"Am enclosing a couple of short musical numbers" et cetera. You are still talking about Mr. Gilbert's reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

And copy of a report on which I wish you would try to get some information.

What was that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't recall that.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

I have written Homer. Speaking dates for Missouri have been confirmed at Nashville, Scranton, and Philadelphia during the coming month. The other trip scheduled.

Since it is quite essential that immediate action be forthcoming, I wrote the above-mentioned gentleman as per the enclosed copy.

You wrote that letter?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, on March 6, 1939, you wrote:

MY DEAR MR. McWHIRTER: I have been in communication with Mr. Campbell, and he requested me to tell you that he is on a very special mission in connection with reports, which is bigger from one particular angle, in which you too are interested, than anything to date.

This is from your secretary, M. L. Brown.

"In connection with reports"—what reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't recall what she had reference to there. What date was that?

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you have in mind the reports you were getting from Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; and at the same time I was going out to try to find out what I could myself around various places.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand you were making these trips for the joint purpose?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

and he requested me to tell you that he is on a very special mission in connection with reports, which is bigger from one particular angle, in which you, too, are interested, than anything to date.

What is that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't know what she had reference to there; I can't recall it.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

He hopes to have an opportunity to see you personally some time around the 15th of this month in order to discuss this situation further.

Did you see him on the 15th of the month?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What "situation" were you going to discuss with him?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't recall now.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, on March 20, 1939, you wrote Mr. McWhirter:

DEAR FELIX: The enclosed report of March 19 is very interesting.

You are talking about the report from Mr. Gilbert, are you not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I assume so.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

Pay particular attention to the bill that will be introduced by Congressman Bender. Also watch paragraph 2, note of protest to Germany, in a few days. I have covered the Texas and Michigan part with parties concerned.

I hope Homer has a speedy recovery, and somehow or other we can get a sufficient amount of increased assistance to do this job properly.

Any comments or suggestions you may have pertaining to it will be appreciated.

Did he give any suggestions?

Mr. CAMPBELL. In fact, those were mostly my writing and very few replies.

The CHAIRMAN. He didn't write you many letters?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. On March 22, 1939, you wrote:

DEAR FELIX: Enclosed is an interesting item for your information. Thanks for the numbers of the bills.

Have you any suggestions relative to Tampa?

Do you think W. G. would be of any assistance on such a mission?

What do you mean by "W. G." and "Tampa"?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Oh, I had reference there to—because I had had a report from Tampa on the Communist-inspired cigarmakers' strike, and I wanted to find out something about it. I don't remember who "W. G." was in that instance.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know who "W. G." was?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

I am going to write Homer direct as soon as he has recovered and find out how far he wants this extended.

We are in a position to do it, and I can deliver quite a volume of influence in his favor if the financial department functions properly.

That was in connection with his campaign for president?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That was in connection with my trying to get the contract.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, on October 3, 1938, you wrote a letter to Mr. Felix McWhirter, as follows:

DEAR FELIX: Thank you for your letter to Captain Mayo, which resulted in my securing a ticket to see the naval show from the decks of the *Saratoga*.

Needless to say, it was the most spectacular performance of the entire week and made the hundreds of Legionnaires who witnessed it from the surrounding hillside extremely proud of our defense.

I have driven 6,000 miles on this trip. Have uncovered some extremely interesting data in line with copy of the enclosed letter to Homer Capehart.

What interesting data did you uncover?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't remember; go ahead and read the letter.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

Now this is confidentially between you and me, but in that man, we have a natural. Not for the national chairmanship of the Republican Party, but for a 1940 nominee for President. When I give you a report of the hundreds of interviews that I have held across the country and back, and the sentiment of the buck private World War veteran, I think you will agree with me.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I know what that was now. That was very favorable comment I heard in Los Angeles and various sections as I was passing through, on how Indiana had clicked through on the corn-field conference.

The CHAIRMAN. And you had hundreds of interviews on this trip?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I talked to about 200 fellows in my own outfit, 282 men, in the Legion, and I was with them for 2 days. I stopped at various places en route.

If we want to make this a political discussion, let's go ahead.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you from your own letters.

Mr. CAMPBELL. From my letters—I talked to hundreds of people out on that trip.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the answer. I am asking you if it is a fact that you did talk to hundreds of people while on the 6,000-mile tour. (Continuing:)

When I give you a report of the hundreds of interviews that I have held across the country and back, and the sentiment of the buck-private World War veteran, I think you will agree with me. I have a very definite plan in mind which could result in his nomination, which I should like to discuss with you.

I expect to be here in the office all week and will be glad to have your reaction on the aforementioned subject.

I am enclosing a couple of forms which are self-explanatory—

What were those forms?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't remember.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

And in the one marked "No. 1" you will see the very thinly veiled threat of regimentation. What is the difference between the American farmers and the Kulaks of Russia?

Sincerely yours,

J. E. CAMPBELL.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think those were a couple of forms that were mailed out to tobacco farmers to sign for restricted acreage.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, on August 29, 1938, in your letter to Mr. McWhirter, you say:

DEAR FELIX: I wish to take this opportunity of thanking you for the most enthusiastic and inspiring Americanism meeting I have attended in a long time.

First, I would like to compliment the general staff upon their thoroughness in the arranging of the details and the caliber of the speakers secured. I think a great deal will come from this meeting, and it was extremely valuable for me, because I can carry the torch that was lighted there to our contacts in the rest of the States.

What contacts are you speaking about—your contacts and Mr. McWhirter's?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; my contacts in the way of Republicanism.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't say "my contacts"; you said "our contacts."

Mr. CAMPBELL. To Republicans everywhere.

The CHAIRMAN. Who did you mean by the "general staff"?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The people that arranged the meeting. I don't know who they were; it was an excellent meeting; you should have been there, the cornfield conference out in Indiana.

Mr. THOMAS. You might send that kind of a letter to anybody?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; to a dozen different people; and it is absolutely irrelevant to this hearing.

Mr. HEALEY. And you might send that to the list of people to whom you were disseminating this antiracial propaganda?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, this correspondence here—Mr. McWhirter is an official of the Republican Party in Indiana, is he not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't know whether he is now or not; he used to be an official of the Republican Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a national committeeman?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But you said in the beginning, as I recall, that there wasn't anything political in your activities. Is that right; do you still stick to that, that your activities weren't political?

Mr. CAMPBELL. My dissemination of those reports are not political, but my personal right under this Republic to engage in political activities is my own prerogative.

Mr. THOMAS. The same as it is Mr. Gilbert's right to be a Democrat and vote for Roosevelt.

The CHAIRMAN. No one is contesting that.

Mr. CAMPBELL. But you seem to tie it onto me as a crime because I have been active in the Republican Party.

The CHAIRMAN. No one is trying to leave any such inference. What I am trying to find out is the extent of the activities that you

engaged in in behalf of Mr. Gilbert and for which Mr. Gilbert paid you. I am trying to separate the two.

Mr. THOMAS. I am also of the opinion that there is an inclination on the part of the Chair to bring in the Republican Party and show that the Republican Party was mixed up in this thing.

The CHAIRMAN. No one has made the slightest inference along that line.

Mr. CAMPBELL. The questions and answers are to that end.

Mr. THOMAS. That is the impression I get from the testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. All that the Chair proposes to do is to read the correspondence of this man with Felix McWhirter. He sent the reports he got from Gilbert to Felix McWhirter.

Mr. THOMAS. But you brought in the Republican National Committee time and time again.

The CHAIRMAN. We didn't.

Mr. THOMAS. You know yourself that no reports were ever sent to them.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know—

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). We spent a whole afternoon on Friday discussing this same point.

Mr. MASON. The evidence before the committee, and all the evidence, shows that a Democrat and a Republican got together and made a two-man team to do a certain job, and it is that job that we are interested in and nothing else.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you wrote to Felix McWhirter on February 12, 1939, and said:

DEAR FELIX: The enclosed reports—

Are you still referring, when you say "enclosed reports" to the reports from Gilbert?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Read the letter; I don't recall those dates.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

The enclosed reports convince me that a lot of effort had better be put forward toward the organization of tiddley winks clubs.

What sort of clubs are those?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Darned if I know what that was, unless I had reference to trying to organize my idea in getting into each one of these congressional districts and down to counties, to create a movement—I don't know what that reference is.

The CHAIRMAN. You think it meant these clubs you were going to organize in the 435 congressional districts?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Possibly.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

I am leaving on the trip tomorrow, and while it is true we secured some equipment with the exception of what you saw take place at Indianapolis there has never been anything further forthcoming or any mention of same.

However, I'll make you a bet that I get 200 of the Lincoln Day speeches to be mailed out of this office; and I am just about of the opinion that we are not going to waste a lot of time on talk. It is coordinated action and the carrying through of a program that counts.

As per your suggestion, I have completed the list of committeemen and committeewomen in various sections.

Blank of efforts can be launched in these sections, but not one damn cent of funds which we have for this other work is going to be spent in those sectors when we hardly have enough to keep going.

Any time you want me, I can be reached through the office.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think that answers you whether or not there has been any money spent on this thing.

The CHAIRMAN. You were traveling around, made 6,000 miles, and the only money you had came from Gilbert.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Listen, Mr. Gilbert knew I was going to the national convention, and while driving across I stopped at gas stations, when I stopped to get out in your good State of Texas I always found a resentment against the New Deal, and I always found that they liked the Republican cornfield conference speeches. If we are going to bring this thing in, let's bring it in right. I had Mr. Gilbert's money to make the trip, but I did that the same as any other conversation.

Mr. HEALEY. Were you carrying out Mr. Gilbert's objective on that trip?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Gilbert said that I was entitled to a little trip and a vacation. My relatives live in California, and I wanted to go to the Legion meeting.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you carry out his objectives in planning this anti-Semitic—

Mr. CAMPBELL (interposing). No; I am not anti-Semitic.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you carry out his idea of spreading the information that you received from him in these confidential reports, on that trip?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I didn't spread any information on that trip. The only information that has been spread—

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). You have not answered my question; you did or you didn't.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I didn't.

Mr. HEALEY. But Gilbert financed the trip?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, on February 8, 1939, in your letter to Mr. Felix McWhirter, you say:

While in Nashville I had a long conference with the Americanism chairman of the Legion and the department commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Say what you please, this thing will end in a scrap. Those boys realize it and are going to work on the program of club organizations, outlined to you in Indianapolis.

That was the club organizations for the Republican Party you are talking about?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

I have not been able to see the gentleman here, as he is out of the city; and next week I have to go South, because our friend in Atlanta wants to see this movement pushed in the fourth.

You are talking about General Moseley?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

When I say that, I told him it was time to organize in every county in the United States to bring back American ideas, and General Moseley said, "I think that is a very good plan." That could mean anything.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in your letter to Mr. McWhirter of February 6, 1939, you said:

The enclosed report is very important—

That is one of Mr. Gilbert's reports, isn't it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

and I am sending you two copies, also C. E. C.'s speech.

Mr. CAMPBELL. C. E. C. or C. E. G.?

The CHAIRMAN. C. E. C.—who is that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Probably a speech of Father Coughlin's.

The CHAIRMAN. Charles E. Coughlin.

In line with a conversation of Saturday evening, I would like to suggest that you approach H. C.—

That is Homer Capehart?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; go ahead with the letter. I might confuse that, because sometimes I have asked to have information sent to me by Homer Chaillaux, who is also referred to as "H. C."

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Homer Chaillaux repudiated your entire movement and efforts, didn't he?

He wrote a letter and said the only place to put these reports was in the scrap basket.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I didn't see that.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

In line with a conversation of Saturday evening, I would like to suggest that you approach H. C. about writing a series of articles, from which I would be able, of course, to merely take excerpts and send with the material which is now being mailed out weekly to the key contacts over the country.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I didn't get it.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

This will supplement the work being done by you through the national committeemen and increase interest when he appears in the local sectors.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is on our organization of clubs again, and the speeches that I have sent of General Moseley to the various committee members and the speeches that I have written myself.

The CHAIRMAN. In your letter of December 19, 1938, to Mr. George Deatherage, St. Albans, W. Va., you say—I am reading the parts that are pertinent. If anybody wants any of the other parts, I will read them. You say:

DEAR GEORGE: I have very carefully noted your letter of the 14th and am heartily in accord with your aims and purposes, except one point and that is—the meeting that you proposed in Chicago.

Were you expressing—or rather you were expressing very hearty accord with Mr. Deatherage's program and his aims and purposes, were you not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Did I say it?

The CHAIRMAN. You said it there.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Except what?

The CHAIRMAN. Except the meeting in Chicago.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right—and why?

The CHAIRMAN. But the aims and purposes of Mr. Deatherage you endorse?

Mr. CAMPBELL. In substance; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Although didn't you have a letter from Mr. Deatherage—let's see, on December 14, 1938, when you wrote this letter

you had received, you had a letter from George Deatherage, did you not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; those letters crossed in the mail apparently.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's see.

Mr. CAMPBELL. What date is that?

The CHAIRMAN. Here is a letter dated December 14, 1938, that Mr. Deatherage wrote you, and you answered his letter on December 19, 1938. So they couldn't have crossed in the mails, because you acknowledge receipt of his letter.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is all right.

The CHAIRMAN. You had received Mr. Deatherage's letter and you endorsed his aims and purposes.

Now, Mr. Deatherage says:

DEAR JIM: I have your letter of the 13th, and am sorry that you cannot find it possible to get here, and hope that on the General's return the financial end will be taken care of in such way that there will be something for your expenses. Rest assured that I will impress upon him that you should get here as soon as possible—and before we make the final plans for organization.

Please rest assured that our time is coming, and within the next 12 months, those that have borne the heart-breaking load of carrying on the fight will come into their own. That sacrifice will not have been in vain—when the crisis reaches its climax—and the Nation knows the facts. You may rest assured that the General will take care of that as you know him. He has already expressed to me that this must be the case, for he is now realizing a little of what a number of people have gone through and have sacrificed for the cause.

When I arrived I found him with the idea that all these outfits that we know so well, were okay and good Americans. I hated to disillusion him, but it had to be done. Fellows like Major Pease, who is now in Florida; Gwiner, of Atlanta; Mrs. Fry, and others who cannot be trusted, were active in attempting to get him swung into line. When he saw for himself what Gwiner here in Atlanta was trying to do—he began to wake up.

You are right that no man close to him must come with other than clean hands—and that he must be ready to lay down his life if that is required without hesitation. It is our job to see to it that this fact is turned into reality—for one slip on his part, or ours, and we would be sunk.

The realization of this has caused the general to take it a little easy for a start—until he got his feet thoroughly under him. He thought, as I did at the start, that this great America would rise up in their wrath and wipe this bunch off the face of the earth when they knew part of the truth. Alas, he finds that there are skunks every place and that the enemy procedure is that of the oriental—sly, cunning, and crooked as hell.

However, he will decide on his return just what procedure he will follow, and the plan now as he sees it is to start a little G. H. Q. in Atlanta.

That is general headquarters, is it not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

is to start a little G. H. Q. in Atlanta, where we will map the enemy—our friends, consolidate with us those we know are right and prepare the plans for the campaign. This—realizing that the situation is not yet where we can enlist the mass support of reaction. Many people are starting to react, but the main idea now is to build the framework of the campaign—this army—and secure and qualify the leadership. The mass reaction will follow the leader when they are hurt bad enough. Now, we must have State and county leaders all over the Nation that we know that without a shadow of a doubt are men that will stick under any kind of fire.

That is a job in itself, and the thing in which you can be a great deal of help. Of course, the general must be careful in dealing with men of the R. O. A. or any outfit that is still in active service, for if he did the accusation could be made at once that he was building up a Fascist army. We must deal with persons in a civilian status. I would much prefer—and I think that you will agree—that

the leadership should be officers who have seen active service, for, generally speaking, they are men who hold decent positions in society, are more apt to be true, and are trained in the work that we must eventually do.

I feel sure that if these men, many of whom you and I know, were appraised of the situation they would resign their commissions and enlist with us for this American-Jewish war, for that is all that it is—a war fought with money and propaganda instead of rifles. Of course, that business of resigning cannot be suggested by the general, but it might be done through other sources which you have contact.

You will note from the general's speech, a copy of which was sent you, that the plan is to do this job peacefully and by force if that becomes necessary.

Now, you endorse these aims and purposes?

MR. CAMPBELL. Mr. Dies, I told you in that meeting the other day—and I will repeat—that that evidence—when I was national chairman I went into every organization in the country. I had not seen Mr. Deatherage for 2 years. He saw one of these reports from the general; he started the conversation with me, and I wanted to know what his organization was doing and why. When you get the general on the stand he will verify that I told the general—I wrote and asked those questions. I would write to anyone.

THE CHAIRMAN. Here is a man advocating force—

MR. CAMPBELL (interposing). The damned German bund is doing the same thing, too; but I am opposed to it; but if I could go in to get some information I would get it.

THE CHAIRMAN. But he wrote you on December 14 outlining these plans and schemes that he had, and the advocacy of force if necessary, and you write him back on December 19 and say:

I have very carefully noted your letter of the 14th, and am heartily in accord with your aims and purposes, except one point, and that is—the meeting that you propose in Chicago.

MR. CAMPBELL. That is right, because I wanted to know everything he had in mind.

THE CHAIRMAN. Then you weren't sincere?

MR. CAMPBELL. My advice to the General was not to join any organization, nor has he joined any organization.

THE CHAIRMAN. Then you didn't mean anything or everything, rather, that you said in this letter?

MR. CAMPBELL. I did not. Have you done any intelligence work?

THE CHAIRMAN (reading):

I am in accord with such a meeting, but I do not think the General should be brought into such a meeting.

I think I read that before.

MR. CAMPBELL. You read that the other day.

THE CHAIRMAN. You read the aims and purposes outlined by Mr. Deatherage?

MR. CAMPBELL. As far as the letter is concerned. I am not affiliated with that—

MR. VOORHIS (interposing). Let's be sure we understand. You do not endorse the aims and purposes of Mr. Deatherage, is that right?

MR. CAMPBELL. I say I do not endorse the aims and purposes of any organization to overthrow this Government. We have got an Army and we have got a Government.

MR. VOORHIS. I am talking about Mr. Deatherage's organization.

MR. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. His purpose was to have an army and if necessary use force, and in one of your letters you say that you are in favor of establishing military court over the Republic, and over the 48 States. What is the difference between your plan and his?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Between a private army and the armed forces of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. The only difference between you and Deatherage is that you are in favor of using our Army to set up a military court—

Mr. CAMPBELL (interposing). If Communists rise up in any sector of this country, wouldn't you advocate using our Army?

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't say that, you said that the time had arrived when this military court should be set up. What is the difference between the views expressed in your letter and the views expressed by Mr. Deatherage?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That can be done legally under the Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think you could set up a military court under the Constitution?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I didn't say I was going to. If you had been in Detroit at that sit-down strike, or in the Mahoning Valley, you would advocate the setting up of a military court.

Mr. HEALEY. And so you advocate that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No—

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). You did, over your own signature.

Mr. CAMPBELL. When any situation prevents the Army—

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). You didn't say that, you said under the present circumstances.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I say a military court is the answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you and General Moseley were working on a product, were you not, that you were going to sell to the Army?

Mr. CAMPBELL. We were working on an auramin compound for the treatment of venereal disease.

The CHAIRMAN. And the general was to sell it to the Army?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He was carrying on experimental work with Dr. Abercrombie, the public-health surgeon at Atlanta, and I had been doing some work in various parts of the country, establishing cures, and the purpose we had in mind was to develop a kit so that it would be issued to troops, because it is a superior product for any gonorrhea treatment than they have today and that has taken a long time to develop, but has proven itself to be very efficient.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Mr. Howard B. Rand, of Haverhill, Mass.?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you meet Mr. Rand?

Mr. CAMPBELL. About 4 years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Does he have an organization of some kind?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; I got some of his literature when I was national chairman on subversive activities, and maintained contact with him by mail from time to time.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the name of his organization?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The Anglo-Saxons.

The CHAIRMAN. The Anglo-Saxons?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Anglo-Saxons of America?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think that his organization was the Anglo-Saxon Federation.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you endorse his organization?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; I think some of the editorials he wrote were splendid, and I think some of them were very much off-color, but I had made contact with Mr. Rand 4 years ago. It is some semi-religious organization, but there wasn't a great deal of attention paid to it.

The CHAIRMAN. You are familiar with his publication, *Destiny*?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't take them regularly, I buy one occasionally, and once in a while he sends me one when there is an editorial he marks that he wants me to read.

The CHAIRMAN. It is definitely anti-Semitic, is it not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I didn't consider that anti-Semitic, at least they don't consider themselves so in their literature.

That is just another one of the things that I looked over.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't think this would be anti-Semitic? "Christian leaders must either separate themselves from the evil influences of the enemies of Christ or be overcome by them. The promotion of Jewish-Christian relations on the basis of present-day trends is unfair to the Jews themselves, who will never be brought to a saving knowledge of Christ by such unscriptural methods. The answer to a vital question is hanging in the balance—will Protestantism continue to stand fast in the liberty of Christ, or will it become increasingly entangled in the bondage of modern Judaism?"

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't go that far into the religious issue.

The CHAIRMAN. You wrote Mr. Rand—here is your correspondence—you wrote him a number of letters, did you not, you had quite a correspondence with him, did you not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I had correspondence with him over a period of 4 years.

The CHAIRMAN. You wrote him, from instance, on January 9, 1939:

DEAR MR. RAND: Write direct to Father Coughlin requesting his book which includes the last nine speeches made and a photostatic reproduction of portions of the White Paper.

I plan on being in New York sometime after the 22d of this month, probably after the 25th; and we should be able to meet at that time. I am also going down to Atlanta, Ga., the first part of February. If your plans are changed so that it is impossible for us to meet in New York we might meet in Knoxville, Tenn.

Many things have happened which make me anxious to see you, because time is growing short.

Mr. CAMPBELL. He had written me several letters trying to sell me on that philosophy, and had been trying to have a meeting with me over a period of a year and a half.

The CHAIRMAN. And he wrote you on January 4, 1939, thanking you for a copy of Coughlin's speech and also one by General Moseley?

Yes; I would be very glad to have Coughlin's speech each week, as I am unable to secure them here. Do let me know when you are planning to be East so that I can, if possible, make my plans so that we can meet. There are many interesting things I want to discuss with you.

Mr. CAMPBELL. He had been writing to me for a year or so to have a conference.

The CHAIRMAN. So when you speak of "our organization" throughout this correspondence, you mean the organization in the 435 congressional districts that you were setting up for political purposes?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I am trying to get the distinction.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Now the organization I am referring to was my idea of setting up a political organization. The contacts that I have for the dissemination of those letters were only to those forty-some-odd people.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand. I am trying to get it clearly distinguished. When you say "our organization" in these various letters, you are referring to this plan to organize the 435 congressional districts for political purposes?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And you didn't have in mind the other plan that you speak of with reference to these reports that are being disseminated?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; those reports were not to be included in that whatsoever.

The CHAIRMAN. Those reports are highly inflammatory.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is why I didn't send them out.

The CHAIRMAN. They are repeating conversations advocating the overthrow of the Government by force?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They are repeating conversations in which prominent people are alleged to be plotting the destruction and overthrow of the Government and the establishment of a soviet government?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. And isn't that the main reason why you didn't send them out to the Republican national committeemen and Republican national committeewomen, because you knew they wouldn't be interested in that, in anything like that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Absolutely; and for the simple reason that I wasn't interested in bringing any issue like that into a political organization.

Mr. HEALEY. But you did send them out to a certain limited list?

Mr. CAMPBELL. But not in the Republican organization.

Mr. HEALEY. But you sent them out?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. And you sent them out mostly down South?

Mr. CAMPBELL. South and Southwest.

Mr. THOMAS. Probably everybody that got those, practically, was a Democrat? [Laughter.]

Mr. HEALEY. You were trying to spread dissention among Democratic ranks, weren't you?

The CHAIRMAN. Let's see if we can understand each other.

Through all this correspondence, when you speak of "our organization," you have absolutely no reference to the reports that Gilbert sent you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The reports that Gilbert sent me are only confined to that small group of which Gilbert and I talked among ourselves as our own organization.

The CHAIRMAN. So when you said "our organization" you didn't mean at all these reports that came in from Gilbert?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Only in that very small group.

The CHAIRMAN. A limited sense?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What you really had in mind in a broader sense was an organization in the 435 congressional districts?

Mr. CAMPBELL. If we could put it across.

The CHAIRMAN. Which was purely political?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And had nothing to do with this other work which you were doing?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what you had in mind when you wrote to Mr. Hamilton on February 6, 1939, and said:

MY DEAR MR. HAMILTON: Last summer, at Washington, Ind., when we discussed the current situation, I told you some of the things that would happen as a result of our organization.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am talking about the Republican Party.

The CHAIRMAN. You said when you used the words "our organization" you meant the organization you were setting up in 435 counties?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is what you are referring to when you wrote to Mr. Hamilton?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; I didn't mean that I had talked to Mr. Hamilton, and when I said that I meant directly the Republican Party, because if you will finish reading the letter, I told him why Michigan would go Republican.

The CHAIRMAN. No; not in this letter, this was the one you wrote him on February 6, 1939.

MY DEAR MR. HAMILTON: Last summer at Washington, Ind., when we discussed the current situation, I told you some of the things that would happen as a result of our organization. And they did. I still secure a very interesting volume of information on subversive activities.

While in Indianapolis this past week I had a talk with our mutual friend, Mr. McWhirter, and he suggested that I increase my mailing list, which is being done to a considerable extent.

I would like to add to my list the national committeemen and committee-women from each State, and would appreciate your sending the names and addresses of these people.

I will probably be in Washington at the chamber of commerce meeting in April with Mr. McWhirter, and I shall look forward to seeing you at that time.

So that you now say that when you said "our organization" you meant the Republican Party rather than this other organization you were perfecting in 435 congressional districts?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

Mr. HEALEY. You said, "I would like to add to my list"—now what list did you refer to?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The speeches of General Moseley that I was sending out, but not of any confidential reports and none of those reports have been sent out to that list.

Mr. HEALEY. You said that you were receiving some confidential reports of subversive activities, didn't you, in that letter?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. And didn't you want to add to your list that you had established for the dissemination of those reports, the names that

you referred to in this letter, the list that you referred to in this letter?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I did not, sir; I had told Mr. Hamilton, when I met him——

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). Where?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I met him in the midst of the cornfield conference, and had about a 10- or 15-minute conversation with him.

Mr. THOMAS. And how many people were there there?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Fifteen thousand, according to reports.

Mr. THOMAS. And you went up to Mr. Hamilton, he didn't seek you out?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No.

Mr. THOMAS. Was that the first time Mr. Hamilton had ever met you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is the only time Mr. Hamilton and I had ever met, and I have never seen him since.

Mr. THOMAS. And he had never heard of you up to that time?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir. When I was introduced to him they told him I had been the national chairman of the Subversive Activities Committee, and I told him that the C. I. O. activities in the Mahoning Valley and the State of Michigan, the published pictures of Jerry O'Connell up in Montana were such that the people would vote against that, would repudiate the New Deal policy in Ohio and Michigan, and would personally go against Jerry O'Connell.

Mr. THOMAS. Which they did?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; and that is what I had reference to in this letter to bring it back to his attention so that he would recall me. I was one of some four or five thousand people that he had met.

Mr. THOMAS. He probably met over 4,000 people there?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't know; he was shaking hands with everybody.

Mr. HEALEY. The source of information that you referred to in this letter, the source of the information concerning subversive activities, was the Gilbert reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; because I get booklets and reports on C. I. O. activities mailed in to me constantly.

Mr. HEALEY. But you were getting that information at the time that you wrote this letter?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; but I wasn't giving it to John Hamilton.

Mr. HEALEY. I didn't infer that. I said the source you referred to was information you were getting concerning subversive activities from the Gilbert source?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; because I had that supplemented with reports from all over the country, from the national headquarters of the Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Americanism reports from all over the country.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's see—so in using the words "our organization," you had three senses in which you used it. In one sense it was the 40 members to whom you were disseminating the Gilbert reports.

No. 2 was the organization in 435 congressional districts.

No. 3 was the Republican Party.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. In using the words "our organization" in the letter to Mr. Hamilton, you were referring to the Republican Party?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Naturally, to Mr. Hamilton, because I am a member of that organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you only sent these Gilbert reports to the 40 people?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think there are some forty-odd names on that list.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know definitely?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, I do not; there may not even be 40.

The CHAIRMAN. But this is the list, is it not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. If that is the list I identified for you the other day; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is a man by the name of Bert Presson, of Little Rock, Ark., named on there? Did you ever hear of him?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Bert Presson came into the picture later, and his name may not be on that master list.

The CHAIRMAN. You did send him these Gilbert reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; because he is the adjutant of the Legion down there, and I met him at a later date when I was down there.

The CHAIRMAN. His name is not on this list.

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else did you send these reports to who is not named on this list of 40?

Mr. CAMPBELL. My files will give you the entire list. You have the files, you have the copies of all my correspondence.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it give Bert Presson's name anywhere in your list, your files?

Mr. CAMPBELL. If there was a letter sent to him there is a copy.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean a report.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; a copy of the letter sent with the report is in the files, because I haven't anything to hide; my files were there, they were all seized.

The CHAIRMAN. His name is not on the list, so there is one you sent these reports to whose name is not on the list.

Mr. CAMPBELL. He is on one of those lists.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. McWhirter's name on the list of the 40?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They tell me that is right.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Whoever those reports are sent to, the girl has it in that file somewhere.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, you have got this list from Mr. Hamilton, you couldn't get it in the almanac because they don't have the addresses of the national committeemen and the national committee-women?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't know; I thought it was easier to write direct and get it.

The CHAIRMAN. You told Mr. Hamilton that you were going to use this to mail out some sort of literature, didn't you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I wanted to mail out some speeches.

The CHAIRMAN. Information on subversive activities?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I thought the speech of the general was a very good one.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that constitutes information on subversive activities, the speech of General Moseley?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think it does.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else's speech were you going to send out?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The one I made myself, not on subversive activities, but on Americanism.

The CHAIRMAN. What other information on subversive activities outside of General Moseley's speeches were you going to mail?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have that in mind when you wrote to Mr. Hamilton on February 13, 1939, and said:

Thank you very much for the list of national committeemen and committee-women.

I believe the information we send will be most valuable to them, as the first thing I intend to send out will be a copy of the speech General Moseley made last week in Nashville, Tenn., showing how the present administration was not only responsible for subversive activities in this country, but through their vacillating foreign policy was throwing us closer and closer to the brink of war.

Why do you use the words "first thing I intend" to do?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Because I intended to send out some more of his speeches.

The CHAIRMAN. But you didn't intend to send anything to this list except General Moseley's speeches?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is what you meant when you told him you had the information on subversive activities that you wanted to mail out?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; because I would not send to the Republican Party any of those reports.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he ever write you after that and tell you not to send out General Moseley's speeches?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't think I ever had any further correspondence with him.

The CHAIRMAN. How many speeches did you actually send out to that list?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't know whether it was two or three I sent out.

The CHAIRMAN. Two or three?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of Father Coughlin's speeches did you send out?

Mr. CAMPBELL. In some of them there was a copy of his speech enclosed. I got the Brooklyn Tablet and sent some of those speeches around to some of those people that were on that general list, and also some of those speeches and the Forum out of the Tablet, which would bring up controversial issues, to some of the people on that list. But I sent most of those speeches, Mr. Dies, into the South because they weren't able to get it over the radio.

The CHAIRMAN. Only 15 out of the 40 you have on this confidential list are in the South, the rest are from other sections.

Mr. CAMPBELL. They can't get it in the West or South, either one.

The CHAIRMAN. Get what?

Mr. CAMPBELL. His speeches on the radio.

The CHAIRMAN. You keep talking about the South. Of these 40 names, only 15 reside in the South and the rest in other sections?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you keep emphasizing the South?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't emphasize the South.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you read the Nashville speech that you wrote to Mr. Hamilton you were sending out first?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I listened to him deliver the speech.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what was in it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You endorsed the speech?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; I don't believe that speech got printed, but I know it was a very good speech.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in your letter of November 21, connecting that up—well, right at that point, Mr. McWhirter was your intermediary between Mr. Hamilton; I mean, he is the man that introduced you and Mr. Hamilton; is he not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He introduced perhaps hundreds from the State of Indiana that was around there that day.

The CHAIRMAN. You say to Mr. Hamilton, in your letter of November 21:

I trust we may have the pleasure of meeting again, and I shall appreciate hearing from you at your convenience. I contemplate making another business trip east in January, which will take me into Washington, Philadelphia, New York, and the New England States. It may be possible for us to get together at that time.

What were you going into all those States for?

Mr. CAMPBELL. At that time we thought we had this product far enough along that General Moseley was going to reach me in Washington, was going to meet me here, and take it to General Reynolds, of the Medical Corps, and General Parran, in the Public Health Service.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in your letter of December 12, 1938, to Mr. Howard B. Rand, you say:

May I suggest that you tune in at the address of Father Coughlin, Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m. eastern standard time. There are some things in his belief with which I cannot agree, but I can most heartily subscribe to the manner in which he is presenting his evidence against the subversive Jew who would break down Christianity and Americanism.

I have planned on leaving here shortly after the first of the year for a trip east, and will advise my dates. In the meantime, if you know definitely when you are going to be in Chicago, let me know, and will either arrange to see each other there or in Massachusetts.

Did you ever meet him?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What were you making this trip into Massachusetts for?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That was the same trip that I contemplated—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Now, Mr. Campbell, when you got these reports from Mr. Gilbert, did you ever, yourself, make any independent investigation to determine whether there was any truth in the reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. A personal investigation I did not make. I had known Mr. Gilbert a long time and before I had sent any of them out I had seen those things happen.

The CHAIRMAN. You had the proof—when the report reached you, with the report was the newspaper clipping verifying it.

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; not in all cases, only in the past few months has he been sending those newspaper reports. If you will go back,

sir, for a period of 2 years, there weren't any newspaper clippings.

The CHAIRMAN. But where he didn't send the newspaper clippings, he did have a statement to the effect that proof of it could be found in certain newspapers?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That was only in the last few months that he started putting that in. Previous to that time they came just as a straight report.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, this list of 40 that you sent these reports to—did you hear Mr. Gilbert's testimony this morning?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; I was told to come back at 1:30.

The CHAIRMAN. Were these 40 men members of your organization?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; they are not.

The CHAIRMAN. They were friends of yours?

Mr. CAMPBELL. People that I knew and friends of mine that I had met and talked to, personally.

The CHAIRMAN. And you marked on each envelope, "For your personal use only," is that right; or did you mark that on there?

Mr. CAMPBELL. On each what?

The CHAIRMAN. On the envelope sending out the report to these people.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I told them that when I sent it to them, and I sent the information as confidential.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't have in mind that they would show it to all their friends?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I did not; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't think that would be the natural effect of it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. If I gave you something and said, "This is confidential," would you go around and show your personal files to everybody?

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't think that that would be the natural consequence, that when they got these reports purporting to show these prominent people plotting a revolution to overthrow the Government, that they would ever say anything to anybody else about them?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; because I wouldn't do that, myself, I don't think you would or any other gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. You felt confident that everybody would keep it confidential, and even in Mr. Cooke's case, that wasn't in your mind when you sent it to him?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the purpose of this?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I had this thought in mind: If this thing began to break, they could verify the facts when I came down to Washington that they had known for some period of time through those reports that things were happening, if I got the information that I felt in my own mind that I should come down to proper military authorities with it.

Mr. VOORHIS. May I interject briefly?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Would you say, or do you still believe there is such a plot as this; do you still believe that?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I have no question in my mind to doubt Mr. Gilbert. I do believe that there is a definite Communist plot in this

country. I don't know personally when it is going to break. I know that with the same intensive effort that this committee put onto that thing, as they are capable of doing, they can uncover it for themselves.

Mr. VOORHIS. This committee is intending to go at this time in the broadest way it can, I will say that much, but here is the next question I want to ask you:

Do you believe that if there were such a plot as has been alleged in these reports that it would have a better chance or a worse chance to effect its purposes after these hearings than it had before?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think it would have a worse chance after these hearings.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is right. If you believed that, then, and if you honestly believed the material in these reports, and you were trying to render a patriotic service, why in the world didn't you tell somebody about it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. If you will follow up all the information that is available, you will run these fellows out.

Mr. VOORHIS. I don't think the thing holds water at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Campbell, let's keep this record absolutely straight.

In fairness to both the Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars, they were never part or parcel of anything you were doing in connection with this? As a matter of fact, they don't approve of this kind of stuff?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, Mr. Chaillaux, repudiated the whole thing?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. The fact that you happened to be in the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and are now chairman of the Kentucky Americanization committee, that doesn't mean by any sense that the Veterans of Foreign Wars subscribe to your views?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Nor the American Legion, which I belong to.

The CHAIRMAN. Or the Officers' Reserve?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And you at no time ever reported your information, or were these reports carried to Mr. McWhirter?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; because he is a friend of mine.

The CHAIRMAN. What did Mr. McWhirter tell you when he began to read these reports; did he approve of your actions in sending this out?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He didn't make enough comment to tell one way or the other.

The CHAIRMAN. He never did contribute any money, you say?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When you wrote him for some funds, you wrote several people for funds, didn't you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. None of them ever contributed?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No contributions were ever received in any specific case.

The CHAIRMAN. You were very anxious to keep this whole matter secret, weren't you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I didn't want to broadcast those reports because I wanted to find out and finally get them verified.

The CHAIRMAN. When you got reports, for instance, such as the one—

Mr. CAMPBELL (interposing). I didn't send out all these things.

The CHAIRMAN. You remember the report that contains a great deal of vile suggestion about the President and his wife; you remember that, don't you, dated Tuesday, April 18?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Not without reading it.

The CHAIRMAN. Look at that report and look at these questions.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Those things I overlooked.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send those questions out to your committee?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Why didn't you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, some of these reports are not strictly of a Communist nature, and some of them were prying into the President's life.

The CHAIRMAN. Why didn't you send that out, for instance?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, about that time I probably had too many reports to be sent out, anyway.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the only reason?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; some of those I didn't send out because I didn't think they were important enough.

The CHAIRMAN. Why didn't you send this one out?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't think it is important enough.

Mr. VOORHIS. Isn't the reason you didn't send it out because you didn't believe it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is a controversial issue, with the D. A. R.

The CHAIRMAN. This goes further and has a good deal of other matter in it.

Mr. CAMPBELL. If you send that out you are going to bring that in.

Mr. THOMAS. Weren't you being paid by Mr. Gilbert to send out his reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Not every report.

Mr. THOMAS. Wasn't there an understanding between you and Mr. Gilbert you were going to send out these things?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. And he was paying you for that, wasn't he?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes; and sometimes we got so sewed up we couldn't get some of those reports out.

Mr. THOMAS. That is the only reason you didn't get them out, because you got sewed up?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I only had one girl.

Mr. VOORHIS. If you felt about a report that came in that you couldn't send the report out—

Mr. CAMPBELL (interposing). That is the 19th of April?

Mr. WHITELEY. April 18.

Mr. CAMPBELL. On April 21 I broke this arm and for 10 days wasn't even around the office. It is still broken in three places.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know your secretary didn't mail it out?

Mr. CAMPBELL. She didn't mail anything unless I told her.

Mr. VOORHIS. Was it on account of your broken arm that you didn't send it out?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I wasn't in the office and I didn't pay any attention to what was happening.

Mr. VOORHIS. Why wasn't this sent out, did you have any objection to sending it out?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I didn't read the whole thing.

Mr. VOORHIS. You didn't even read it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. If it was a D. A. R. controversial issue, I wouldn't send it out. If the whole thing pertained to Communist activities I would have sent it out.

Mr. VOORHIS. You don't even read these reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. You don't know what is in it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't remember that report in detail at all.

Mr. VOORHIS. You couldn't have valued these reports very much if you didn't read them carefully.

Mr. CAMPBELL. There were about 10 days that I didn't go in there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever have any doubts at all, Mr. Campbell, as to Mr. Gilbert's alleged source of these reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; I believe in Mr. Gilbert, and I thought it was the exact truth on that thing, and the reason I didn't want to broadcast it was that it was his request that we keep this thing confidential until we could get enough information to take it to the proper authorities, which it was his intention to do.

Mr. WHITLEY. You never attached any significance at all to the fact that the reports were always dated anywhere from 2 or 3 days to a week before the envelopes transmitting them to you were postmarked?

Mr. CAMPBELL. He explained that to me, Mr. Whitley, that he got these reports sometimes 2 or 3 days after they happened, from this informant, and by the time he wrote and got it on through to me the thing had happened, and that is the way it was explained to me.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you didn't attach any significance to the fact that a lot of these important predictions which tended to lend an air of authenticity to the report, had the proof with the same report?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Most of the reports that I received from him, I received before the events happened. Some of those happened, as he explained it to be, because reports had been delayed in getting to him.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, Mr. Campbell, I have been all over those reports that were in your office, and I haven't found any instance yet where any startling predictions were made and then confirmed weeks later in the press. All the predictions that I have seen that were made, and which have been pointed to, have the proof right in the letter that transmitted the prediction. So it didn't occur to you that someone might be presenting these predictions just to try to build up and make the whole fantastic report look and sound authentic?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, sir; it didn't.

Mr. VOORHIS. Does it now, Mr. Campbell?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I would like to re-read all those things.

The CHAIRMAN. We have Mr. Hamilton here, and we would like to hear from him at this time.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN HAMILTON, CHAIRMAN, REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Hamilton, will you state your official position with the Republican Party?

Mr. HAMILTON. I am the chairman of the Republican National Committee.

Mr. Chairman, may I at this point ask if I may make a statement which will only take about 3 minutes and might expedite the examination?

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is perfectly all right.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am happy to have an opportunity to appear before this committee for any questions which its members may care to ask regarding the testimony given last week by Mr. James Erwin Campbell. Indeed, I am pleased if I can be of any assistance to this committee in its task of investigating anti-American activities, because I believe it is doing a very necessary and patriotic work in exposing Fascist, Nazi, Communist, and all other subversive influences which may be at work in this country. No man's position should relieve him of submitting himself to this committee if he has been in any way mentioned in its proceedings.

I presume this committee would like to have the facts regarding an exchange of correspondence between the Republican national headquarters and Mr. Campbell, which, according to the press reports, figured in the committee's hearings last week. I have found in the files of the Republican national headquarters the correspondence between Mr. Campbell and myself which has been published. But I have no recollection whatever of Mr. Campbell, nor have I any knowledge of him except that which has appeared in the newspapers in the last 4 or 5 days.

Mr. Campbell's first letter—dated November 21, 1938—was sent to me with a covering letter from Mr. Felix McWhirter, of Indianapolis, whom I have known for several years as a finance officer of the Republican organization in Indiana. In the Campbell letter, written on stationery of Business Engineering Associates, Owensboro, Ky., he referred to meeting me at the so-called cornfield Republican rally, held near Washington, Ind., on August 27, last year. He recounted a conversation which he said we had at that time. Also he asked for an appointment with me in January in Washington, D. C. Mr. Campbell may very well have met me on that occasion, but I have no recollection of talking with him. Approximately 25,000 people attended this meeting from half a dozen States, and I daresay I talked with several hundred.

To his first letter, I replied on November 30 that I would be glad to see him in Washington in January if a convenient date could be arranged. He acknowledged this letter under date of December 6 advising me that he and Mr. McWhirter would be in Washington in the early part of January. There is no record in our files of a reply to this letter. Our headquarters received a third letter from Mr. Campbell under date of February 6, this year, in which he stated he was increasing his mailing list and asked for a list of the membership of the Republican national committee, adding that he expected to be in Washington in April and would like to see me.

Under date of February 9, accompanied by a routine letter prepared by one of my secretaries, the list was forwarded to him. At this point may I say that our headquarters, as a matter of course, furnishes a list of the national committee membership to anyone requesting it. You know, of course, that this list is public property as it appears in several publications, including the World Almanac.

The last letter we received from Mr. Campbell, dated February 13, acknowledged the receipt of the list of the committee membership. For the first time, in this letter, Mr. Campbell informed us he intended to send to those on the list a speech made by General Moseley which he said showed—

How the present administration was not only responsible for subversive activities in this country, but through their vacillating foreign policy were throwing us closer and closer to the brink of war.

He again said he expected to see me in April. No reply was made to this letter and there has been no further correspondence between us. In spite of Mr. Campbell's repeatedly expressed desire to call on me I know I have not seen him since this correspondence commenced. I also wish to add that I have not communicated with Mr. Campbell directly or indirectly in any manner except as revealed in this correspondence.

Publication of this correspondence prior to my appearance here has resulted in the inference that in some way I, or the Republican national headquarters, have been sympathetic with anti-Semitic activities. No man who has a position such as mine can permit that challenge to go unanswered because it not only reflects on me but also on the great political party which I represent.

I have no knowledge whatever of any activities of Mr. Campbell or any others who have been named before this committee except what has been recently reported in the press. There was nothing in Mr. Campbell's letters to me which indicated in any way that he was engaged in any un-American activities. If there had been I certainly would not have engaged in any correspondence whatsoever with him.

All my life any form of intolerance has been hateful to me. My first campaigns in public life were marked by my opposition to the Ku Klux Klan. I have always opposed any movement to penalize any man because of his race or because of the manner in which he chooses to worship God.

Only last summer, shortly before the "cornfield" rally mentioned in the Campbell letter, I publicly denounced and urged the defeat of a candidate for the Republican nomination for the United States

Senate in Kansas who had attacked Catholics, Jews, and Negroes. On that occasion, in an open letter to the Republicans of my State, I said:

We have all been shocked by the manifestations of intolerance growing up in the world elsewhere and we should be more than shocked at its appearance on our very doorstep and therefore doubly vigilant. Should I have the opportunity of voting on August 2, as a Republican acting in the interest of my party and my country, I certainly would not vote for anyone who has dedicated himself to a course of intolerance.

Again, about the very time this correspondence with Mr. Campbell commenced, I addressed a telegram to more than 40 leading Republicans throughout the country suggesting that they issue statements to the press "condemning the horrifying and barbaric persecution of minorities in Nazi Germany, especially within the last week."

"As Americans," I stated in this telegram, "we cannot but be shocked by reports from Germany. I consider this an individual and not a political matter and this telegram is sent with that thought in mind."

I cite these two instances only because they occurred during the same period as the correspondence now before the committee. I offer them because I believe that deeds speak louder than baseless innuendoes and because I believe that a man's intentions can best be judged by his acts.

I trust that nothing I have said will be construed as a criticism of this committee, whose work, as I have already indicated, deserves the wholehearted support of every good American. Everything that is worth while in this country whether viewed from a material, cultural, or spiritual viewpoint is dependent on the preservation of our American institutions. Intolerance, to my mind, is as great an enemy of those institutions as is communism, fascism, nazi-ism, or any other alien "ism."

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Hamilton, how long have you known Mr. Felix McWhirter?

Mr. HAMILTON. I probably met him in the campaign in 1936. I had no national connections prior to the time I came to the committee in the spring of 1935, and I think probably that was the first time I met Mr. McWhirter.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you had many contacts with him since that time?

Mr. HAMILTON. Many.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does he hold any official position in the Republican Party?

Mr. HAMILTON. He is the treasurer of the Republican State committee in Indiana, and as such the finance officer of the national committee there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was there any preliminary correspondence or conversation between you and Mr. McWhirter with reference to Mr. Campbell?

Mr. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the nature of that?

Mr. HAMILTON. The letter which the committee had used before, that is, the first letter from Mr. Campbell, dated November 21, I think that is the first letter. It is, according to our files.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right.

Mr. HAMILTON. It did not come directly to me at Washington. It was forwarded to me by Mr. McWhirter with this accompanying letter dated November 22, 1938:

Mr. JOHN D. HAMILTON,

National Chairman, the Republican Committee,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR JOHN: My good, tried, and proven friend, Jim Campbell, sent this letter addressed to you to me for forwarding. This I am pleased to do.

At a time which is mutually convenient to you and Jim, I would like for you to set aside an hour and a half. He is dependable. His information is precise. You will want it, and we can use it for our country's sake.

I regret the delay in your receiving my wire which went out promptly. By tracing it seems that the Postal had been advised by your office to deliver it at the Shoreham. Am knee deep in jitney collections for the recount. There is wide public interest and much detail.

I would like to tell the committee that that telegram had nothing whatsoever to do with this.

On the 18th of November I sent a telegram to all of the finance officers of the Republican Party, asking them to come to Washington for a meeting, and Mr. McWhirter's telegram to me was dated November 16, saying he couldn't come.

Then, as a second telegram, on the 19th, I said I had not received any reply, and then his second telegram, saying the other had been delayed—and that is the reference in the letter.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you know, Mr. Hamilton, what Mr. McWhirter was referring to there in his letter concerning Mr. Campbell when he stated that he had a lot of valuable information or exact information?

Mr. HAMILTON. No; I did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Mr. McWhirter ever discuss with you the nature of the information that Mr. Campbell had been furnishing him for some time?

Mr. HAMILTON. No; he did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. In report form or otherwise?

Mr. HAMILTON. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You made reference, Mr. Hamilton, to the fact that the list or the names of the national committeemen and national committeewomen could be obtained from the almanac.

Mr. HAMILTON. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe that is correct but not their street addresses?

Mr. HAMILTON. No; but that is the reason we adopted that policy. The reason we adopted that policy was that the almanac is the 1938 almanac—the 1939 almanac may not even be issued so far as I know, and there have been several deaths and resignations on the committee, and confusion has arisen, so we have recently sent out mimeographed lists.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you do not recall whether the actual introduction to Mr. Campbell, which was arranged in Indiana, whether that was through Mr. McWhirter or not?

Mr. HAMILTON. The introduction in Indiana?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. HAMILTON. I don't remember ever seeing Mr. Campbell until today, and I have no recollection of the matters which he mentions in that letter.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you know, Mr. Hamilton, or have you ever heard, that General Moseley's speeches are anti-Semitic?

Mr. HAMILTON. I have never heard that, and I don't remember ever having seen the one to which he refers. I did see a statement in the press that General Moseley gave the day he retired as a brigadier general, but I have never seen any of his other speeches that I remember of, and I don't even remember the contents of that; I just remember the incident.

Mr. WHITLEY. And in this letter which Mr. Campbell addressed to you on February 6, in which he states as follows:

I still have a very interesting volume of information on subversive activities.

Did you have any idea what type of subversive activities, or what, he was referring to there?

Mr. HAMILTON. No; if I told you that we had a special file in which, when we get nut letters, we put them there, and I didn't even answer his last letter. That was answered as a matter of form by one of my secretaries. If you will look at the dictation mark on there you will see that it isn't mine.

Mr. THOMAS. What was the date of the last letter you refer to?

Mr. HAMILTON. That was the one in which I sent him the list.

Mr. WHITLEY. February 9, 1939, I believe.

Mr. HAMILTON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't mean to convey the impression that you thought Mr. Campbell was a nut?

Mr. HAMILTON. No; I meant subjects. There is a lot of hysteria on both sides of this matter, and we get all types of mail—I am not talking about him as an individual.

The CHAIRMAN. But you had no reason to believe he was in that category?

Mr. HAMILTON. I don't know anything about him.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean a man who would be introduced to you by an important man like Mr. McWhirter.

Mr. HAMILTON. That is undoubtedly the reason that the letters got the attention that they got.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you characterize this as a "nut" letter?

Mr. HAMILTON. No; but when he asked me if I thought there was any importance, Mr. Congressman, in having a volume of subversive mail, I have got volumes of it.

Mr. THOMAS. Would that convey to your mind that this might be some sort of—

Mr. HAMILTON. When I get letters from somebody who begins to talk about subversive activities, I will leave that up to your committee. I meant no reflection upon Mr. Campbell.

Mr. THOMAS. It began to dawn on you that perhaps this man might be in the category that you termed a nut?

Mr. HAMILTON. I didn't mean that at all; I was talking about the subject matter of subversive activities.

Mr. WHITLEY. And in this last letter, I believe, which Mr. Campbell wrote you, dated February 13, in which he advised that the first thing he intended to send out to that mailing list which you had sent to him, would be a copy of the speech of General Moseley, made the last week in Nashville—was any effort made, Mr. Hamilton, to

determine the nature of that speech or the nature of General Moseley's speeches?

Mr. HAMILTON. No; but there would have been nothing that could have been done at the time. The speech had been made and the list was in his hands. He said in his letter that the speech had already been mailed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was any effort made to stop him from sending out any further, or any more of General Moseley's speeches to that list?

Mr. HAMILTON. There has been no correspondence with him, and I have never seen the man to the best of my knowledge until today, unless it was in Washington, Ind.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe Mr. Campbell testified that he had sent out two or three speeches to that list, that is just a recollection; I believe he indicated in his testimony that he had sent out more than one?

Mr. HAMILTON. Maybe; I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know, Mr. Hamilton, anything concerning the nature of the material which is disseminated by one William Dudley Pelley, head of the Silver Shirts, in Asheville, N. C.?

Mr. HAMILTON. No, sir; I understand that there is an anti-Semitic magazine published there, but I don't know; I heard that in the train coming from Columbus, the night before last.

Mr. WHITLEY. It had never been brought to your attention that Mr. Pelley, of the Silver Shirts, was also disseminating or mailing out copies of General Moseley's speeches?

Mr. HAMILTON. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. In pamphlet form, which he uses for his literature?

Mr. HAMILTON. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Hamilton, did you ever, to your knowledge, get a similar request from Mr. Pelley or from Mr. Kuhn?

Mr. HAMILTON. Not that I know about, and I am sure that there wasn't.

Mr. WHITLEY. For a mailing list of this type that was requested by Mr. Campbell?

Mr. HAMILTON. No; our files have been searched since this matter started for anything that might bear upon it, and there is nothing further that I can find that would bear upon it in one way or another.

Mr. THOMAS. If you had gotten a similar request from Mr. Kuhn, what do you think your attitude would have been?

Mr. HAMILTON. Is Mr. Kuhn head of the bund?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. HAMILTON. Oh, I think Mr. Kuhn is too well known. If the thing came to my personal attention in the last 3 or 4 months, since the meeting particularly, I think I would have advised against that.

Mr. HEALEY. Against sending him the list?

Mr. HAMILTON. Yes; but I don't think that would have stopped him from getting it. A year and a half ago I might not even have known about it.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Hamilton, in your statement you say, "I publicly denounced and urged the defeat of a candidate for the Republican nomination for the United States Senate in Kansas who had attacked Catholics, Jews, and Negroes."

Who was that?

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Winrod.

Mr. THOMAS. After you sent out that letter opposing Winrod, were you ever accused of being pro-Jewish?

Mr. HAMILTON. I have got a very fine history of being pro- or anti-everything. Since that, this circular [indicating], was broadcast all over the United States, "Why does the Republican National Committee refuse to clean house?" and it suggested that myself, Mr. Waltman, Mr. Frank, and Mr. Hard should be relieved of their duties for being pro-Jewish.

On September 10, the Industrial Control Reports, which is put out by a man named True, put out four pages suggesting that I be relieved from my position as chairman of the national committee because I was pro-Jewish.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hamilton, you don't recall meeting Mr. Campbell?

Mr. HAMILTON. No; I do not. I would have no hesitancy in saying so if I did.

The CHAIRMAN. You, of course, wouldn't be in a position to say you didn't?

Mr. HAMILTON. No; I certainly don't say that.

The CHAIRMAN. In fact, the correspondence would indicate that you did talk to Mr. Campbell because in your letter of November 30, 1938, you said to Mr. Campbell:

Mr. McWhirter has forwarded your letter to me and I was glad to hear from you. Since you are planning to be in Washington in January I would suggest that you drop me a note as to just when you were coming and we can arrange a mutually convenient date.

You don't recall whether you arranged that date, and whether you saw him on that occasion?

Mr. HAMILTON. Oh, I know very definitely it was never arranged and I have never seen him since the date of this correspondence.

The CHAIRMAN. But you are sure that that letter of November 30, that you never did see him in accordance with that date?

Mr. HAMILTON. No; I never did.

The CHAIRMAN. Then why, in the letter of February 9, 1939, which was subsequent, did you say as follows:

I shall be looking forward to having another chat with you when the chamber of commerce meets in April.

Doesn't that indicate that you had already had one chat?

Mr. HAMILTON. Yes; Mr. Campbell had said that he had met us or had met me at the Corn Field Conference, and when a man writes in to our headquarters and says he has met me, I am never going to deny it, I will tell you that.

The CHAIRMAN. So that you have no recollection, no independent recollection, of talking to him?

Mr. HAMILTON. No; I haven't, and I didn't remember his face when I saw him here today.

The CHAIRMAN. But you may have talked to him?

Mr. HAMILTON. Very probably I did; I don't want to dispute his word.

The CHAIRMAN. But when he said that he had additional information on subversive activities, and you mailed him this list, you must

have had in mind making available the list to him so he could send information on subversive activities to the committeemen and committeewomen?

Mr. HAMILTON. That is very possible; I think it is the duty of any American, if subversive activity is established to have that known. That is what this committee is doing.

The CHAIRMAN. But you wouldn't make your list available to anyone, would you?

Mr. HAMILTON. I have already answered that. The list is available to anyone.

The CHAIRMAN. But you said you wouldn't make it available to Fritz Kuhn?

Mr. HAMILTON. No; if I knew anybody was going to use it like that, no, but the word "subversive" does not imply anti-Semitic.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't know at the time you received the last letter when he said that the "first thing" he was sending out was General Moseley's speech, you didn't know the contents of General Moseley's speech?

Mr. HAMILTON. No; and the chairman was kind enough to send me a copy of the transcript of the proceedings on Thursday, and I would like to refer to a portion of the transcript of the proceedings the other day, in which the chairman of the committee asked this question of Mr. Campbell:

Then when he wrote back and told you he was sending you the list, he did that in order to furnish you with an opportunity to disseminate General Moseley's speech?

That is right.

His information to me that he was sending out General Moseley's speech was after he had gotten the list.

Mr. HEALEY. But he did refer to the fact that the purpose for asking for this list was to send out to these committee members some information he had of subversive activities?

Mr. HAMILTON. No; I am sorry that that casts an inference. He said he would like to report to me on the subversive matters that he had in mind, and the other is in a distinct paragraph.

Mr. HEALEY. But in the same letter he requested the list?

Mr. HAMILTON. That is right.

Mr. HEALEY. And inferentially you might come to the conclusion that he wanted it for that purpose?

Mr. HAMILTON. I see no objection in giving a list to a man who said that he was going to circulate or circularize on subversive influence.

Mr. HEALEY. You have previously stated that when you get letters referring to that subject that immediately you are rather suspicious of the writer of that letter?

Mr. HAMILTON. I am suspicious of their enthusiasm.

Mr. HEALEY. Did that happen in this case, were you somewhat suspicious?

Mr. HAMILTON. I am afraid that you didn't get the first of the testimony. That letter was not written by me to start with, although I am not waiving responsibility for it.

Mr. HEALEY. But you furnished him the list subsequently, there is no question about that?

Mr. HAMILTON. That is right.

Mr. HEALEY. And he later informed you that the "first thing" he was going to do was to disseminate to this list General Moseley's speech.

Mr. HAMILTON. A speech which had already been made.

Mr. HEALEY. And no attempt was made by your organization to check that speech or its contents?

Mr. HAMILTON. I don't know today what was in that speech.

Mr. HEALEY. And no attempt was made to prevent him from disseminating the contents of that speech or other matters of a similar nature to the list of Republican committeemen and committeewomen?

Mr. HAMILTON. That is quite right, except I say I must qualify by saying that I don't know today that there was anything in that speech.

There is one other statement I would like to make, Mr. Chairman. Since I have come into the room, overhearing as best I could the testimony of Mr. Campbell, he made the statement as to being some type of agent for the Republican National Committee or the Republican organization. I also saw on the teletype, just before I came to the office, a statement made this morning by some witness to the effect that a man by the name of John B. Snow was forming a Nation-wide chain of Republican clubs. The question of representation of the national committee has become so serious that on March 25 every official member of the party received this communication [indicating]. It went to the members of the national committee, to the State chairmen, to the State vice chairmen, to the treasurers of the State committees, and the chairmen of the State finance committees.

Since the election of 1938 there have been recurring instances where representation has been made that certain individuals are representing the national committee in some capacity or other. In case of doubt, such representation should not be accepted by any member of the party, neither in the organization or financial field, without verification from the national headquarters.

At this time it should be sufficient to state that national headquarters has no field men or women representing it generally in any phase of the committee's work. When such appointments are made, the organization as a whole will be informed, and where any such agents are assigned to particular fields, those who are concerned with that field of activity, or who are the members of the organization in the specific area affected, will be notified immediately.

Neither of these gentlemen has been on the pay roll of the national committee or represented us directly or indirectly.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will recess until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

The subpoenas of all witnesses who have not been heard, will remain in force, and the witnesses will be here tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 5:30 p. m., May 22, 1939, the hearing was adjourned to May 23, 1939, at 10 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, MAY 23, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., in room 359, Old House Office Building, Congressman Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present: Congressmen Dies (chairman), J. Parnell Thomas, Jerry Voorhis, Arthur D. Healey, and John J. Dempsey.

Also present: Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

The first witness will be Mr. McWhirter. Mr. McWhirter, will you please come around and have a seat?

Mr. THOMAS. I suggest in the conduct of this hearing that Mr. Whitley complete his examination before we ask questions—is that all right?

The CHAIRMAN. We will have an understanding that if there are any questions any member of the committee want to ask they will first address the chair before interrupting the witness. We will have that understanding.

TESTIMONY OF FELIX M. McWHIRTER, TREASURER, INDIANA REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McWhirter, what is your residence address?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Indianapolis.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your business or profession?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Banking.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your full name?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Felix M. McWhirter.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your position in the banking business? Are you an official of any banking institution?

Mr. McWHIRTER. President of a bank.

Mr. WHITLEY. What bank?

Mr. McWHIRTER. People's Bank.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of Indianapolis?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have any official connection with the Republican Party?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I do.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is that connection?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Treasurer of the Indiana State Central Committee.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is your present connection?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I so testified.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you had any past connection, official connection, with the party?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Been a member for about 34 years.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you connected with the United States Navy, as a Reserve officer?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I am.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your commission?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Lieutenant commander.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long have you had that commission. Mr. McWhirter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. About 15 years.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long have you know Mr. James Campbell?

Mr. McWHIRTER. About 9 years.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long have you know Mr. Dudley P. Gilbert?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I have seen him three times prior to yesterday. The first time was 2 years ago this coming June.

Mr. WHITLEY. What have been your relations with Mr. Campbell over a period of years—been purely social?—been any business relation?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No business relation.

Mr. WHITLEY. No business relation. Has he ever borrowed or attempted to borrow any money from you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. He has not.

Mr. WHITLEY. In connection with his activities. Do you know what business Mr. Campbell has been engaged in in the last 2 or 3 years?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Business engineering.

Mr. WHITLEY. Business engineering?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you know that he was also acting as a medium through which Mr. Gilbert was distributing, disseminating certain reports?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I knew nothing of the medium or the distribution.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't know that Mr. Campbell was distributing reports regarding alleged subversive activities?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I didn't get your question.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't know that Mr. Campbell was distributing reports—

Mr. McWHIRTER. I knew I was receiving reports from him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, you knew he was distributing them, then.

Mr. McWHIRTER. I knew that I was receiving reports.

Mr. WHITLEY. How did you receive those reports?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Through the mail.

Mr. WHITLEY. Not verbally?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever discuss those reports, the contents of them, with Mr. Campbell?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. The reports you received allegedly were based on information furnished by a confidential informant in a New York club?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I have knowledge since I have been reading the papers the last week and since I sat here yesterday.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't know until these hearings started what the source of those reports was supposed to be?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever question Mr. Campbell about those reports or the information in them?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I assumed they were rather fantastic, and so indicated.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you keep those reports he sent you, or did you send them back to him, Mr. McWhirter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I did not send them back.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did not send them back. The reports in question had to do with the—they were called "music scores," were identified as "music scores," and referred to conversations in a club in New York City?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Those were the reports.

Mr. WHITLEY. Those are the reports. Your connection with Mr. Campbell, I would judge from your testimony, was rather passing, and probably insofar as Mr. Campbell's activities are concerned in spreading these reports you didn't know anything about that except just that you received a report occasionally?

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is correct, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever worked with Mr. Campbell along political lines or with reference to political activities?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have not. Did Mr. Campbell at your instance arrange for General Moseley to come to Indianapolis to deliver an address some time ago?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir. I wrote Mr. Campbell and suggested that he join in an invitation which I understood that General Moseley had had extended to him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Campbell did assist you in arranging for General Moseley to come, though, did he not?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I assume so.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McWhirter, reading from copy of letter dated July 22, 1938, addressed to you by Mr. Campbell: "Dear Felix, I am enclosing part of a musical score received today. You can pass this on to whomever you see fit." Did you ever see fit to pass on those reports to anyone?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. The last paragraph of that same letter, Mr. McWhirter: "The thought occurs to me that if this gentleman whom we are discussing"—and whom he does not identify in the letter—"about a contract is of the right material and personally informed, it might be a good idea to start sending him over the country as a 1940 potential." To whom does that statement refer, Mr. McWhirter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I assume it refers to the guest at the Cornfield Conference held last August near Washington, Ind.—host, I mean; I beg your pardon.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was Mr. whom?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Mr. Capehart.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Homer Capehart?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Another letter from Mr. Campbell to you, dated October 7: "Dear Felix, I am enclosing a couple of reports recently received, and also an extract of a case on which we are working here in Kentucky." His correspondence would indicate that he sent those reports rather regularly. Mr. McWhirter—is that correct?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, there was no periodical regularity to them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Letter of November 1, 1938, addressed to you by Mr. Campbell, which was read in evidence yesterday, goes into considerable detail with reference to plans for promoting an organization to sponsor Mr. Capehart—apparently to sponsor him along political lines. Was that letter and the discussion in there of plans a result of any conversation or arrangement that you and Mr. Campbell had?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Certainly not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you agree with those plans, or did you indicate any agreement with them?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Letter of December 9, 1938, addressed to you by Mr. Campbell: "Enclosing copy of a letter from Homer and a music score"—referring to one of the reports—"copy of a letter just received from General Moseley. You can see by this why I was so anxious for Homer to get with us so that I could be in New York next week. I'll make you a wager, knowing the general as I do, that his speech will never go over the radio out of New York City. He, too, has been able to confirm some of the musical scores"—he, too, has been able to confirm those scores—does that indicate you had been able to confirm some?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I am sure I couldn't interpret the meaning of any of the others' letters.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you did get these letters over a long period of time, didn't you, from Mr. Campbell?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I have had probably 150 letters.

The CHAIRMAN. And received 150 reports, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I wouldn't think so; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, how many did you receive?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive as many as a hundred?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I wouldn't think so.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do with the reports when you received them?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I have a 6-foot wastebasket.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever show them to any of your friends?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever write Mr. Campbell a letter of disapproval of the mailing out of these reports?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever tell him personally he oughtn't to do it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I testified, sir, that I did not know that he was distributing reports.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, insofar as you were concerned did you make any effort to manifest to him your disapproval of these things?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I believe I testified that I expressed to him the thought that they seemed fantastic to me.

The CHAIRMAN. They seemed fantastic to you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you tell him that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I do not remember.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any conversation in which you told him that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I do not remember, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a vague recollection that you did tell him that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Why certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you certain that you told him that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You never did put it in writing, though?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You continued to correspond with him?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think in 3 or 4 years I have written him four or five letters.

The CHAIRMAN. And in no letter did you ever indicate any disapproval of these reports?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No letters in reference to the reports.

Mr. WHITLEY. The same letter, Mr. McWhirter, December 9, Mr. Campbell to you: "with reference to confirmation of the reports may I suggest you tune in on Father Coughlin's speech, Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock central standard. I trust you heard it last Sunday afternoon." Had you and Mr. Campbell discussed the substance of Father Coughlin's speeches?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You had not. Do you consider yourself—or have you ever approved or engaged in the dissemination of antireligious and antiracial propaganda of any kind, Mr. McWhirter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Never have.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever associated with or cooperated with anyone who was doing that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I have not.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have not. Mr. McWhirter, I read you your original letter dated December 12, 1938, addressed to Mr. James E. Campbell: "Dear Campbell: Yours of the 9th this morning received. Is it true that Hull's wife is part or full-blood Semite?" Was there any particular reason for that inquiry, or was that in keeping with your conversations with Mr. Campbell? Is that the reason you wrote him inquiring along that line?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Your question is rather involved. I will be glad to answer it if you will take it apart.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right. Was there any conversation with Mr. Campbell that prompted you to write him?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And make that inquiry.

Mr. McWHIRTER. There was not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it your knowledge of Mr. Campbell's activities that caused you to believe he could answer that question for you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I have known that Mr. Campbell has been able to get information from various parts of the country over a long period of time, and I could not now recall where I read some of these subscription sheets I presume—I subscribed to none of them—made allegations, and that letter is the answer as you read, the first paragraph is acknowledgment of the letter you read before from him and makes no reference to contents of his letter.

Mr. WHITLEY. Continuing the same letter, Mr. McWhirter: "What do you know of Landon's Semitic connections? What do you know of William Allen White's Semitic connections? Sincerely, Felix."

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you want that information, Mr. McWhirter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. For the same reason, sir, that I would like to have any factual information I could have.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, how would the information aid in any respect? What difference did it make whether they had Semitic blood or not?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Might make no difference.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your interest in trying to find out whether Secretary Hull's wife had Semitic blood?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think that the hymn of hate has been sung in too many places in this country and by too many people and too many people are on the receiving end. I am only interested in knowing, if I can, what little is going on.

The CHAIRMAN. But what value would it be to you to find out that these people had Semitic blood or didn't have it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Of no value.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you want it for the purpose of disseminating the information yourself?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I disseminate no information.

The CHAIRMAN. You wanted it only for your own information?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what caused you to believe that William Allen White had Semitic blood?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I have no recollection of ever having stated that I believed that.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you want to ask the question?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I did not ask that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, his connections; you asked here, "What do you know of Landon's Semitic connections?" What did you mean by that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Exactly what it says, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, explain to us what you meant by it—connections with reference to his family or his friends or his associates or in what respect?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. Organizations?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean whether he belonged to a Semitic organization?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I wouldn't know anything about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what sort of a connection did you have in mind?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I had no connection in mind. That is why I was seeking the information.

The CHAIRMAN. I know, but you asked here: "What do you know of Landon's Semitic connections?" I am trying to get in mind what information you wanted. Did you want his connection with reference to Semitic organizations, whether he was a member of any Semitic organization?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, I wouldn't believe that I would want that.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, would you want the information with reference to whether or not any of his friends had Semitic blood?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You wouldn't want that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, would you want it with reference to whether or not any of his associates, people in his office, had Semitic blood?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think I answered as best I could when I indicated that my interpretation as I reasoned back then and as I see it now would simply mean that "connections" means "connections," and that is all I can say, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, but there are different kinds of connections. It may be a connection——

Mr. McWHIRTER. All right, I knew of no connections. I asked if there were any.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what prompted you to ask that question?

Mr. McWHIRTER. The desire to know, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what question was raised in your mind? Did it just come out of the clear sky?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, no; as I attempted to remind the chairman a while ago, there are many, many printed documents and stenciled documents and all sorts of things for sale, if one will simply subscribe to them. Now and then they are reported in the press, all sorts of allegations.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever see anything in the press——

Mr. McWHIRTER (interposing). I have no memory of where I saw it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any memory of seeing it in any publication?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What publication?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I have no memory where it was.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't know what publication?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No. I am inclined to think it was one of these sheets that are gotten out.

The CHAIRMAN. A Pelley sheet?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Sir?

The CHAIRMAN. Was it Mr. Pelley's sheet, the Silver Shirts publication?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No; he doesn't send me any.

The CHAIRMAN. Fritz Kuhn's publication?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir; I don't receive those.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't have any idea what publication it was?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you say here: "What do you know of William Allen White's Semitic connections?"

Mr. McWHIRTER. Same answers for that.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you have some vague recollection that somewhere you saw that charge made?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Oh, I think it is common knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. What is common knowledge?

Mr. McWHIRTER. That what the chairman refers to is a charge that has been publicized here and there.

The CHAIRMAN. You think it has been publicized pretty extensively that William Allen White and Landon had Semitic connections?

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is what I testified to; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think it has been publicized rather extensively that Mr. Hull's wife has Semitic blood?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were curious to find out about that, so you wrote to the man from whom you had been receiving these reports; is that right?

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You had a great deal of confidence in the veracity of Mr. Campbell, didn't you, to address these inquiries to him?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir; I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, if you believed in his veracity, didn't you credit the contents of the reports that you were receiving?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You believed him in one respect but not in another?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I couldn't answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what I am trying to understand is this, Mr. McWhirter: You say that with respect to the reports they appeared fantastic to you, but still you had confidence in the veracity of Mr. Campbell, enough confidence to justify you to write him to get certain information, isn't that true?

Mr. McWHIRTER. It is logical.

The CHAIRMAN. Logical—is that a logical explanation?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Why certainly. You might send me anything, sir, that you believed in, and I might believe in you and the thing that you sent me might be grossly false, without your knowing it.

The CHAIRMAN. Now the information you were asking from Mr. Campbell was along the same lines as carried in these reports, weren't they?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I do not think so.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew what the contents of the reports were, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I judge in general—I had my memory refreshed yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew that these reports purported to carry conversations of a revolutionary nature, didn't you—where prominent men were supposed to be gathered together and plotting to overthrow and destroy the American Government, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I read the reports.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir. Well, you knew that was in there.

Mr. McWHIRTER. I wouldn't care to join your interpretation of them.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your interpretation of what the contents of the reports were?

Mr. McWHIRTER. That they were fantastic.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't they deal with alleged conversations in this club in New York in which prominent people were alleged to have plotted the overthrow of this Government? Didn't they deal with that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I couldn't interpret the——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Didn't the reports deal with plan No. 1, plan No. 2, and plan No. 3, and wasn't one of the plans—the purpose of the administration dominated by alien influences was to involve us in war out of which chaos was to ensue, and a common estate following—wasn't that one of the plans?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I didn't so interpret it; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you interpret it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I just read it.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know, recall, that it was?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I can't name you, sir, 1, 2, and 3.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you know that another plan that was often carried in these reports was that a civil war would start similar to that in Spain, that the leftist group were plotting to start a civil war in the United States; don't you remember that was in the reports?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't remember that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what do you remember that the reports contained?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I remember that they were reports that would come sometimes a week, sometimes 3 weeks, sometimes a month, of certain more or less clandestine gatherings, meetings where people discussed all sorts of fantastic things. That is what I remember.

The CHAIRMAN. What sort of people were they—almost generally Jewish people, weren't they?

Mr. McWHIRTER. They may have been, but——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Well, didn't the reports so state that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know of that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Your question was whether they were Jewish people almost generally. I have no recollection of that.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't have any recollection of that at all?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now you got these reports over a long period of time. You made no effort to stop that, so far as you and Mr. Campbell are concerned, did you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't tell him, "Don't send me any more of this stuff"?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever make any effort to find out whether the reports had any truth or falsity?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In view of your connection, did it ever occur to you that perhaps it might be advisable for you to take this up with the proper authorities; that if this be true, if there were plotting in high quarters against the United States Government, it became your duty to report that to the proper authorities? Did that ever occur to you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Had the occurrence to me been that there had been plotting in high places, certainly it would have occurred to me. That is mere conjecture, however.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what I am asking you is why you didn't report or carry these reports to the Intelligence Department of the Government or to some proper authority and say, "Here, I have got reports from a man that I have confidence in, enough confidence in that I have addressed letters to him of a confidential nature, and according to these reports here are people plotting to destroy this Government, and I think something ought to be done about it." Did that ever occur to you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Mr. Chairman, anything that is fantastic spends itself. I have learned that.

The CHAIRMAN. So it never occurred to you to take this matter to any naval intelligence?

Mr. McWHIRTER. There is too much comes over a desk, too much mail of all sorts of fantastic schemes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. May I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. McWhirter, in the reports sent to you by Mr. Campbell can you recall a single one that did not contain some attack upon Jewish people?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir; I can't recall a single report.

Mr. DEMPSEY. They all attacked certain Jewish people?

Mr. McWHIRTER. My answer was that I couldn't recall a single report. Your question was could I recall a single report that did not something.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That did not contain——

Mr. McWHIRTER (interposing). I have no memory of a single report.

Mr. DEMPSEY. And you don't know whether any of the reports contained an attack upon Jewish people or not.

Mr. McWHIRTER. I didn't testify that.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is what I am asking you.

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think some did.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What percentage of them?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I couldn't say.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Didn't they all?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think I answered your——

Mr. DEMPSEY (interposing). Did you receive a single report sent out by Mr. Campbell that did not contain an attack upon Jewish people?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I couldn't say.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You couldn't say. And you went to that very source to find out for your own information—you didn't want it for any other person—whether or not certain people had Jewish blood or whether they were connected with Jewish organizations.

Mr. McWHIRTER. The letter is there.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Yes.

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is the answer.

Mr. DEMPSEY. It is a very startling letter from a man in your position, I thought, a very startling letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McWhirter, you, of course, are very much against class prejudice, are you not?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I have never belonged to, joined, or never have had any intention of joining any secret organization, lodge, fraternity, or anything else.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you against class prejudice?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. You are against condemning an entire group, whether it be a class or race or religion, on account of the misdeeds or shortcomings of a minority within the group, aren't you—isn't that right?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't know about minorities within groups.

The CHAIRMAN. I may assume that it be true that within, say, a big group, any racial group or economic group or whatever you may term it, there are some within there that are not desirable citizens, you wouldn't judge everybody by the ones that are not good citizens, would you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Certainly not.

The CHAIRMAN. You wouldn't do that in reference to businessmen. You know that in the business world there are some good businessmen and some that aren't good, isn't that right?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I have so found out.

The CHAIRMAN. You have met some who are not good, in the banking world, haven't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You wouldn't condemn all the bankers because you happened to meet a few that weren't or some that weren't desirable citizens, would you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think I testified.

The CHAIRMAN. Isn't that correct?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The same is true with reference to race and religion, isn't it true, you don't approve of this thing of condemning an entire race or group, do you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I will be very pleased to answer questions. If the chairman wishes to make my answers for me, I shall have to—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I am asking you, do you approve of it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think that Jews, Gentiles, Catholics, Protestant, New Deal, Democrat, Republican, and everything else is pretty good.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. If you are feeling that way, why did you continue to receive these reports without at any time indicating to Mr. Campbell your disapproval of what he was engaged in?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, you might interpret it disapproval if one indicates to another that it seemed rather fantastic.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Campbell discussed with you the contents of this report many times, didn't he?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, when you met with him didn't you all talk about this thing?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I didn't meet with him.

The CHAIRMAN. How many times have you seen him in the past 12 months?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Oh, I presume three.

The CHAIRMAN. Three times. What did you talk about when you met, do you remember that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, occasionally he would come up to the rail. I might be engaged, and might not. I would step over and say howdy-do to him.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you talk with him about this matter of organizing 435 congressional districts for the Republican Party?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't discuss that with him at all?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You had his letters in which he outlined the plan to you, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I recall no such letter; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You recall no such letter. You don't recall the letter he wrote you on November 1, 1938, when he said to you:

I covered the situation with Homer, and he is coming to Indianapolis Thursday for a discussion with you. I told him of the 15,000 posts, the 435 congressional districts, the type of organization that was to be perfected therein, the necessity of infrequent public appearance until next year at the State meetings, and how this program could be controlled and developed. Now I did not discuss with him the cost. This is a variable factor, because each one of these 435 individuals must be properly contacted to develop the State organization and to coordinate the progress that has been made to date.

You don't recall that letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Not specifically. I receive dozens and dozens of letters. I have no doubt of it.

The CHAIRMAN. That he wrote you the letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No. You have the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you in sympathy with his plans?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I took no particular interest in the plans, any plans.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't write him back and tell him that you disapproved of that plan, did you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He saw you thereafter at a conference, or rather he went to Indianapolis to talk to you after that date, didn't he?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think not, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean after November 1, 1938, he didn't go to Indianapolis and talk to you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. He may have been in Indianapolis and he may have spoken to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You thought enough of the situation to introduce him to Mr. Hamilton at the Cornfield Convention, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think the chairman is confused as to dates. I introduced probably 40 or 50 people, perhaps more, to Mr. Hamilton in August of last year.

The CHAIRMAN. In August 1938?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You introduced Mr. Campbell to Mr. Hamilton, didn't you? The fact is, you arranged for the meeting, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you write a letter to Mr. Hamilton and tell him you had a dear friend, absolutely dependable, and you wanted him to see him?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I may have written Mr. Hamilton. The chairman was just speaking of an introduction of Campbell to Hamilton at the Cornfield Conference, where there were some 30,000 people.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make the introduction?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I so stated.

The CHAIRMAN. And you wrote the letter, though, before the meeting, didn't you, to Mr. Hamilton and told him you had a very good friend, dear friend?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't write any letter to Mr. Hamilton?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Your question was, I wrote a letter, didn't I, before the Cornfield Conference. My answer was "No, sir."

The CHAIRMAN. Did you write one after the Cornfield Conference?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. To Mr. Hamilton?

Mr. McWHIRTER. The letter was read here yesterday. That letter was in the latter part of the year, from my memory of yesterday's meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. And you recommended Mr. Campbell in that letter as being absolutely dependable, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I certainly did.

The CHAIRMAN. Even though you had been receiving these so-called fantastic reports over a long period of time—isn't that right?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think I testified that anything that is fantastic soon spends itself.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the answer to my question is this: That at the time you wrote this letter—

Mr. McWHIRTER. Which letter?

The CHAIRMAN. To Mr. Hamilton—that is the letter you say you wrote after the Cornfield Conference in which you recommended Mr. Campbell in the highest terms; that is true, isn't it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is what the chairman says.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what do you say about it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I say I wrote a letter to Mr. Hamilton at the request of Mr. Campbell, enclosing a letter that Mr. Campbell had addressed to Mr. Hamilton.

The CHAIRMAN. And didn't you in your letter to Mr. Hamilton say that Mr. Campbell was absolutely dependable?

Mr. McWHIRTER. That inference is all right—not those words.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not talking about the inference.

Mr. McWHIRTER. The letter is there—that he was a long-time friend, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. And that letter was written after Mr. Campbell wrote you about this organization in 435 congressional districts, wasn't it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I have no recollection of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the letter that Mr. Campbell wrote you about this organization, political organization, was November 1, 1938. Now, did you write the letter to Mr. Hamilton after that date?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think I did. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Do you recall the meeting between Mr. Campbell and Mr. Hamilton? Were you present at that meeting?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I know of no meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any meeting—I thought you said you introduced Mr. Campbell to Mr. Hamilton.

Mr. McWHIRTER. My dear Mr. Chairman, you have had experience yourself in political meetings. Here is a large platform, hundreds of people milling up to meet the chairman. That is the place and the time at which I introduced Mr. Campbell to Mr. Hamilton. So far as I know, that is the only time that Mr. Campbell and Mr. Hamilton have met face to face.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do recall having introduced Mr. Campbell to Mr. Hamilton?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I am willing to recall it because I introduced him.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, thereafter you undertook to arrange a meeting between Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Campbell, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any conversation that took place between Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Campbell after you introduced them?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether they talked at all?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You just got up and left, did you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. We were all up. This was after, at the close of the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you helped arrange the meeting at Indianapolis at which General Moseley spoke, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I asked for a letter seconding an invitation that went from the State chairman to General Moseley, and I further wrote Mr. Campbell, suggesting certain hopes that I had of treatment that Mr. Moseley might give in that meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, on December 21, 1938, you wrote to Mr. Campbell as follows [reading]:

DEAR JIM: Even though I am going to try to talk to you on the phone in a few minutes, nevertheless I want to put some thoughts to you in writing. We are all very much encouraged and enthused about the plans for our conference Thursday the 29th, which will culminate in the big luncheon meeting from where Indiana and the Nation will hear General Moseley.

You recall writing that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I should be pleased as a matter of personal privilege to have the chairman read the whole of the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. I will be glad to read the whole of the letter. Do you recall reading the letter? I am asking you now.

Mr. McWHIRTER. I recall having written the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Writing the letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

It occurred to me it sometimes is helpful to a speaker to have circumstances surrounding a meeting at which he is to speak outlined for him. You will

know best what part of the information that I am giving you in this letter should be sent to General Moseley.

There has been a tendency in the Republican organization in this State, and I suppose in others, to cease all activities immediately after the election and to hibernate until shortly after the next political convention 2 years hence. Then a very hasty organization is assembled, usually without any system and without any real plan, and that organization operates until the election in a state of utmost confusion. Naturally you know such isn't good business. If we are to be consistently successful, we must carry on a continuous fight and we must have a specific program, providing for the accomplishment of certain definite objectives.

The meeting to be held December 29 at which General Moseley is to be the guest speaker will be the first real stride that we have taken in that direction. Attending the meeting will be some three or four hundred businessmen from all parts of Indiana, 72 newly elected mayors, 283 newspaper editors and publishers, and 67 legislators. It is our thought that through the program that day and through a series of group conferences preceding it we can give birth to some cohesion between the publishers, officials, and businessmen, and at the same time impress the latter with the necessity for their cooperation and assistance. There will be no solicitation of funds in connection with this meeting.

There are several points which it could be suggested to General Moseley, without giving offense, might be of great help to us if they could be brought out in his address. One of these is the fact that political organizations as they are now constituted are very definitely archaic. If we are to be successful, their tempo must be developed along lines applying to business organizations of this day and age. We must develop a virility, and we must exercise something of the salesmanship that applies to business. Above all else it seems to me we must show the ordinary voter how and why the republican form of government can be made to benefit him more than any other form. This is especially necessary because the newness of some of the totalitarian forms of government seem to impress unthinking people with their freshness and virility. We must make it plain to people that primarily the function of the republican form of government is defense. Carried to the ultimate, it is defense of individual rights. There is no such thing as a recognition of individual rights in a totalitarian state, and much as we regret it the trend in our own National Government is all in that direction at this time, as you know. We must make them see that the Constitution in its present form is the only real defense that they have against invasion of their individual rights, and that each attack upon the Constitution, no matter how specious the excuses may be, undermines the Constitution, and as a natural result weakens their individual rights and freedom by opening the way for direction from the top rather than from the individual through duly elected representatives. In connection with this matter of government as an instrument of defense, we must make them see that defense is the primary purpose and that services are merely extras for which they pay and through which much of what is now wrong with the Government is wished or imposed upon them. We must make them see, too, that all of the above is directly tied in with that clause in the Declaration of Independence which refers to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." We must make them see that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is really **nothing** but freedom of initiative and endeavor.

I should like also to see some reference made to the traditions of Indiana, the manner in which it was settled by pioneers who came up through Cumberland Gap, through Kentucky, and thence across the Ohio River into Indiana. I should like to see it made clear that it was the position under the protection of the republican form of government that permitted them the freedom of initiative and endeavor that enabled them to take part in that free nation, that under the present parental system they would have lacked that freedom.

General Moseley's New York Board of Trade speech impressed me tremendously. It was that speech which above all else caused me to know him to be the logical man to make the main address before this important meeting. I should like to see some of the points which he brought out in that speech emphasized in the one to be delivered here also, particularly that portion which refers to the enemies within and with reference to those statements that he made concerning our present foreign policies.

You will know how much of this to pass along to General Moseley, and I am depending upon your discretion to say nothing that would cause him to think

that we are attempting to write his speech for him. As I said before, I did feel that perhaps an outline of the situation might really be helpful to him. Will be looking forward to having you with us, and perhaps we can arrange for Colonel Morehead and a few others to dine together with the general that night if his plans will so permit.

Sincerely,

FELIX M. McWHIRTER.

P. S.—You get the implication, I am sure, in all of this rather lengthy letter that there is an opportunity to bring out the inherent difference as well as the fallacy in the common definition between a republic and a democracy, which no outstanding figure has yet made clear, and I am wondering if this isn't the real opportunity. Very little opportunity is necessary to make plain the difference.

That is your letter. I have read it fully.

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Now in your letter, throughout there, you speak of "we," you are including Mr. Campbell with yourself, or are you? Would that be a proper interpretation when you say "we" throughout the letter? Are you speaking of Mr. Campbell and yourself?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are you speaking of, "we?"

Mr. McWHIRTER. The officers of the Republican State central committee, who were the hosts at this meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. So that in your letter to Mr. Campbell when you say "we" you weren't speaking of Mr. Campbell and yourself, but you were speaking of these other people and yourself, is that right?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So that in this letter you yourself recognized the necessity for some organization to be built up, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Oh, I recognized a necessity for an organization all my life.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is our system of Government, party system.

The CHAIRMAN. And that was written after the letter from Mr. Campbell to you of November 1, 1938, when he outlined his plan of organizing 435 congressional districts? He wrote you that on November 1, telling you how that you had to organize these 15,000 posts. And then on December 21, 1938, nearly 2 months later, you wrote him, in which you approved of perfecting some type of organization, isn't that right?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Not by implication, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you did write him, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. To that effect.

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you wrote him of the necessity of perfecting organization, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. The organization being the Republican Party.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what you had in mind, the Republican Party—and that is what he had in mind?

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is quite evident. I don't know that is what he had in mind.

The CHAIRMAN. Now when you were talking about the totalitarian governments, your opposition to them, you know, or is it your opin-

ion, that the dissemination of hatred had anything to do with the establishment of these dictatorships abroad?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I have no judgment on the cause of those.

The CHAIRMAN. You do, though, regard the dissemination of any class, racial, or religious hatred as un-American, don't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't approve it as an American citizen?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I so testified.

The CHAIRMAN. Yet, nevertheless, what is your explanation for having written to Mr. Campbell in which you yourself are trying to elicit information with reference to whether or not the Secretary of State's wife had Jewish blood and whether or not Mr. Landon and the other gentleman had Jewish connections? What is your explanation for your attitude in this letter in opposition to totalitarian governments and your attitude in writing a letter in which you are eliciting this sort of information? Can you give us any sort of explanation?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't know that there is any connection in totalitarian government and any race.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you know, as a matter of fact, that all of the dictatorships arose first by the spreading of hatred among people, racial and class hatred?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I assume so—that and the zest for power.

The CHAIRMAN. And you saw the same thing being done by Mr. Campbell, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why, didn't you regard these reports as being the most violent type of religious propaganda or anti-religious propaganda?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I testified that the reports that I received seemed fantastic to me, and that I was uninformed as to any general dissemination of those reports.

The CHAIRMAN. From what standpoint did you consider them fantastic?

Mr. McWHIRTER. From the standpoint of their context.

The CHAIRMAN. But you did know that these reports all dealt with racial and religious matters, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew that was the basis of them, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't regard them as anti-Semitic propaganda?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No; I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what did you regard them as?

Mr. McWHIRTER. As a fantastic dream of someone as to how the Government might be taken over by those who wished to grasp power.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did you see the name of anyone mentioned in the reports except members of the Jewish race?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't recall the names, but, as I testified before, there were names that I wouldn't know whether they were of one race or another. Certainly not all of one race.

Mr. DEMPSEY. May I ask the witness?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. McWhirter, there were names you did know of or heard of?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Oh, yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Were those Jewish or not?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Some were.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What name that you can recall was not?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I can't recall any names.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You can't recall any that was not?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think the reports have the names in them.

Mr. DEMPSEY. But you can't recall any that were not Jewish in those reports?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I can't recall any names.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, do you recall a letter of December 19, 1938, that Mr. Campbell wrote you, as follows:

DEAR FELIX: Your letter sent to the General was splendid. If you do not hear from him by tomorrow I will call as you suggest. However, he was delayed in leaving New York, so I am not worrying yet. Will have the General present even if we have to "shanghai" him. I am enclosing a clipping by the Honorable Hugh Johnson which is rather interesting. There are several phases of this matter to be discussed, and I hope Homer will be present. I would like, after discussing certain features with you, to be able to sit down with Mr. Irwin for about 1 hour, if we can keep him that long. Put this meeting across successfully on the 29th, give us the right kind of assistance, and I guarantee to give you a meeting like that in each State, to be addressed by either the General or Homer during the ensuing year. Most cordially yours.

Do you recall that letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. In a general way; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did any meeting follow as a result of it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what did you do after you got that letter? Did you talk to him over the telephone?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No. I may have called to find out whether the general was accepting the invitation. I may have done that. I don't recall.

The CHAIRMAN. But much of your communication with Mr. Campbell was over the telephone, was it not?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't talk to him over the telephone long distance to Owensboro?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I may have talked to him as I just testified.

The CHAIRMAN. So you say no meeting took place as a result of this letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, did you write a letter dated December 17, 1938, to Maj. Gen. George Van Horn Moseley, Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Ga.?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't recall the date. I think I wrote a letter seconding the invitation of the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you write this letter:

MY DEAR GENERAL MOSELEY: It is, indeed, sir, with more than uncommon enthusiasm that I not only join in seconding the invitation which was extended to you through our mutual friend, James E. Campbell, but also do I wish to express my deep appreciation for the stalwart work you are doing. Those of us who have been charged with some responsibility carrying on hereabouts are

all looking forward with keen anticipation to the opportunity to again meet you and to share you with the others to be assembled in the Riley Room at the Claypool Hotel, Indianapolis, on Thursday noon, December 29. With cordial regards,

Sincerely,

FELIX M. McWHIRTER.

You wrote that letter, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. It sounds like it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you recall it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Some such letter. I have no precise memory on what I write. I write several letters.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you recall writing a letter of December 17, 1938, to Mr. James E. Campbell, Business Engineering Associates, 304 Odd Fellow Building, Owensboro, Ky.—

DEAR JIM: Attached is a copy of a letter which I have put in the mail to General Mosely. Talked to Colonel Morehead and he is writing also. We just must have him here without fail—

underscore "without fail"—

If you don't hear within a reasonable time, get on the phone, please.

Sincerely,

FELIX McWHIRTER.

Do you recall that letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. In a general way; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, suppose you look at it, so we won't have any doubt about it.

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is my signature.

The CHAIRMAN. That is your letter, is it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And this other letter was a copy that you transmitted in that letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I assume so.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you better look at it, so we will know.

Mr. McWHIRTER. As far as I know. I have no question about it. But when you ask a specific—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Well, you can't say whether that was the letter that you transmitted?

Mr. McWHIRTER. It looks like—that is my letter, isn't it?

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is what we are asking you. You should know whether it is yours or not. That is what we are trying to find out. What we would like to have is an answer to that question of the chairman, Is that your letter or not?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Let me see it. This is a carbon copy—purports to be a carbon copy of a letter which I am willing to accept the authorship of. I do not know that it is. I don't think anybody could testify any more definitely than that.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, on October 3, 1938, do you recall receiving a letter—or do you recall receiving a letter dated October 3, 1938, from Mr. Campbell, in which he said:

DEAR FELIX: I have driven 6,000 miles on this trip. Have uncovered some extremely interesting data in line with the copy of the enclosed letter to Homer Capehart.

Now, this is confidentially between you and me; but in that man we have a natural. Not for the national chairmanship of the Republican Party but for a 1940 nominee for President. When I give you a report of the hundreds of interviews that I have held across the country and back and the sentiment of the

buck-private World War veteran, I think you will agree with me. I have a very definite plan in mind, which could result in his nomination, which I should like to discuss with you.

I expect to be here in the office all week and will be glad to have your reaction on the afore-mentioned subject.

I am enclosing a couple of forms which are self-explanatory, and in the one marked No. 1 you can see the very thinly veiled threat of regimentation.

Do you recall that letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't recall receiving the letter at all?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I probably received it, but I have no specific memory.

The CHAIRMAN. Following that letter did you have any conversation with him?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you have any conversation?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you talk to him over the telephone?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever talk to him about his plan of making Capehart the nominee in 1940?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Never talked to him about it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. May I ask a few questions?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you mean to tell me that you don't recall receiving that letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I testified that I had no specific recollection of receiving that letter.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, you heard the letter read yesterday, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Then it didn't recall to your mind that you had received it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I have received, as I believe I testified, over a hundred letters—certainly over a hundred letters; perhaps 200 letters—from Mr. Campbell.

Mr. THOMAS. What was your opinion of Mr. Campbell after receiving these two or three hundred letters and hearing his testimony yesterday?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, that he has considerable zeal and some undue enthusiasm along certain lines. That is only natural. It—

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). Did—go ahead.

Mr. McWHIRTER. I was only going to remark that it was only natural that anyone who attended the Cornfield Conference would be full of adulation. He is not the only one; many are.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you believe that that plan of his of organizing 435 congressional districts for the Republican Party was just a dream and a fantastic dream?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I have always believed in regular party organization, and in that only, in reference to partisan politics.

Mr. THOMAS. Don't you believe, though, that it would be impossible for that man Campbell to organize 400—

Mr. McWHIRTER (interposing). Certainly so.

Mr. THOMAS. So it must be just fantastic?

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is right.

Mr. THOMAS. Did Mr. Campbell have an account at your bank?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Did he ever ask you for funds?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't think he ever asked me. I heard testimony yesterday, but I don't think he ever asked me directly for funds. I think the implication of getting assistance for him has been there.

Mr. THOMAS. A lot has been said here the past 2 days about the connection between anti-Semitism and the Republican Party. Do you think that the Republicans of your State would be opposed to the Jewish people any more than the Democrats of your State or the New Dealers of your State would be opposed to Jewish people?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I can answer part of that, certainly, that the Republicans are not. I can't answer for the Democrats and the New Dealers in Indiana.

Mr. THOMAS. And after receiving all this mail from Campbell and after reading of the testimony that he gave, Gilbert gave in the past few days, and listening to part of it yesterday, aren't you ashamed that you ever had this contact with Campbell?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No; I can't admit any shame at all.

Mr. THOMAS. You would go right ahead and do the same thing all over again?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Not necessarily.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you think you would or wouldn't?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No connection with a man doing the same thing twice and a matter of shame.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, you certainly can't be proud of the attitude he took.

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, I haven't any right to be proud or not proud of the attitude anyone else takes.

Mr. THOMAS. Would you do it all over again?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Under the same circumstances I probably would.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, do you recall a letter written you on December 13, 1938, by Mr. J. E. Campbell, as follows:

DEAR FELIX: I am enclosing a copy of General Moseley's address to be given before the New York Board of Trade tomorrow noon—

now, before I read any further, do you know George Deatherage?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Ever receive any communication from him?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir; not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever read any letter that he had written to Mr. Campbell?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't recall any.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't recall Mr. Campbell ever sending you one of Mr. Deatherage's letters?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

Please return this for my files. Also enclosing copy of a letter received from George Deatherage for your personal and confidential advice—

Do you recall that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I didn't.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't recall getting the letter that he, Mr. Campbell, sent you or that he speaks of sending you, enclosing it, from Mr. Deatherage?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I have no recollection of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Have no recollection of that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

At the same time I am in receipt of a letter from Doug—

Who did he mean?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I presume he referred to Mr. Gilbert.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

in which he says Mundelein's crowd is going to attack him along with Coughlin. He is also being attacked by G. O. Masonry. As you know, I have gone about as long and as far as I can go on these matters without an intelligent, well-informed organization in back of us, capable of providing the sinews of war. There is not a hell of a lot of time left, and I have things pouring in constantly proving that Nos. 2 and 3 are being worked simultaneously. Anyone with the least amount of intelligence who has studied this situation knows very definitely the reason for Eden's visit here, and you have evidence of No. 2 all about you. I realize next month will be an important meeting in Washington, and am planning to go. I had hoped Homer would be in the picture by now, because this is just one of the emergencies that is confronting us.

Do you recall that letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I recall it in a general way. I have no specific recollection of these pieces of correspondence.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did you meet with him in Washington?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you present at that time, at any meeting in Washington?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't recall having been at any meeting of any kind.

The CHAIRMAN. This letter was written December 13, 1938. Mr. Campbell is speaking to you about a meeting that is to take place in January 1939. Were you in Washington, January 1939?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't recall, sir, whether I was or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't recall whether you met here or not?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I had no meeting with Mr. Campbell, if I was.

The CHAIRMAN. You are definite that you don't recall whether you were in Washington, January 1939?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you come to Washington very often?

Mr. McWHIRTER. In the past 16 years I presume I have been here on 125 different occasions.

The CHAIRMAN. How many times have you been here this year?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Two or three.

The CHAIRMAN. Two or three times?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And yet you don't recall whether you came in January 1939?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. Do you recall any other trip since January 1939 that you made to Washington outside the one you are on now?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir; I was here on approximately May 1.

The CHAIRMAN. May 1?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Approximately; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At what meeting was that? Was there a meeting on May 1 of any kind, or did you just make——

Mr. McWHIRTER (interposing). Well, of course, I think Washington has meetings all the time, but this was the annual meeting of the National Chamber of Commerce.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were there on that particular occasion?

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is right.

Mr. THOMAS. Perhaps the committee would also like to know whether on any of these trips to Washington the past few months you came on Republican Party business.

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, I didn't have that in mind.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, I have got it in mind now. Did you the last few months come on any Republican Party business to Washington?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't recall that I did.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, did you come to Washington in the last few months other than the one visit that you made?

Mr. McWHIRTER. As I testified, I may have and I may not have.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, Mr. McWhirter, you know perfectly well whether you came to Washington or whether you didn't come to Washington in the last few months. A man that can hold the office of the president of a bank ought to be able to recall whether he came to Washington in the last few months or not.

Mr. McWHIRTER. The question of Mr. Dies was, Was I in Washington in January?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; but I am asking the question now whether you came to Washington in the past few months or not.

Mr. McWHIRTER. I answered "Yes."

Mr. THOMAS. And on any of these visits in the last few months did you come on Republican Party business?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think not. There was a meeting at one time over here in the Carlton. I don't know whether that was in January or since or prior.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, over any period of time did anyone on the Republican National Committee or Mr. John Hamilton request that you hold a meeting at which General Moseley should speak?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No.

Mr. THOMAS. Did anyone on the Republican National Committee or Mr. John Hamilton, the chairman, ever encourage you to have this association with Campbell?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, do you recall a letter written on January 9, 1939, by Mr. J. E. Campbell to you, saying:

DEAR FELIX: Enclosed is a copy of a short note received from our mutual friend in the East. The trip to Lexington was well worth while, as it gave us the opportunity of bringing the issue before the entire department. Don't forget the Naval Directory, as I have already accumulated the rest of the information and would like to present it to the gentleman who requested it next week.

Do you recall that letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. In a general way.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the friend in the East?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I presume it was Mr. Gilbert.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send the Naval Directory?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall a letter of January 12, 1939, written to you by Mr. Campbell in which he said: "Some of the speeches I sent out are beginning to bear results, and they are wanting a mammoth meeting to be held in New Orleans within the next month or 6 weeks. This will also be spread to Texas and other States as per schedule." Do you remember any such letter containing any such statement?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Not particularly.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not saying you didn't get the letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall a letter of January 24, 1939, from Mr. Campbell, in which he said: "I have written Homer. Speaking dates for Moseley have been confirmed at Nashville, Scranton, and Philadelphia during the coming month. The other trip scheduled"?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Not specifically.

The CHAIRMAN. Why was Campbell carrying on a regular correspondence with you with reference to these political meetings throughout the country and his trips?

Mr. McWHIRTER. It was not correspondence.

The CHAIRMAN. You wrote him on some occasions, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Probably two or three other than the specific mission of getting Moseley to the Indianapolis meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. And you did have personal conferences with him when he came to Indianapolis.

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, you might term it "conferences."

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what did you all talk about? Didn't you talk about these plans outlined in his letters?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I am not interested in plans and propaganda. I didn't have conferences on things of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you were enough interested in it to write Mr. Hamilton and ask for an interview between Mr. Campbell and Mr. Hamilton.

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you did write that letter, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I wrote a letter.

The CHAIRMAN. A letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir; conveying a letter.

The CHAIRMAN. And recommending Mr. Campbell.

Mr. McWHIRTER. As a person.

The CHAIRMAN. And asking Mr. Hamilton to see him, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think not. It was simply a letter conveying a letter of Campbell's to Mr. Hamilton.

Mr. HEALEY. As I recall that letter, Mr. McWhirter, you stated to Mr. Hamilton that this man was a dependable person.

Mr. McWHIRTER. By implication; yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. Whom you had known over a long period of years, and in whom you had the greatest confidence.

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, that is more specific perhaps than I wrote, but that was my view anyhow.

Mr. HEALEY. Wasn't that in substance the contents of the letter of introduction, of the letter that you had written to Hamilton for Campbell—is that correct?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Mr. Hamilton read the letter yesterday afternoon. It would speak for itself.

Mr. HEALEY. And it expressed your complete confidence in him.

Mr. McWHIRTER. No; not my complete confidence.

Mr. HEALEY. And attested the fact he was a dependable man, conveying that information to Mr. Hamilton that he could depend on this man, you had known him over a period of years and had a great deal of confidence in him—didn't you say that in substance?

Mr. McWHIRTER. The letter will have to speak for itself.

Mr. HEALEY. Do you recall that was the contents of the letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. In a general way. I see no particular reason why anyone should attempt to testify for me. The letter will speak for itself.

Mr. HEALEY. No one is attempting to testify for you. I am asking you if that isn't your recollection of the letter that you wrote to Mr. Hamilton concerning Campbell.

Mr. McWHIRTER. Not exactly.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, in any case, this letter was rather a strong letter of recommendation to Mr. Hamilton for Mr. Campbell. Now at the time that that letter was written you were already familiar with these so-called confidential reports that Mr. Campbell was sending out and which you yourself have described as being so fantastic that you didn't feel you could take them seriously, yet they were given out by Mr. Campbell on his own responsibility, for what seems to me a very obvious purpose. I can't make those two things fit together. I can't make your recommendation of Mr. Campbell to Mr. Hamilton fit with the kind of thing that you already knew Mr. Campbell was engaged in in connection with those reports. I mean, did you feel that that was a good job Mr. Campbell was doing?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think perhaps I could answer by repeating the testimony given prior to the gentleman's entrance, and that was that my experience over a considerable number of years has been that where there was anything fantastic it spends itself. The letter to which you refer will speak for itself. The letter attempted to get the reading of a letter from Mr. Campbell to Mr. Hamilton by Mr. Hamilton.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, but I mean when you say that something fantastic spends itself, that hardly calls for the conclusion that the person that spreads things of that kind is engaged in an operation which ought to be recommended, it seems to me.

Mr. McWHIRTER. There has been no operation recommended that I know of.

Mr. VOORHIS. That certainly was one of the things in which Mr. Campbell was the most interested.

The CHAIRMAN. We will have that letter in a minute.

Do you recall a letter dated August 29, 1938, from Mr. J. E. Campbell to you in which he says:

DEAR FELIX: I wish to take this opportunity of thanking you for the most enthusiastic and inspiring Americanism meeting I have attended in a long time. First, I would like to compliment the general staff upon their thoroughness in

the arranging of details and the caliber of the speakers secured. I think a great deal will come from this meeting, and it was extremely valuable for me because I can carry the torch that was lighted there to our contacts in the rest of the States."

What was he talking about when he said "our contacts"?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't know; but he was certainly right about the meeting, because it resulted in adding six Congressmen.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking about "our contacts." He is writing to you about "our contacts."

Mr. McWHIRTER. I can't interpret what he means when he writes.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know what he meant by that at all?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know what he meant when he repeatedly mentioned plan 1, 2, or 3 in different letters to you either, do you? In some of the correspondence he mentioned to you plan No. 1, plan No. 2, and plan No. 3.

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, I presume he was referring to this report.

The CHAIRMAN. But you knew at the time you received the letter what he was talking about, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. What letter, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. The letters from Mr. Campbell when you received them, in which he mentioned these plans. You knew what he was talking about, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. When I received the letters from Mr. Campbell, I assume that I knew what he was talking about in the letters.

The CHAIRMAN. You assume?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir; I assume I do.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

I was particularly impressed with the sincerity, exactness, and frankness of Mr. Capehart's speech. I would like to express my sentiments to Mr. Capehart personally, but since I do not know his address I am enclosing a letter which I wish you to either hand or word to him. I will be here in the office for the next several days getting things together in the hopes of making Los Angeles and accomplishing the mission outlined to you. If you desire to see me in Indianapolis I can run up on very short notice. A wire here to the office will accomplish the purpose.

Did you ever wire him or get in touch with him about it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You never did see him following that letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Not that I recall, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what that mission was that he spoke of—said "accomplishing the mission outlined to you"—what was that mission?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't know that. Now you say you never did give Mr. Campbell any money?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I didn't recall having said it, but I am pleased to say it.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, Mr. Chairman, when I asked the question he said that he had not.

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. You never gave him any money, directly or indirectly, or through any third party?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he ever wire you for any money?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Not that I recall. I think I testified to that.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't recall?

Mr. McWHIRTER. The implication was there for help.

The CHAIRMAN. What?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think the implication has been there that he would like to have had help.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. Financial help?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now do you recall a letter of May 9, 1939, to you in which Mr. Campbell said: "Am enclosing a few things of interest. Hope you will follow through with Homer to get the film completed as quickly as possible. I am waiting to see if H. E. C. attempts to get in communication. Suggest that you warn him relative to the sender of the blueprints and the reason thereof before he commits a tactical error." Do you recall that letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I do not specifically; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know what he was talking about?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When he said "blueprints"?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And that you ought to warn this fellow?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't recall a thing about it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall a letter of April 28, 1939, to Mr. Felix McWhirter when Mr. Campbell said: "Dear Felix, am inclosing a piece of literature printed and supported by the D. A. V. After looking it over I want you to go back through some past scores"—you knew what he meant when he said "scores," talking about reports—"and see where reference is made to one Roy Monahan. This folder proves the correctness of said plan to draw attention to spy scare, therefore covering up plan 2 and 3. This certainly is drawing the red herring across the trail of the real menace to this country. I expect to see you sometime next week and hope we are successful with our mission." Do you know what he was talking about when he said "our mission"?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No—his mission.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall receiving the literature he sent you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Not specifically. If I received it, I didn't have time to make the check-up that is suggested.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. Now, on April 12, 1939, there is a letter here, copy of a letter from Mr. Campbell to you, in which he said: "Dear Felix, thanks very much for information about East and South. Same has been taken care of and passed on." What was the information you sent him about the East and the South?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. That was passed on by him.

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no recollection of that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That was April 12, 1939, and you don't recall what took place on April 12, 1939?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have absolutely no recollection of sending this man information to be passed on to the East—to people in the East and the West?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I do not know that any such was done.

The CHAIRMAN. "Hope to be in Indianapolis next week." Did you see him in Indianapolis the week following April 12?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think he was in Indianapolis with his arm in a sling, but I believe that was after May—I mean after the 1st of May.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall the conversation that took place between you and Mr. Campbell on that occasion?

Mr. McWHIRTER. He told me he had fallen from a horse and broken his arm.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all you talked about—about his accident? Nothing was said about this organization he was talking about?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Nothing was said about these reports—plan 1, 2, and 3?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And nothing was said about the information that—I won't say that you sent him, but the information that he says that you sent him?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. As he said, "Thanks for the information."

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't recall that. Do you recall a letter from you to Mr. Campbell, dated April 3, 1939, saying:

DEAR JIM: Am returning the clipping in accordance with your request. In what paper did it appear?

Sincerely,

FELIX M. McWHIRTER.

Do you recall such a letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. In a general way.

The CHAIRMAN. General way?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you did write this letter, didn't you? This is your handwriting, your stationery?

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is right. He evidently enclosed some clipping and asked for it to be returned, and it was returned.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall what that clipping was about?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I do not; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have no recollection whatever of that clipping. Do you recall a letter of April 1, 1939, from Mr. Campbell to you in which he said:

DEAR FELIX: The docket was loaded. The information of extreme value for the program as arranged at Indianapolis openly. Have a letter from Homer that he will be at Indianapolis or Washington from April 3 to around April 10 or 12, and am enclosing a couple of paragraphs from a letter received today. There is no time to quibble, therefore will you please turn the heat on Monday as I will not have much time to waste.

Very sincerely yours,

P.S.—Please return the enclosed clipping as I want to use it as source of material for a speech. Might be good to show Homer.

Do you recall any such letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Only in a general way, yes; the one referred to.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't recall what the couple of paragraphs were that he referred to that he sent you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't recall whose letter it was he sent you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't recall he said he sent a letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Said, "Am enclosing a couple of paragraphs from letter received today."

Mr. McWHIRTER. No; I have no recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't recall anything of that at all?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is April 1, 1939. Do you recall writing him on March 20, 1939, and saying: "Dear Jim, the numbers of the bills mentioned are H. R. 4905, 4907, 4909. Sincerely Felix"—what did these bills refer to; do you recall now?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think the chairman was the author of the bills.

The CHAIRMAN. And you sent him—

Mr. McWHIRTER (interposing). The numbers.

Mr. THOMAS. What did those bills refer to?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, in a general way they had to do with the registering of aliens.

The CHAIRMAN. My bills—had to do with deportation of Communist aliens, Fascist aliens.

Mr. THOMAS. I see.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall receiving a letter from Mr. Campbell on March 13, 1939, when he said: "Dear Felix, I have sent an inquiry about the persons requested. Expect to have a reply on it by Friday. Am planning on being in Indianapolis by Thursday or Friday, at which time I will see you. Have some very interesting things to discuss. Sincerely, J. E. Campbell"—do you recall any such letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I will have to give the same answers, Mr. Chairman, to the correspondence. I have no specific recollection of any of these, of the receipt of any of them.

The CHAIRMAN. You can't recall what inquiry you made?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not he saw you on Thursday or Friday following that letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think not.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't think he did?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall writing Mr. — Who is Jack Snow? Do you know Jack Snow—John Snow?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir; never heard the name until yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know that he has an organization?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. No nothing whatever about him or any organization he might have?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. Do you know Mr. Fredman, F-r-e-d-m-a-n, of Jersey City?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Never heard the name before?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Not that I recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever hear of John D. McGuire?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Never heard the name before?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Not that I know of. It is a common name.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, if you had heard it you probably would know now, wouldn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Not necessarily.

The CHAIRMAN. Wouldn't necessarily know. Do you recall writing him, writing Mr. Campbell, on March 11, 1939, in which you said: "Dear Campbell: What do you know of Jack Snow, reported to be a New York businessmen in the American Jewish League? Also J. George Fredman, of Jersey City, and John D. McGuire. The latter is reported to have been active in support of the above-mentioned organization. Anything you can get pronto will be appreciated. Am anxious to get a verbal report. When are you coming up?" Do you recall writing any such letter as that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Not specifically.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that your letter and your handwriting?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you mean when you said that you were very anxious to get a report on this American Jewish League and you wanted a verbal report? What did you mean by that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't know, other than what the letter has, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no recollection now as to why, on March 11, 1939, you were asking Mr. Campbell for this information with reference to these people and this league?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, unquestionably the matter was up, or I wouldn't have written the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. The matter was up?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Sure.

The CHAIRMAN. How was it up—in connection with your activities?

Mr. McWHIRTER. There is all sorts of imposters around. There are friends of every faith have their impostors. All of them have.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what did impostors have to do with your trying to get this information?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I have no recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know why you wrote the letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't now recall any of the names?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I hadn't recalled them until you just read it.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, since I have read the letter, do you recall who these people were?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir. I undoubtedly was writing the letter at the request of someone who wanted some information, but I have no recollection of it.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know anything in the world about it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. What is the date of the letter?

The CHAIRMAN. March 11, 1939.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, the witness certainly ought to be able to recall something about the letter. He's gone all through his testimony dodging the questions and not answering the questions the way

the committee would like to have, and I would insist that he answer specifically in regard to the letter because you certainly can't tell me that he doesn't recall those names after having written the letter only 2 months ago.

The CHAIRMAN. You still say that you don't recall?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I testified the truth, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions in that respect any of you gentlemen want to ask?

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. McWhirter, that letter was only dated 2 months ago, and you can't tell this committee the specific things you refer to in that letter, even though it's only 2 months old; is that correct?

Mr. McWHIRTER. My testimony answers your question. When the chairman asked me if I knew a man named Snow, I answered I did not. I have no recollection of ever having dictated a letter with the name Snow in it, but the letter is there with the name in it.

Mr. HEALEY. You wrote that letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. You don't deny that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Of course not.

Mr. HEALEY. And you address this man as "Dear Campbell," and signed it "Felix." That is correct, isn't it—over the typewritten signature you have written in handwriting "Felix," your first name?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. You were on a degree of intimacy with your correspondent, weren't you? I mean you had a very intimate salutation to your letter and you have signed it with your first name, which indicates that you were on a very, very close, intimate basis with him—had a close, intimate relationship with him.

Mr. McWHIRTER. It may indicate that to you, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. That is fair to assume?

Mr. McWHIRTER. It is fair if you wish to assume it that way. I have signed thousands of letters with my first name.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, all through your correspondence, in your relationship with this man, the letters at least indicate that there was a very high degree of friendship with Campbell.

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, I have testified that I felt friendly toward him.

Mr. HEALEY. Now, did you know what his source of livelihood was?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you ever inquire what his livelihood was?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir; it was a mere assumption.

Mr. HEALEY. You never thought, as a banker—you never thought to inquire of him what his livelihood was?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Had he approached me for a loan, perhaps I would have made considerable inquiry.

Mr. HEALEY. But you had all of these letters over a period of time, and it never occurred to you to ascertain how he was living, how he was making his livelihood?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No. He was well introduced in Indianapolis. I think we was living at Evansville at the time he was introduced in Indianapolis some 9 years ago.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you know "Uncle Dudley," the man he referred to as "Uncle Dudley" and "Uncle," Mr. Gilbert, of New York?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I testified I had seen him on three occasions.

Mr. HEALEY. Had seen him on three occasions?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Only had sight of him on three occasions.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you know of the type of work that he was carrying on?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you know he was the author of the so-called music scores?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't know it yet. I heard his testimony yesterday afternoon.

Mr. HEALEY. But you had no idea of the source of information of Campbell's bulletins or his "music scores"; you had no idea of the source of that information?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No.

Mr. HEALEY. You want to leave that answer with this committee, that you had no idea?

Mr. McWHIRTER. You said "have" or "had"?

Mr. HEALEY. "Had"—did you have any prior to your coming here? Did you have any information or any knowledge of the source of the information?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Of Campbell's scores, music scores—you did have?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. And who was that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. The press.

Mr. HEALEY. You say the press. You believed that he was getting this information from the press prior to coming here?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir; I had my knowledge from the press.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, you mean since these hearings were started?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I mean on Friday morning in our own home papers, that were what purported to be copies of correspondence.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think Mr. Healey's question rather refers to before anything was done by this committee—prior to the inquiry by this committee, prior to your coming here, when you received these so-called scores or bulletins that Campbell was sending to you at regular intervals did you have any idea where he received that information from, the source of that information?

Mr. McWHIRTER. In the first place, they were not sent or received, as far as I know, at regular intervals. There seems to be an attempt—

Mr. VOORHIS (interposing). Well, you received a great many of them.

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Over a period of time you received a great many of them, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. You admit that.

Mr. McWHIRTER. I stated it. I don't admit anything on it; I stated it. Why should I admit I received something that I stated I received?

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, I think that is a pretty fine line of distinctions that you have drawn here.

Mr. McWHIRTER. All right.

Mr. VOORHIS. You did say or stated to the committee that you received these letters from Campbell, which he referred to as "scores," is that correct?

Mr. McWHIRTER. In a general way.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes; all right. Now my question is did you have any idea, did you have any knowledge of the source of information that Campbell based those letters on, or those scores on, did you have any information—did you have any knowledge of the information that he had, the source of information?

Mr. McWHIRTER. And to which I answered.

Mr. VOORHIS. What was your answer?

Mr. McWHIRTER. That I read it in the press.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did you know that he had a regular—did you know that he collaborated with Mr. Gilbert, that Mr. Gilbert was sending on information to him which he in turn was transmitting to you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Did not know the source.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did not know.

Mr. McWHIRTER. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. All right, you eventually answered my question, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall a letter of March 10, 1939, that Mr. Campbell wrote you, saying:

DEAR FELIX: I have just returned from a trip where I secured some additional information that is too hot to write. A copy of letter just written to Mr. Capehart is being enclosed, and am now awaiting suggestions on time and place of meeting shortly after the 14th. I shall look forward to seeing you soon. Most sincerely yours, J. E.

Do you recall any—

Mr. McWHIRTER. Same answers to your questions on other letters.

The CHAIRMAN. Same general answer, in general, you mean?

Mr. McWHIRTER. That I probably received the letter. I received hundreds of letters from him.

The CHAIRMAN. Well now, what was that additional information that was too hot for him to write you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he come to see you in person as he indicated he would in that letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think not.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the letter is dated March 10, 1939. Do you have any recollection at all whether he followed that up by telling you in person what that hot information was?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I do not, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. On February 4, 1939, there is a letter here from Campbell to you:

DEAR FELIX: The enclosed reports convince me that a lot of effort had better be put forward toward the organization of tiddledywinks clubs—

what did you and Mr. Campbell understand by the words "tiddledywinks clubs"?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I couldn't answer a question of that kind. I had no understanding with Mr. Campbell.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you understand by the use of those words?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. Had no idea what he meant?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I made no interpretation of it at all.

The CHAIRMAN. And he never told you what he meant by it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN.

I am leaving on the trip tomorrow, and while it is true we secured some equipment, with the exception of what you saw take place at Indianapolis there has never been anything further forthcoming or any mention of same.

What equipment was he talking about?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't know, sir.

The CHAIRMAN.

However, I'll make you a bet that I get 200 of the Lincoln Day speeches to be mailed out of this office, and I am just about of the opinion that we are not going to waste a lot of time on talk. It is coordinated action and the carrying through of a program that counts. As per your suggestion, I have completed the list of committeemen and committeewomen in various sections.

Did you make a suggestion to him that he prepare a list of the committeemen and committeewomen of the Republican Party?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I have no such recollection at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you know whether you made such a suggestion or not?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You can't say?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Or why I would. I have no reason to.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't deny making the suggestion?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Nor do you affirm it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Neither.

The CHAIRMAN. You just don't remember. And this took place February 14, 1939, this letter was written (reading):

Of efforts can be—

Some word is erased here—

of efforts can be launched in these sections, but not one damn cent of funds which we have for this other work is going to be spent in those sectors when we hardly have enough to keep going.

What did he mean by the fact of the funds that "we have"?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I couldn't say.

The CHAIRMAN. Have any idea what he meant by that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. "Any time you want me, I can be reached through the office."

On February 8, 1939, letter from Mr. Campbell to you says:

While in Nashville, I had a long conference with the Americanism chairman of the Legion and the department commander of the V. F. W. Say what you please, this thing will end in a scrap. Those boys realize it and are going to work on the program of club organizations, outlined to you in Indianapolis.

Did he outline to you in Indianapolis the plan of club organizations he is referring to in this letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Not that I have any specific knowledge of at all.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't recall that at all. Here is a man writing you, in steady correspondence with you, and says to you that they are going forward with the program of the club organizations out-

lined to you at Indianapolis, and you have no recollection of any such club organization being outlined?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I will have to answer again, sir. Of course, you read the letter not in chronological sequence, but there are dozens and dozens of letters—simply what appeared to me to be the overzealous and earnest desire of a person to propagate an organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Now did you ever suggest to Mr. Campbell that he increase his mailing list?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Never made any such suggestion?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Not that I recall; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you absolutely deny the statement in the letter from Mr. Campbell to Mr. Hamilton dated February 6, 1939, when he said:

While in Indianapolis this past week I had a talk with our mutual friend, Mr. McWhirter, and he suggested that I increase my mailing list, which is being done to a considerable extent.

You never made that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I couldn't have anything to do with the authorship of the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. I didn't say that. I am asking you if you made the suggestion.

Mr. McWHIRTER. I have no recollection of making any suggestion.

The CHAIRMAN. Have no what?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No recollection of making any suggestions on increasing any mailing list.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you don't deny that that is true; you just don't have any recollection; is that right?

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. On February 6, 1939, in a letter to you from Mr. Campbell he asked you as follows: "Will you please secure for me in Indianapolis some one-half dozen large size clear-type maps, as they are not available here." Do you recall receiving that request from him?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I have to give the same answer, only in a general way.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall whether or not you ever supplied him with the maps?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I certainly did not supply him with anything, no maps, nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. You are certain of that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that as a matter of knowledge?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But you don't know along about the same time whether or not you made a suggestion to him to increase his mailing list. How is it you can recall one thing so definitely but another thing you are vague about, when they occurred along about the same time?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think I am rather vague about all of it.

The CHAIRMAN. I agree with you on that. You have just said definitely that you know you didn't supply Mr. Campbell with some one-half dozen large-size maps. You made that definite statement?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But when I asked you whether or not you made a suggestion to Mr. Campbell to increase his mailing list, you said you didn't recall. Now, what I am now addressing to you: How is it you can be so positive in one answer and yet be indefinite in another answer?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, the answer to one question involved the furnishing of something, the supplying of something. I can be very definite about that. I am furnishing and supplying nothing to anyone.

The CHAIRMAN. You can be very definite about that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But you can't be definite as to whether or not you furnished a suggestion?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, no.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. McWhirter, you wouldn't include this committee in that category?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't understand the question. I might like to.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. McWhirter, is there any reason why you don't feel inclined to give this committee the full facts with reference to this whole thing?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Any reason why you would withhold any information from this committee?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir. And I attempted to ask the chairman please to refer to that Moseley speech. That was asked for and it was mentioned in my letter, and I would like, in review of the testimony I heard yesterday, I would like to have the chairman study the Moseley speech, and if there is anything in that Moseley speech which was referred to in my letter written about I hoped that he would come, and so forth, if there is anything in there about racial prejudice I will be very much surprised.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the only Moseley speech you ever read?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have read them all, haven't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't know that I have read them all. The general makes lots of speeches.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's see which ones you have read.

Mr. McWHIRTER. The speech which caused me to favor his coming to Indianapolis is identified there in my letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir. Did you read the one he delivered in Boston?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't know where it was—somewhere in the East.

The CHAIRMAN. You read that, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. It is identified in the letter, the speech to which I refer.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you read the one he delivered at Atlanta, Ga.?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. The one he delivered in Indianapolis?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I heard the speech delivered in Indianapolis.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you read—you say you heard the one at Indianapolis, and there wasn't anything in that speech that you objected to?

Mr. McWHIRTER. The chairman is making that statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I thought you just then said that if the chairman would read the speech he made in Indianapolis.

Mr. McWHIRTER. I beg your pardon, sir. What I intended to convey was that the reason as an individual that I had in favoring General Moseley appearing on the program in Indianapolis was the speech that he had given in the East, which is identified.

The CHAIRMAN. Previously?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir; which is identified in my letter wherein I hoped the General would bring up representative Republicans, and so forth. And in that speech and in no speeches that I had read of his or any press dispatches up to that time had I ever heard or seen any reference to any racial prejudice.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hear any reference to any racial prejudice in the Indianapolis speech?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think he stepped over the line in Indianapolis.

The CHAIRMAN. Stepped over the line at the meeting that you arranged for?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you or anyone else repudiate that portion of the speech that you thought was stepping over the line?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I haven't seconded or repudiated any of his speeches.

The CHAIRMAN. Did anyone who had charge of having him there, the group you were working with to have him appear, did any of them ever repudiate any portion of his speech?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't suppose so. A man is entitled to his own opinion, you know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you read the speech of General Moseley which was circulated by Mr. William W. Pelley in pamphlet form?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What speech was it you said you had read that caused you to—

Mr. McWHIRTER (interposing). The speech in the East. I am not certain where. I think the reference is in my letter, my letter to Campbell about Moseley.

Mr. HEALEY. Was that the one made at the chamber of commerce in New York?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No; I think it was—it might be Hartford. The letter, my letter is right there; if you will refer to my letter, sir, you will see the speech that I refer to, the letter that the chairman read, my letter that the chairman read.

The CHAIRMAN. The board of trade of New York.

Mr. McWHIRTER. Is that it? Then that was the speech.

The CHAIRMAN. Now you made a speech, too, at Indianapolis, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't make any speech there at Indianapolis?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall a letter dated January 27, 1939, from you to Mr. Campbell, says: "Dear Jim, thanks for communications. I received a similar one with a like reprint. I believe he is

sincere. Sincerely, Felix M. McWhirter"—that is your letter and your handwriting?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What were you talking about in that letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I presume it was some of these speeches. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Some what?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I have no specific recollection.

Mr. VOORHIS. What is the date?

The CHAIRMAN. January 27, 1939.

Do you recall writing a letter on April 10, 1939, to Mr. Campbell—first, I will ask you: Who is Robert S. Judge? Do you have any recollection of any such person?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Mr. McWHIRTER. He is associated with Mr. Bellaski in New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. Associated with whom, Mr. Bellaski?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall writing Mr. Campbell the following letter: "Dear Jim: Please get this word to Dudley at once, Robert S. Judge may be reached at his apartment in New York City in the evenings—telephone number Gramercy 3-8125—or at his law office, 270 Broadway, Worth 2-5430, at any time during the day. He should not be contacted at the Seaboard address which I gave Dudley when he was here. Sincerely, Felix M. McWhirter"—do you recall writing that letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is your letter, is it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What was it that you were so anxious for Mr. Campbell to get this information at once to Mr. Dudley—why were you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. In order that contact might be made between Mr. Judge and Mr. Gilbert.

The CHAIRMAN. You wanted a contact to be made between the two of them?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose was that contact to be made?

Mr. McWHIRTER. The purpose that I had I am certain of, and that is that it would enable a check to be made on some of the origin of these purported reports.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, in other words, you were trying to make a check on the origin of some of these reports—is that right?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That was April 10, 1939?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought you testified previously that you made no effort at any time to check on the accuracy of these reports, you threw them in the wastebasket.

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, the check would be automatic if they contacted each other because there was someone situated in the East. I am not situated in the East.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if I recall your testimony—and I want to be absolutely fair with you—you testified before that you made no effort at any time to check on the accuracy.

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, as I understand your testimony, the purpose of this letter was to enable—

Mr. McWHIRTER (interposing). Nature to take its course.

The CHAIRMAN. Nature?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes; exactly.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. McWhirter, do you allow Nature to take its course when payments come due on any of the notes in your bank?

Mr. McWHIRTER. We always make an allowance for that.

Mr. THOMAS. But you do more than just allow Nature to take its course. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what caused you to want this contact to be made about the accuracy of the reports? What had arisen prior to April 10, the date you wrote this letter, that caused you to want to check up on these reports?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I can give you the statement, if you wish it.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. McWHIRTER. All right. Shortly after the November election the seaboard bureau was employed by the Indiana Republican State central committee to make investigations in Indiana in reference to the election of the United States Senator. The person that made that investigation was the person mentioned here. During the time that he was in Indiana I became acquainted with him. I met him in Indianapolis at a club, Columbia Club, about this time, the time of this letter—that is, within a few days back of that—and I told him by inference, without mentioning names or describing events, of what purported to be emanating from the East, and elicited from him whether or not he would care to meet anyone if I could arrange a meeting; and if he could, why, then, he would look into it as he chose himself, as an individual, and that is the—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). In other words, you told Mr. Judge the contents of some of these reports that you had been receiving?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir; I just did not say that.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what did you tell him with reference to the reports?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Enough in a general way to let him understand that there was emanating from New York City, from some source, some fantastic reports; that I thought he would be interested in seeking further information on those.

The CHAIRMAN. So you were mistaken in all your previous testimony when you said you made no effort to check up on it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I am not checking up.

The CHAIRMAN. And didn't make efforts to expose it.

Mr. McWHIRTER. That was over in his home, not mine.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, but your object in talking to Mr. Judge and in writing the letter was to have Mr. Judge check up on the accuracy of this thing—wasn't that your object?

Mr. McWHIRTER. If Mr. Judge pleased to.

The CHAIRMAN. If he saw fit?

Mr. McWHIRTER. That was up to him; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It was a matter of indifference to you what he did?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But you were the one who first talked to him about the reports, about the reports emanating from New York, in a general way; isn't that right?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Everything was in a very general way?

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You were the one that brought the matter up in your conversation at the club with Mr. Judge, weren't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He knew nothing about it until you mentioned it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. As far as I know, nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he interested in it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Not particularly; in a cursory way.

The CHAIRMAN. How long was that before this letter was written?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, very shortly before?

The CHAIRMAN. Shortly before?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he tell you he would like to meet Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't recall he said he would like to.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall whether he said he wanted to or would do it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. He was willing to, certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. Willing to meet Mr. Gilbert. Did he tell you he would check up on it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the purpose of—was anything said between you and Mr. Judge as to Mr. Judge's checking up on this at all?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir. I have had no correspondence with him, either.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. You just simply had a very general conversation with him about these reports, and dropped the matter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. But, Mr. Chairman, this letter informs Mr. Gilbert as to how he can get in touch with Mr. Judge, not Mr. Judge how he can get in touch with Mr. Gilbert.

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think there had been no contact with Mr. Gilbert, I don't think.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is what you said: "Dear Jim, please get this word to Dudley at once."

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not getting the word to Mr. Judge, you are getting the letter to Mr. Gilbert, pursuant to your conversation with Mr. Judge.

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, Mr. McWhirter, did you know that Mr. Campbell arranged a meeting in New York between Mr. Gilbert and Mr. Judge? You didn't know they had been together?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't know that.

Mr. HEALEY. Were you anxious to have that meeting take place?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. Your letter seems to indicate that.

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, you can take any sort of interpretation of anything that you choose. What I reasoned that to be is this: That I may have given Campbell the address of the Seaboard Bureau and then when I received this other address that I hastened to give him the other address. That is what I assumed——

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you tell him he should not be contacted at the Seaboard address? Why shouldn't Mr. Gilbert contact Mr. Judge at the Seaboard address?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I presume it would be a matter of what one does in his own time and what one does in his profession or business time. The Seaboard Bureau is his business address.

Mr. HEALEY. You were paying the way for that meeting, you were anxious apparently to have that meeting take place, were you not?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. You were the instrumentality that was going to bring about this meeting.

Mr. McWHIRTER. Certainly, certainly.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McWhirter, in letter dated May 9, 1939, which was addressed by Mr. Campbell to Mr. Gilbert in New York, Mr. Campbell states as follows: "R. S. J. is definitely a Christian NO, but we are advised not to give out too much information until he is properly educated. That will be done by degrees, but fairly rapidly." "R. S. J.," in his testimony yesterday Mr. Campbell stated he didn't recall who that related to. Could that by any chance be Mr. Robert S. Judge?

Mr. McWHIRTER. They are the initials of that name.

Mr. WHITLEY. "Is definitely a Christian NO"—Mr. Campbell didn't recall what the "NO" stood for.

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir. I would say he's already educated, though. I think he is a well-educated man; yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was at your instance, as a result of your conversation with Mr. Judge, that Mr. Campbell and Mr. Gilbert were undertaking to educate him?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. But it was through you that they got in touch with him?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, did you keep in touch with General Moseley in any respect?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You never had any——

Mr. McWHIRTER (interposing). I never met the general, Mr. Chairman, until he came to Indianapolis.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever make any inquiries with respect to him or his activities?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. None whatever. Did you ever go out of your way to—we will say to try to protect General Moseley in any respect?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Never went out of your way to protect him or to find out any more that might be helpful to General Moseley, did you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. My correspondence reflects my entire contact with General Moseley.

The CHAIRMAN. The correspondence heretofore read?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Shows your entire contacts with General Moseley?

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And that consisted merely of this Indianapolis speech?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I have read press reports of his speeches, and I read that particular speech we heretofore mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. And your only contacts with him was the Indianapolis meeting?

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Outside of that, you made no effort to furnish any information helpful to the general, General Moseley?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And had nothing else to do with the matter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Other than reading in the press—

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall writing letter April 11, 1939, to Mr. James E. Campbell:

DEAR JIM: From reliable information received I understand that Moseley is being very thoroughly shadowed.

Sincerely,

FELIX McWHIRTER.

Is that your letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Well now, didn't you, as I understand, you just said that your only contact was with reference to his Indianapolis speech, you never made any effort to get any information or anything that might assist the General.

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you did.

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, I don't so take it.

The CHAIRMAN. You say, "From reliable information received, I understand that Moseley is being very thoroughly shadowed." From whom did you receive the information you speak of?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't recall, but probably some of these busy-bodies that we have around the country—plenty of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you were impressed with it, weren't you, when you got the information?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I was impressed that much, just to pass it on.

The CHAIRMAN. He was being shadowed?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No; not to warn the General. I didn't say anything to the General.

Mr. HEALEY. Weren't you satisfied he was being shadowed?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I was satisfied somebody said he was; that was all I was satisfied.

Mr. HEALEY. You were then anxious to consign the information to someone to consign it to him?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Not anxious.

Mr. HEALEY. In other words, you just heard rumors?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I just passed it on; yes.

Mr. HEALEY. All you heard were rumors that the General was being shadowed?

Mr. McWHIRTER. You can call it a rumor; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you call it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, I call it what I said there.

The CHAIRMAN. Reliable information?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, can you now tell us what that information—

Mr. McWHIRTER (interposing). No—other than what is in the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, this was April 11. Don't you recall what reliable information about an incident such as that—if somebody presented to you reliable information that General Moseley was being shadowed, wouldn't that be sufficient to impress itself upon your mind so that you could remember from April 11 to the time of this hearing?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Not if I serviced whatever I received, and I seem to have done it—there is the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. But, Mr. McWhirter, here is the point: If someone came to you and said, "Now here is some reliable information, Mr. McWhirter. I know, and I have got some information right here. Here it is"—

Mr. McWHIRTER. But they never know it; they always think it.

The CHAIRMAN. I know, but you are getting reliable information. You are not getting fantastic—that is not a part of the fantastic information that you spoke of before, is it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I have never seen or heard of anything of General Moseley in these reports that I recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; but you were branding this information as reliable information: you are putting your brand of approval upon it. Now, that only occurred just a short time ago, and that didn't impress itself enough on your mind to cause you to remember what was the reliable information that you received?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I testified to you before you read the letter that I wouldn't have remembered having written that letter if you hadn't read it.

The CHAIRMAN. Any recollection whatever?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No. Some people see Indians behind every tree.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir. You must have seen an Indian behind the tree or you wouldn't have gone to the trouble of writing a letter.

Mr. McWHIRTER. I didn't write the general a letter.

The CHAIRMAN. You wrote Mr. Campbell, the contact man. Mr. Campbell was the contact man all the way through between you and others, wasn't he?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You received this great volume of correspondence at all times telling of meetings, when he was going to meet you, and how the organization was progressing and everything else, and you undertake to tell this committee Mr. Campbell wasn't working closely with you on this whole set-up?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Why, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. You say he was not?

Mr. McWHIRTER. My testimony will show that, all morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what is your position in the intelligence service? Do you have any position at all in any Intelligence Service, or did you ever have?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I have none; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Never have had any position?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a member of the Reserve in any respect?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I testified I was a member of the Reserve.

The CHAIRMAN. What Reserve? What is your position?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Naval Reserve.

The CHAIRMAN. Naval Reserve?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. About 15 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Fifteen years?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you ever in active service?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Never were in active service. You have had a great deal of contact with the Reserve, the members of the Reserve association, have you not?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Never have?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I answered what I understood to be a question, I had had a great deal of contact with members of the Reserve. My answer was "No."

Mr. HEALEY. You are a lieutenant commander in the Reserve?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I testified that; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a lieutenant commander in the Naval Reserve, and you are very definite to this committee when you say that you have no recollection of what this reliable information was that you received along about April 11?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You must have had in mind what it was on April 11.

Mr. McWHIRTER. Certainly; there is the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Since April 11 it has slipped your mind entirely?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No; it don't slip. There is no need of trying to retain everything that happens in every day in the year.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, would an event such as that naturally be remembered when other events were forgotten?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No. Oh, we have all been followed around. Everybody gets followed around.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been followed around?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I presume so. I hope so.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no evidence of that fact?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You weren't presuming in this letter; you said you had reliable information.

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes. I don't pass anything on I think comes from a liar.

Mr. HEALEY. You are a careful man.

Mr. McWHIRTER. Thank you.

Mr. HEALEY. You are careful in the adjectives that you use. When you characterize this as "reliable" information you must have had some information that you thought pretty well of, didn't you, to characterize it as "reliable" information, is that right?

Mr. McWHIRTER. If you like.

The CHAIRMAN. You have told us all about this that you know; you have nothing to volunteer in the way of information that we haven't asked about that would be helpful to this committee in respect to Campbell's activities and in respect to the part you played in it, and so on, and so forth?

(No answer.)

The CHAIRMAN. We will adjourn until 1:30, and have an executive session here of the members. Everyone will please be excused until 1:30, and please clear the room.

(Whereupon, at 12:25 p. m., Thursday, May 23, 1939, the hearing was recessed until 1:30 p. m. the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The hearing reconvened at 2:20 p. m.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. McWhirter, will you resume the stand.

Whereupon, Felix McWhirter, the witness on the stand at the time of recess, resumed the stand and testified further as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McWhirter, do you recall a luncheon between you and Mr. Campbell the latter part of October 1938?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't recall any such luncheon?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall ever having a luncheon with Mr. Campbell?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Not particularly.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't recall any particular instance of a luncheon; that has escaped your mind entirely?

Mr. McWHIRTER. (No response.)

The CHAIRMAN. In the letter from Mr. Campbell, dated November 1, 1938, to you, he has this to say:

May I take this opportunity of thanking you for a most enjoyable luncheon last Saturday, and the privilege of being in on the dedication of your armory.

Do you remember that occasion when you dedicated the armory?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir; there were 400 people at the luncheon.

The CHAIRMAN. And you don't ever recall having Mr. Campbell there?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I wouldn't remember the roster of the fellows invited.

The CHAIRMAN. This meeting in Indianapolis, sponsoring General Moseley, who all arranged the meeting besides you and Mr. Campbell?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Mr. Campbell had no connection with arranging the meeting at Indianapolis.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, he was the man who was supposed to get General Moseley, was he not?

Mr. McWHIRTER. General Moseley was invited by the State chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what part did Mr. Campbell play in arranging for General Moseley to be present?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I only know what he was requested to do, I do not know what he did.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you request him to do?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I requested him to second the invitation and also in the letter, which you were kind enough to read, to indicate to the general the purposes of the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Name some of the people who arranged for General Moseley to be present at Indianapolis? Was your State chairman of the Republican Party one of them that participated?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bobbin?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he join in extending the invitation to General Moseley?

Mr. McWHIRTER. He extended the invitation.

The CHAIRMAN. He extended it in behalf of the Republican organization?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. Did you ever talk to Mr. Campbell on long distance that you recall?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't recall, other than the correspondence indicated that I would contact him by wire to hear whether or not General Moseley would accept.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the correspondence indicate that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. This morning it indicated that I would be calling him.

The CHAIRMAN. That you would be calling him to find out if General Moseley would accept the invitation. That would be about—let's see, that meeting was what time?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Right at the latter part of December.

The CHAIRMAN. The latter part of December 1938?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When you had this meeting?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall sending him a telegram—what was the date of that Indianapolis meeting?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think it was the 28th or 29th of December, between Christmas and New Year.

The CHAIRMAN. The 28th or 29th of December?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall sending him a telegram on December 15, 1938, and is this the telegram which you are talking about, which says:

Call me tonight or early tomorrow, Lincoln 6412 or Harrison 1743.

FELIX McWHIRTER.

Is that the telegram that you sent?

Mr. McWHIRTER. It may have been; I have no definite memory of it.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no memory of that telegram?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't even remember that you sent such a telegram?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I would not have remembered it, had you not refreshed my memory.

The CHAIRMAN. You now remember it after your memory has been refreshed?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I accept it.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't want you to accept something you don't know about. If you have no recollection of it, you don't want to accept something that easily.

Mr. McWHIRTER. I wonder if it would be helpful, Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I am sure you do, but the point I am making is, if you don't remember, Mr. McWhirter, don't accept it.

Mr. McWHIRTER. I wonder if it might be helpful if I might make a little statement to the committee.

I had breakfast, brunch, as they call it, after the adjournment, and in making a mental recapitulation of the trend of the session this morning, I am constrained to believe that in my own desire to recognize, as I do, the high purposes of the intention of the committee, and on being confronted with what I probably mistook as an attitude of prosecution, we will call it, although that is not a good word, but we will call it that, in the opening of the session the merest identification of myself was placed on the record.

I naturally have no desire to involve any organization of any type in anything that is extraneous to the object and subject of today.

I couldn't have lived 33 years at the one address—that is, the business address, 130 East Market Street—without having had considerable contact with people, and I have been there 33 years next month.

At one time this morning there was a question of political service of some kind, official political service. I didn't indicate, I was thinking in the "now," I didn't indicate that I had served 4 years in an onerous political job in Indianapolis as a member of the board of public safety, from the years 1918 to 1922, in a so-called clean-up administration.

My interest in subversive activities or un-American activities or pro-Americanism, whatever it might be termed, certainly dates from that time, and prior.

In these 33 years I have been identified, as one would in any community, with the community affairs. I have been a member of the Navy League all these years and am at present on the board. I am on the board of the Red Cross out there, on the executive committee; on the day nursery, treasurer of the Marion County Organization to Combat Paralysis; a member of the State committee on the President Roosevelt Library Building; and numerous other things that one becomes connected with when they are leading a quasi-public life; also, a member of the national chamber for a long time, about 15 years on the board, and vice president for several years; a member of the committee on national defense. Our publications have been forward. I think the committee is familiar with them.

So I came down here and am here with a desire to be helpful to these high purposes that this committee has, and I am glad there is such a committee; I was glad when we had what was known as the McCormick committee. I have dealt all my life with people; I would consider any anti-Semitism or any other anti-race, anti-creed, or anti-color as anti- or un-American, just as I did back in the thriving days in Indiana of the K. K. K.

Now, it would be only natural, I submit, that with that general background of mine which you gentlemen had no reason to know, that I might sit here as I did this morning, and appear to be unwilling to cooperate with the members of the committee in the trend that these questions took. I have no patience with "isms" of any kind whatever. I think we have room for all of us in this country that want to be citizens of this country, and I have very little, very little concern about the projection of our present form of government—it will continue right along. I know of no one that wants war, either foreign war or civil war.

I hope I haven't misused the time of the committee in making that statement, but in taking my lunch over here I was trying to make some little recapitulation on this morning, and that is the reason for that statement.

I hesitate to mention the names of these affairs, and there are numerous other ones. I have raised money for the Near East Relief, as treasurer of that; and when you are in that nefarious business that I am in, you get hooked with a great many treasurerships and a great many other so-called "do good" organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. May I say that there is no disposition on the part of this committee not to be fair to witnesses. That is the reason we permitted you to make your statement. We are not here to prosecute or persecute anyone. All we want is to get at the facts. When anyone comes to us and tells us the truth and is frank, and is not evasive, trying to hide and conceal, then we appreciate that fact. But when any man, no matter who he is, comes before this committee and undertakes to conceal information that we are seeking to obtain, not for any personal curiosity of our own, but in the discharge of our duties, naturally we feel that that individual has the wrong attitude about it.

So there is no disposition on our part to be unfair to any witness who appears here.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. McWhirter, I appreciate the statement you make for the reason that this morning I felt that you were not frank in your answers. Now that we have a clear understanding of the situation, I wonder if you would clarify one letter that I can't quite get out of my mind, and that is the letter in which you wanted to know for your own information whether or not Mrs. Hull has Jewish blood, and what Jewish connections Mr. Landon and Mr. William Allen White might have. To a man to whom "isms" don't mean anything, what would be your interest in that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, may we assume in answering it that there are almost myriads—in many instances built around the bread and butter desire of a person, and in some instances not—but there are almost myriads of organizations in the borning all the time. Now and then you get hooked between one or two, where they have had considerable experience in their way, and they may belong to my

church or your church or belong to no church or anything else. Whenever those persons can fasten themselves onto people, they do, and if they fasten themselves onto someone and that person could have been informed, it might save later embarrassment. That would be the broadest and most definite answer that I could give.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I will say that it is very broad.

Mr. McWHIRTER. I testified this morning, I think, that that was in a publication; I don't mean the press. I think it was in some of these weekly or monthly letters that are put around.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I think I have seen one reference to that, but I had no curiosity about it; as far as I was concerned, it didn't mean anything or make any difference to me as to what blood a person might have; it is what that blood does or what the person does. And I was quite astounded so see this letter over your signature, wanting that information, and especially asking a man for it, a man concerning whom you had definite knowledge that he was concerning himself primarily with the dissemination of vile statements, with no foundation of truth.

Mr. McWHIRTER. My dear sir, I can't accept the latter part of your statement.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do you think they were true?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir; the latter part of your statement was that I had definite knowledge of someone disseminating vile statements.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You were on the mailing list of Mr. Campbell and obtained those reports and so stated here under oath. Now I have read some of the reports. They had no basis in fact or truth, and they were the most radical statements, ill-founded, that I have ever read, and yet you go to that particular person, and in addition to that you recommend him to Mr. Hamilton as being a dependable person.

The CHAIRMAN. May I explain this to further clarify the matter?

Here we have before us, you say that your disposition is now that you want to be frank with the committee, is that right, you want to be absolutely frank with the committee?

Mr. McWHIRTER. My disposition is the same as it was before I left home; that is, that I do want to be helpful to the committee in its purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, I understood you to say that this morning you were laboring under some idea that there was a hostility toward you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't believe I used those words.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyway, if I can make this clear, here is a man by the name of Campbell who has had considerable correspondence with you; you have written him——

Mr. McWHIRTER. He has written me considerable letters.

The CHAIRMAN. He has written you considerable letters; you have written him; you have been in personal touch with him upon several occasions at least—you admit that much. He sent you reports of a revolutionary nature. Mr. Campbell admits that he favored the establishment of a military court to take charge of the Federal Government and the 48 States. He was in touch and in correspondence with a man by the name of Gilbert that you know also. We find Mr. Gilbert praising Mussolini and Hitler and saying that they have been

persecuted. Can you find any difference between the Communist on the one hand who wants to set up some sort of a dictatorship or a man like Gilbert or Campbell who go to the other extreme and want to set up their type of dictatorship? Naturally, in view of your connection in this matter we are interested in knowing fully and frankly just how much you knew about the activities of these men, what part you played in it, and some explanation as to why you would address letters along the same tenor, wanting to know whether these people had Semitic blood, something about the American Jewish Congress, and then making contacts with Mr. Judge.

I merely make those statements to you in order that you might have at least the idea that I have in mind for seeking to elicit from you a frank and full disclosure of this whole matter, if you know any more than what you have already disclosed.

Now, there is nothing in that attitude that constitutes prosecution.

Mr. McWHIRTER. I had no previous knowledge, except from what portion I could hear in the room yesterday, of any of this which was just related, as to Mr. Campbell's testimony. I had never heard anything of that kind at all.

The CHAIRMAN. You certainly don't approve of it, do you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You now believe that you pursued the right course over a period of years—that is, when these reports reached you and you knew the type of material in the reports—that you pursued the right course in not bringing that to the attention of the proper authorities, and instead of pursuing that course, referring it to Mr. Judge? Do you think that your course was the proper course?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I didn't refer any reports to Mr. Judge.

The CHAIRMAN. But you arranged for a contact between Mr. Gilbert and Mr. Judge?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes; that was after I had met Mr. Gilbert.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, Mr. McWhiter, this letter that you wrote to Mr. Campbell telling him where Mr. Gilbert could get in touch with Mr. Judge, as I recall it, in that letter you referred to Mr. Gilbert as "Dudley." Now, it looks to me as though there was more than a passing interest in these reports, judging from that, and, as I understood it, you testified this morning that you had no knowledge of the source of those reports whatsoever until it came out in the press after this committee started hearings, and yet this letter was written a long time before that, in which you put Mr. Judge in contact with the very man who was the source of these reports—namely, Mr. Gilbert.

Mr. McWHIRTER. I understood from the press that there was one Rice, purporting to be a waiter, who was the source of the reports.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is correct; but what you meant was, then, that you did know about Mr. Gilbert before, but you didn't know where Mr. Gilbert got his information?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I testified I had seen Mr. Gilbert on three occasions, the first of which was in June. It would be 2 years next month.

Mr. VOORHIS. You did.

Mr. McWHIRTER. I knew he was a friend of Mr. Campbell. I didn't know any reports were emanating through him at that time at all.

Mr. VOORHIS. You didn't?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. Then I don't see where your testimony comes in where you say to put Mr. Judge in touch with Mr. Gilbert and Mr. Gilbert in touch with Mr. Judge in order that Mr. Judge might check up on the source of this information.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, did you know of Mr. Gilbert's connection with these reports at all?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Not until just quite recently.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't know about it at the date that you wrote the letter suggesting that Mr. Gilbert call Mr. Judge?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes; I think I did.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew it at that time?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes; just a little bit back, a few weeks ago.

The CHAIRMAN. You testified this morning that the first time you knew of any source was after the time the committee started its hearings.

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is right; and that source was in the press as a Mr. Rice.

The CHAIRMAN. But you did know before you wrote this letter that Mr. Gilbert was the man who was making these reports available and sending them to Campbell?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't know it yet, as a matter of fact.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you know, what did you have in mind with reference to Mr. Gilbert's connection with the reports when you wrote the letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. When he was contacting with Mr. Campbell in reference to these reports?

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Let's see if we can understand each other.

Now you weren't suggesting the contact between Mr. Campbell and Mr. Judge, you were suggesting the contact between Mr. Gilbert and Mr. Judge?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So that Mr. Judge could find out about the accuracy of the reports or check up on them if he saw fit; isn't that right?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Mr. Chairman, of course I wouldn't ask anyone to agree with any reasoning I might have had. But it would seem to me just this, that if a man who had been a resident of Indiana, as was Campbell; when I first met him he was up from Evansville, and a man in whom I had confidence as to his own personal integrity and his intentions, that if, finally, when it came about that he was receiving word, reports they have been called, from one place, then it would be perhaps worth while to let someone else meet this person and contact him.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that; but that still doesn't clear up the point that I want to clear up, which is simply this. See if we can understand each other.

You didn't know, you said you didn't know, of Gilbert's connection with these reports?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Until recently.

The CHAIRMAN. Until after the committee started its hearings?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No; I don't believe I said that, I am sorry. The questions went to source this morning, and as source, I interpret

source to be literally source. The questions now go not to source but as to Campbell's source.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did you know of Gilbert's connection with the reports in any respect until there hearings began?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, now we are getting some place. When did you learn of that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't know; but comparatively recently.

The CHAIRMAN. Who told you of that? How did you happen to know of Gilbert's connection with these reports?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think it was on the occasion of Mr. Gilbert and Mr. Campbell being in Indianapolis at the same time and my meeting them.

The CHAIRMAN. You met Mr. Gilbert and Mr. Campbell in Indianapolis then prior to the time that you wrote this letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, don't you know that it would be prior to that time?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, as I must say, my business has not been with hunting, I mean it quite seriously, and I am pretty well occupied and I can't remember the raft of details of mail and correspondence, to which I pay not very much particular attention.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the point I am trying to make is this, that on April 10 you wrote to Mr. Campbell and told him to have Mr. Gilbert at once get in touch with Robert S. Judge.

Mr. McWHIRTER. Does it say to get in touch at once?

The CHAIRMAN. It says, "Please get this word to Dudley at once."

Mr. McWHIRTER. In other words give the address and telephone number.

The CHAIRMAN. It says, "Robert S. Judge may be reached," et cetera—you know what the letter is?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Now at the time you wrote that letter you said that your idea for writing it was to enable Judge, if he saw fit, to check up on the accuracy of these reports, isn't that right?

Mr. McWHIRTER. And further, that I had talked to him and asked him whether or not he would care to have them talk with him.

The CHAIRMAN. That you had talked to Gilbert?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No; to Judge.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait—you talked to Judge first?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I am referring to him.

The CHAIRMAN. You testified to that.

Mr. McWHIRTER. In other words, I got his permission.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right, in the club, you talked to Judge first and found out from him whether or not he cared to have Gilbert get in touch with him?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So you must have known of Gilbert's connection with the reports at the time you wrote the letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. Isn't that true?

Mr. McWHIRTER. It is perfectly plausible; yes; I have no point to make on it at all. Frankly, I don't know what you are driving at.

The CHAIRMAN. I am trying to find out what the facts are; I am not driving at anything. I want to know——

Mr. McWHIRTER (interposing). First, if I may use it, I would get your permission before I would mention to someone else that they might talk to you; that was the way. And then, on getting it, I would give what you might call a conventional address, the only address that I had.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you met with Mr. Gilbert and Mr. Campbell in Indianapolis sometime prior to April 10, 1939?

Mr. McWHIRTER. They walked into my office; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Sometime prior to April 10, 1939?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the first time that you ever knew of Mr. Gilbert's connection with these reports; now, are you certain of that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No; I am not.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, going back beyond that, when was the first time that you ever heard——

Mr. McWHIRTER (interposing). I don't know; my memory is simply this: That there were various stages of the blooming of the information about a Mr. Gilbert. The first stage was no name, no nickname, no anything else, "contact" or "friend," or something. I paid no particular attention to it. You have lots of that. Then somewhere around or along the line would come an abbreviation, like "Dud." That meant nothing to me, and I asked no questions.

The CHAIRMAN. But you had known Mr. Gilbert; didn't you testify you knew him?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No; I am going back to the beginning.

The CHAIRMAN. Good; go ahead, sir.

Mr. McWHIRTER. So first you have nothing; that is, you have "contact" or "friend" or what not, which means nothing precisely. Later you have "Dud." Then you have a "Dudley," and then you have a "Gilbert," without them being associated, the two names together, the sir and given; and then finally you have the name.

Now, as to the dates of that progression, I couldn't attempt to say, but that was the progression.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you known Mr. Gilbert, how many years?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I met him first in June of 1937—two years ago this coming June.

The CHAIRMAN. Through Mr. Campbell?

Mr. McWHIRTER (continuing). I think he came in alone to meet him; I think he came into the office first, into the lobby first, and was coming to meet Mr. Campbell.

The CHAIRMAN. But prior to that time you had been receiving the reports?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Prior to the time?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Then when you met Mr. Gilbert in June 1937 for the first time you found his connection with these reports?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't at that meeting?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall what took place at that meeting?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, it wasn't a meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you got together, a meeting is when you sit down and get together?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, I think he told me of riding the train west with two carloads of college graduates, they were going out to do C. I. O. organization work, with destination St. Louis. That is the only thing that sticks in my memory.

The CHAIRMAN. You remember, then, in June 1937, what took place between you and Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I remember that much; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And then when was the next meeting after June 1937?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I couldn't say, but it was one of those transitory things, in and out of the lobby.

The CHAIRMAN. But in the June meeting he didn't discuss with you his American Nationalists movement, did he?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He didn't tell you anything about organizing a chapter there in Indianapolis or Indiana?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You never heard of this American Nationalists?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When was the first time you heard of it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't know, but I probably—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). How many times did you see Mr. Gilbert from June 1937, up until the time you came to Washington this time?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Including 1937, three times.

The CHAIRMAN. Three times altogether?

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is all the times.

The CHAIRMAN. At what meeting of the three times did you first learn of Gilbert's connection with the reports?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think I learned through Campbell and not through Gilbert.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know about what time that was when you first had your definite information that Mr. Gilbert was connected with these reports?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no idea of that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. They didn't take on that importance to me that would cause me to, the importance that they have within the last 2 days; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So that you don't recall the circumstances now when you first got the information that Mr. Gilbert was connected with this?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No; I do not.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. McWhirter, you said that you met Mr. Gilbert in June 1937?

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is my memory.

Mr. THOMAS. That was the first time?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. And you met him on two other occasions since then?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir. That is to say, I have seen him on those three occasions.

Mr. THOMAS. On those two other occasions, were they in 1937 or 1938?

Mr. McWHIRTER. The middle one, I have no recollection when it was, as to that. The last one was recently, not more than a month or 6 weeks ago.

Mr. THOMAS. After you met Mr. Gilbert in June 1937, and perhaps since, did you check up with any person in New York or any organization in New York to find out—

Mr. McWHIRTER (interposing). I did not have his name earlier.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you ever hear that it was Gilbert who introduced Prince Romanoff to society in New York City?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. McWhirter, your first meeting with Mr. Campbell was about June 1937, I mean with Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Through Mr. Campbell?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir; as I recall it he walked into the lobby and a little while afterward Mr. Campbell walked in and I was introduced at that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. As I recall the testimony of Mr. Gilbert and Mr. Campbell, they first started this association which resulted in the dissemination of these reports, the early part of 1937, I believe the most exact date which either one of them said was about April or May; so it would appear that you met Mr. Gilbert at least very shortly after he and Mr. Campbell had made this arrangement whereby Mr. Gilbert was to furnish the information and Mr. Campbell was to disseminate it, and you had already received those reports before you met Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I presume so; I think so.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you met Mr. Gilbert through Mr. Campbell very shortly after Mr. Gilbert and Mr. Campbell became associated in this movement?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't know, but my memory would be that this reporting has been going on for a longer period of time than that, maybe not.

Mr. HEALEY. Do you recall when you first received these reports whether you placed any credence in the reports at all?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I did not.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you do anything to cause their dissemination?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. Either by word of mouth or through the mails or otherwise?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. You just paid no attention to them at all, is that the idea?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, I wouldn't consider it "paid no attention to them," but—

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). Don't you think the committee is justified in forming a contrary opinion in view of the fact that at some subsequent time you wrote and asked that a man in Atlanta, Ga., by the name of Judge, come in contact with Gilbert or Gilbert get in touch or contact with him, and you said your reason for doing that

was to investigate the truth of these reports; that you wanted to check up on them?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, the gentleman was in New York and not in Atlanta, and—

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). It doesn't matter where he was.

Mr. McWHIRTER. To me it did. Here was a man who had professional experience in fact finding, and who was a resident of the same community. That was the reason.

Mr. HEALEY. The purpose was to check up on these reports?

Mr. McWHIRTER. If he wanted to.

Mr. HEALEY. But you suggested that he do it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. Indicating, of course, that you must have had, there must be some motive for you doing it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No; the motive I attempted to be very clear about this morning, and that was simply to give opportunity, if he would take it, for him to make his own evaluation of what we have called "source."

Mr. HEALEY. You have some recollection of the contents of these reports, haven't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. In a general way.

Mr. HEALEY. And they were very defamatory in their nature against certain persons of reputation and standing in their communities?

Mr. McWHIRTER. In the old days we could call it that; but the press reports on me have been defamatory, too.

Mr. HEALEY. Let's not quibble about that; they either were or weren't. What is your judgment—were they defamatory or not?

Mr. McWHIRTER. They were so fantastic that they were not inflammatory.

Mr. HEALEY. You have been connected with the Navy for some 15 years, have you not, as a Reserve officer?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. That is, after the World War?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. You had no active service with the Navy, did you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. And as a citizen of standing and as an officer in the Naval Reserve, it never occurred to you that you ought to communicate the contents of those reports to any official of the Government, Department of Justice, or the Federal Bureau of Investigation, or some other agency of the Government, did it?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Oh, I wouldn't say it never occurred to me.

Mr. HEALEY. You never did?

Mr. McWHIRTER. The history of government shows that there was a complete stoppage about 1924 of anything that had to do with subversion.

Mr. HEALEY. But you didn't, as a matter of fact, communicate any of this knowledge or this information that you received in these reports to any agency of the Government?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No dissemination; no, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. You never called attention to this Dies committee of this information which you were receiving from persons who were, according to your reports, plotting against the Government?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I had a very good idea that this would spend itself out or into the Dies committee.

Mr. HEALEY. But regardless of your idea that these reports were fantastic and might spend themselves, you still kept your contact with the gentleman who was responsible for the dissemination of them, Mr. Campbell?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No; he kept his contact up with me.

Mr. HEALEY. But you wrote him several letters?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. After you started to receive these reports?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. And during the time you received them?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. As late as a month ago you still kept up your contact with Mr. Campbell?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I don't know about a month ago, but whatever it shows.

Mr. HEALEY. And you thought so well of him that you wrote a letter to the chairman of the Republican National Committee in which you referred to him as a most dependable man, whose integrity was unquestioned. By the way, I would like to ask the reporter to read that letter which you wrote to Mr. Hamilton?

(Whereupon, the reporter read the letter referred to, as follows:

NOVEMBER 22, 1938.

Mr. JOHN D. M. HAMILTON,

National Chairman, the Republican Committee,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR JOHN: My good, tried, and proven friend, Jim Campbell, sent this letter addressed to you, to me for forwarding. This I am pleased to do.

At a time which is mutually convenient to you and Jim, I would like for you to set aside an hour and a half. He is dependable. His information is precise. You will want it and we can use it for our country's sake.

I regret the delay in your receiving my wire which went out promptly. By tracing it seems that the Postal had been advised by your office to deliver it at the Shoreham.

Am knee deep in jitney collections for the recount. There is wide public interest and much detail.

Mr. HEALEY. Now, this letter, of course, recalls to your mind that you referred to him as your long, tried, and proven friend. You asserted that he was most dependable and that he had information that was precise and may be used, that would be good for the country. Now, what information did you refer to?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I think I said for the sake of the country.

Mr. HEALEY. We won't quibble about that, for the sake of the country, what information did you refer to?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, I referred to what has been the subject of all of this, and that is the so-called reports, and if you can drag anything out in the sunlight, it generally takes care of itself, and here was the chairman of the National Republican Committee—

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). But you said they were most precise, indicating that you—

Mr. McWHIRTER (interposing). They read rather precise to me.

Mr. HEALEY (continuing). Indicating that you did place some credence in those reports and contradicting your answer that you have made, and reiterated, to the effect that you thought they were

fantastic and didn't pay much attention to them. How do you want to leave that to the committee and be fair to the committee?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, I couldn't accept that interpretation at all.

Mr. HEALEY. Let's forget about the interpretation.

Mr. McWHIRTER. I would be glad to, because it doesn't state my intention then or my intentions at any time in my life.

Here was a chap in whom I had had every reason to have confidence. Unlike a good many, to speak in the colloquial, I had never felt or found any evidence of chiseling, and he didn't seem to be running a membership program or so much for members or anything of that kind, or something for advertising, and, as I indicated before, he did come introduced into Indianapolis, well.

Now, here was something that was too precise to fit, and, as the Congressman would agree with me, I am sure, here is a person that I thought well intentioned, and still think well intentioned, that if he could go in to someone—I didn't know who was getting these reports; we have learned here that it was a list of, I think they said, forty-odd, getting them—that if he could go in to someone with a perspective on the situation, that an hour and a half would do the job.

Mr. HEALEY. You thought they were worthy of the attention of the chairman of the Republican National Committee for an hour and a half?

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is right; yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. Now, you didn't believe that those reports might be used in a way that would be beneficial for the advancement of the Republican Party, did you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Why, of course not.

Mr. HEALEY. All right; you have answered my question.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. McWhirter, did you think that the reports were so fantastic that if they could be gotten into the hands of the Republican national committeemen that the country might be saved: was that your thought?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, I didn't know that the country was in need of being saved.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I understood you were doing this for the benefit of the country, having him make this contact and having this hour and a half conversation with the Republican National Committee.

Mr. THOMAS. Not with the Republican National Committee, but with John Hamilton. I think the inference that the Democratic member of the committee is making is to smear the Republican Party, and that was the inference. We have had 3 days of this.

The CHAIRMAN. Let him answer the question.

Mr. DEMPSEY. When I get through I will wait for you to finish.

Mr. THOMAS. You go right ahead, Mr. Dempsey.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You wanted this meeting with the chairman of the Republican National Committee, Mr. Hamilton, some meeting of an hour and a half, in order that he would get these fantastic reports, and you say that you did this for the welfare of the country; that is what you had in your mind?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Certainly, I did.

Mr. DEMPSEY. And you thought, or do you think, that the reports, being as fantastic as you say they were, that the Republican national

committeemen could do anything for the welfare of the country by having this information?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I went to a picture show the other night, and it was all about a lady—

Mr. DEMPSEY (interposing). I went to a picture show, too, but I don't want to go into that now.

Mr. McWHIRTER. It was about a fellow and his wife, and his wife thought she would go into grand opera. The wife thought she could do grand opera, and she had to have one of these recitals before she found she couldn't.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You are not comparing that lady to John Hamilton? [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want your question answered?

Mr. DEMPSEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer his question.

Mr. McWHIRTER. All right; comes this person from southern Indiana 9 years ago, well introduced, whom I received many letters from and have seen over a period of years, whom I still think is well-intentioned, who has these reports, and also, as was developed yesterday and this morning, who had organization ideas which would impinge, if you please, on the regular party organization, which is part of our form of government. Now, if he could be taken in to sit and tell his story and his reasons, and answer whatever questions naturally would come from Mr. Hamilton, who is the top man in the party, then the recital would be over, because Mr. Hamilton unquestionably would have told him what you would have told him.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I wouldn't concede that, not for a minute; because if Mr. Hamilton would have told him what I would have told him, it wouldn't have taken over 10 seconds.

Mr. McWHIRTER. But it would have taken longer than 10 seconds for you to have heard him.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I wouldn't have heard him on the subject you sent him there on.

But I want to ask you this in a serious vein. Isn't it a fact that you were somewhat sold that the information contained in the reports was in part true or you wouldn't have sent him there?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You never believed they were true?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is a most astounding thing; you hadn't any idea that there was any particle of truth in these, and yet you sent in to the chairman of the Republican National Committee, who is an extremely busy man, with a fairy tale, and asked to take up an hour and a half of that man's time in order that he might determine—

Mr. McWHIRTER (interposing). We are taking up a lot of time about the same fairy tale.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You caused it, and if it hadn't been for your activities we wouldn't have had to take up so much time. It is your activities and your attitude that has caused a lot of that time here, as far as I am concerned.

But I just can't understand a man taking up a busy man's time with some fantastic tale that he doesn't believe a particle of himself.

The CHAIRMAN. But, Mr. Dempsey, he said in his letter that it was precise information.

Mr. VOORHIS. I want to ask Mr. McWhirter to put himself in Mr. Hamilton's shoes for a moment and to receive the letter that you wrote to Mr. Hamilton and to read that letter while Mr. Campbell sits there, with these reports, and to read a letter in which you say, "Here is a man with precise, accurate information in whom I have unlimited confidence"—and then how in the world is Mr. Hamilton going to have any protection against the material in these reports that Mr. Campbell is going to give him, and isn't it very likely that as far as your influence is concerned in the matter, that it is all in the direction of Mr. Hamilton believing the reports that Mr. Campbell brings to him?

Mr. McWHIRTER. If that is a question, my answer is "no."

Mr. HEALEY. I think I asked you this morning, I don't want to repeat, but I think I asked you this morning if you knew the source of livelihood of Campbell, and how he existed, where he obtained funds to travel throughout the country, and do the kind of work that you knew he was doing?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Since I first met him, he has been engaged in this engineering service.

Mr. HEALEY. Engineering service?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. But did you know that he had very little funds from that particular occupation?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I had no information about that.

Mr. HEALEY. And as a matter of fact was existing practically on the funds that he received from Mr. Gilbert over a period of a year or two, that is, for the last couple of years?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I didn't know that.

Mr. HEALEY. You didn't know that?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. You attended the Corn Field Conference, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. And you, of course, were enthused about that conference as a Republican, as a party man you were enthused over that conference, were you not?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. And you met Mr. Campbell at that time, out there, didn't you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I presume I introduced Mr. Campbell to Mr. Hamilton there.

Mr. HEALEY. At the Corn Field Conference?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes; along with probably several hundred others.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you know of Campbell's program or idea of establishing Republican clubs in 435 congressional districts in the country at that time?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you learn of it subsequently?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I hadn't learned of it until I heard this testimony.

Mr. HEALEY. You said a moment ago that the reason for your requesting the audience for Campbell with Mr. Hamilton, and so much time, one reason was that the nature of the work he was doing impinged upon the party organization; you just said that a moment ago?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you feel that this type of work that Campbell was doing, the dissemination of reports of purported conferences and plottings of men to overthrow the Government, might in some way tie in with the program of your party, and is that the reason or one of the reasons that you sent this letter of introduction or tried to arrange for this conference with Mr. Hamilton for Campbell?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, if that is a question, I would have to answer no; but if you want to know what I had reference to in the previous testimony that you started to talk about, it was simply this—that when anyone who has contacts starts to candidate somebody, then that is starting in on politics.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, was it your intention in collaboration with Campbell to enhance the opportunities of the Republican Party through the dissemination of propaganda and the dissemination of the reports that Campbell was engaged in?

Mr. McWHIRTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Thomas, did you want to ask some questions?

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. McWhirter, do you know whether Mr. Hamilton ever had this conference with Mr. Campbell that you referred to in your letter?

Mr. McWHIRTER. I heard him say yesterday that he did not.

Mr. THOMAS. You heard him say yesterday that he did not?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes; and I accept that.

Mr. THOMAS. You have no other information that he might have had the conference?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, no; I haven't.

Mr. THOMAS. Could you tell me exactly why you wanted Mr. Hamilton to meet Mr. Campbell? It is not clear in my mind just why you wrote this letter.

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, the first motivation and the natural one was that a letter came to me with a request that I pass it on to Mr. Hamilton.

Mr. THOMAS. And who sent that letter to you?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Mr. Campbell.

Mr. THOMAS. So he requested the interview?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir; he requested the passage of that letter.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you think for one second that Mr. Hamilton, as chairman of the Republican National Committee, would be interested in these reports that Campbell mailed out and sent out?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, I think he would not be interested in—

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). Do you know whether Mr. Hamilton ever saw any of these reports?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. THOMAS. You have been active in the Republican Party over a number of years, have you not?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. You have been active in the Republican Party in the State of Indiana for how many years?

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, I started in the Drum Corps for McKinley.

Mr. THOMAS. And hasn't it been your experience over those great many years that the Republican Party stood for the very opposite of what was in those reports?

Mr. McWHIRTER. It certainly has.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, gentlemen, are there any other questions?

Mr. VOORHIS. I want to ask one question if I may.

I want to ask if certain letters that were formerly read—they were very short ones—could be read again, just briefly. I want the letter of April 11, Mr. McWhirter's letter of April 11, and one of April 12 from Mr. Campbell, and one of March 11.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is the letter of April 10 and a letter of April 11.

Mr. VOORHIS. I just wanted to get something cleared up.

On April 10, Mr. McWhirter, that is that brief letter about your having reliable information that General Moseley is being very thoroughly shadowed.

Now, as I understood your testimony this morning, you said that you didn't recall where that information came from or anything about it; is that right?

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is right; that is my recollection.

Mr. VOORHIS. Then, as I remember it, there was a letter on April 12 which was read, from you to Mr. Campbell, in which there was some reference to information concerning the East and South, but concerning which you don't remember what that meant?

Mr. McWHIRTER. If you will permit me, I don't remember that there was any reference to East and South.

The CHAIRMAN. East and West.

Mr. McWHIRTER. Or East and West. Have you the letter there? I think it was a letter from Mr. Campbell to me.

Mr. VOORHIS. If so, I would like to disregard that.

Then there is this letter about Jack Snow, J. George Fredman, and John D. McGuire, on March 11, and you testified that you didn't remember anything about that, or why it was that you wanted that information; is that correct?

Mr. McWHIRTER. That is right; and just prior to that Mr. Dies asked me if I knew a Jack Snow, and I had never heard the name that I recalled.

Mr. VOORHIS. But this letter indicates that at that time, at least, you had some knowledge of him.

Mr. McWHIRTER. No, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, what I don't quite understand is that these things were only a month or so ago, and I just don't see why you can't remember about them. It seems to me that is such a short time ago. Now I have gathered the impression, rather, that your acquaintance with Mr. Campbell is a very casual one, from some of the testimony, at least. These letters here certainly are specific and I don't quite see why it is that the committee can't find out a little bit more about what the specific things were that you had reference to, only such a short time ago. I can readily understand how letters from Mr. Campbell to you might have been passed over, might not have registered, you might not have read them very carefully, getting so many as you did; I can readily see how they might not make much impression; but your letters to him, particularly asking specific information, I should think you would remember.

Mr. McWHIRTER. Well, I can state, of course, the facts.

The three names that were in that letter I would never have remembered having had those names in front of me, if my recollection had not been refreshed.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any further evidence or questions?

(No response.)

The CHAIRMAN. All right; stand aside, Mr. McWhirter.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. Now are we ready for the next witness, gentlemen?

Come around, Mr. Deatherage.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Is this a Christian oath I am taking?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to be sworn?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I want to be sworn.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever hear of any other kind of an oath except a Christian oath?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I want your assurance that that is what it is.

The CHAIRMAN. My assurance wouldn't add to it, but raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Have a seat.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Thank you.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE E. DEATHERAGE, KNIGHTS OF THE WHITE CAMELLIA

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Deatherage, let's see if we can understand each other. You are going to be asked precise questions by our counsel. Will you make your answers responsive as you would anywhere else?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. You mean in any other court?

The CHAIRMAN. In any proceeding.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Is this an investigation or a court?

The CHAIRMAN. You have no objection to making your answers responsive, do you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have an objection to making an answer without presenting my evidence. I am not on trial, Mr. Dies.

The CHAIRMAN. No one contends that, but the rules we are trying to follow are to have the witness answer responsively. You have no objection to that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Absolutely, I will tell you the truth as I have sworn now, which you say, on a Christian oath, to the best of my ability.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; and you are not going to volunteer information that is not asked for?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't know about that.

Now listen [witness rising]—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). You sit down.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. You come over here and make me sit down.

The CHAIRMAN. Officers, set him down.

If we can't have an orderly hearing, we will go into executive session.

We want to be absolutely fair with you. Your name has been brought up——

Mr. DEATHERAGE (interposing). Excuse me a second——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Your name has been brought up, and your correspondence, in this file. In order to accord you a full opportunity to explain these letters and your position, and be absolutely fair, the committee is according you a public hearing, but it is going to be conducted with decorum and order, and if it can't be conducted that way the room will be cleared and we will proceed in executive session. Do we understand each other?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I understand you. Do you understand me?

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Just a moment——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). You will answer the questions that are asked by counsel.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. May I have an opportunity to make a statement?

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your full name?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. May I have an opportunity to make a statement similar to that made by the other witnesses?

The CHAIRMAN. Not at this time.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is all I want to know.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your full name?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. George Edward Deatherage.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your residence address, Mr. Deatherage?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. It is College Hill, St. Albans, W. Va.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your business address?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. My business address at the moment is the same.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your business or profession?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I am a construction superintendent—construction engineer.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you actively engaged in that profession at the present time?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I am actively engaged in a way in research and technical writing.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you working for any organization or individual or for yourself?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. You mean as a means of livelihood?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. For myself.

Mr. WHITLEY. Working for yourself?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Actively engaged in the engineering business?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long have you been connected with the organization—the Knights of the White Camellia?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Since 1934 actively.

Mr. WHITLEY. In what capacity have you been connected with that organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I am national commander.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are the commander?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have been the commander since 1934?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have.

Mr. WHITLEY. When was the organization organized; when did it come into existence?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. It came into existence May 1, 1867.

Mr. WHITLEY. And on what date was it revived?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. It was revived—I can't tell you accurately, but I can send you the information for the record. I think it was in August 1935.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where was it revived?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. It was chartered under the laws of the State of West Virginia—the date I don't recall, offhand. I can supply it later.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing). And by whom was the organization revived, Mr. Deatherage?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Myself and four or five other interested people, whose names appear on the charter.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe you stated that the organization was revived and chartered in the State of West Virginia?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Deatherage, you have been the national commander of the organization ever since it was revived as such?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, let's make one distinction. You say "revived"—it might be assumed that the organization had entirely died up until that period, which it had not. It was carried forward among descendants of the original officers more or less in a social way, in a very small social way. They were not active at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. But it was not until the incorporation that the organization as such came into existence again and began to operate?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Until it incorporated?

Mr. WHITLEY. Until you had it incorporated and it started in to function as an organization.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I would say "yes." We might have been active a few months before, and I think we were very active a few months before we actually incorporated.

Mr. WHITLEY. The national headquarters of the organization then, I suppose, is at the present time in St. Albans, W. Va.?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir; that is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where you reside and have your connection with the organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does your organization, Mr. Deatherage, engage in the dissemination of anti-racial or anti-religious information?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. It does not?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does your organization enforce or advocate Nazi or Fascist principles of government?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Deatherage, have you ever been in Germany?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir—well, yes; I have; one trip.

Mr. WHITLEY. When were you in Germany?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I was in Germany in 1922, over a week end.

Mr. WHITLEY. You haven't been there recently?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Deatherage, what has been your association in the past with Mr. James E. Campbell, who has been a witness before this committee?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Do you want a chronological résumé of my associations?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; your association with him, especially in connection with the work of your organization.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I had no connection with him as far as organization was concerned. I did have, as far as subversive activities were concerned.

Mr. WHITLEY. To what extent was that association?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, when I first met Mr. Campbell, I think it was the latter part of 1935, or early 1936; probably it was the first part of 1936 as I remember. At that time Mr. Campbell was national chairman of the subversive-activities committee of the Reserve officers. I was introduced to Mr. Campbell by Lt. John E. Kelly, of Charleston, W. Va., who at that time was the officer in charge of the subversive-activities investigation in that district, and knowing that Mr. Campbell had a very wide acquaintance in this work—he had a lot of information—I was rather naive about a great many things concerning which I have been very much disillusioned, so I entered into a more or less liaison with Mr. Campbell, working together to discover as many facts about subversive activities as was possible, and, as a matter of fact, I traveled with him on some of his trips over the United States in which we came into contact with various Reserve officers and other interested groups.

So that contact continued up until probably 2 years ago, for about a year, and then Mr. Campbell was in such financial difficulties that the President of the United States issued an order to the National Reserve officers that they were not to investigate subversive activities. That order was passed down through the corps-area commander to Lieutenant Colonel Englar, who was at that time in charge of the Reserve officers in St. Louis, and all activities were discontinued.

Mr. Campbell went about trying to make a living. I went about my business. That is briefly a résumé of just exactly what happened.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did actually maintain contact and work together for a period of approximately a year?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Absolutely; yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Your letter dated December 11, 1938, addressed to Mr. Campbell, Mr. Deatherage, states as follows [reading]:

Have been wondering where you were and only received your address when you wrote to the General a few days ago.

Who does that refer to?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. General Moseley.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

I was talking to him last night after he had shown me your reports and received his permission to write you about them and other matters in relation to the common cause.

Were you in Atlanta at the time this letter was written; it doesn't show the place?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I think I was; I am fairly certain I was.

Mr. WHITLEY. The "reports" you refer to here, were they the reports that were described as "music scores"?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. And in your conversations with General Moseley he had shown you some of those and had given you his permission to contact Mr. Campbell?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say, "In relation to the common cause." What do you refer to there, Mr. Deatherage?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I refer to fighting the world-wide drive, and especially the drive the United States, against Jewish communism.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

For the past 2 weeks I have been here with him, assisting in any way that I could to get things started.

Apparently you had been working with General Moseley for a couple of weeks. What was the nature of that association and work you and General Moseley were doing?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. The work we were doing was we were discussing the possibility of organizing nationally an organization to uphold the Constitution of the United States in this Republic, and combat subversive activities.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were planning to organize on a national scale?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. We had discussed it; yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

He has been besieged since his retirement to take up the leadership of a Nation-wide movement—and I think that is where it will end.

That had to do with reference to your plans and your conversation with the general concerning a Nation-wide organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that organization to be headed by General Moseley?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. If we could persuade him; yes; we never have been able to do so.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

However, he is just getting his feet under him now—and deciding what form the organization will take.

I arrived just in time to prevent him hooking up with a local gang, the contact man who was named Gwiner, past head of the Cavaliers in the Klan—who in the final analysis proved to be a front for Jew money—in the person of Sam Masall, of Atlanta. A few others of the same nature, shocked him into the realization that all patriotic societies are not patriotic by any means. Another gang in New York, in the big money, wanted to dictate the policy—nothing doing.

The reference to "Klan" is to the Klu Klux Klan?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I would judge from this that General Moseley had had quite a few contacts from various individuals who probably were interested in the same type of activity?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. He had approached—I would put it this way, that is actually what happened.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

I also found that Kelly had been in constant contact with him.

Will you identify Kelly for us?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is Lt. John E. Kelly, who used to be a Reserve officer—I don't know whether he now holds a commission, who was active in the Charleston area, he was relieved of his duties in charge of subversive activities. I don't know what happened to him.

Mr. WHITLEY. You make reference here, Mr. Deatherage, to Gwimer in the Klan. I believe Mr. Campbell in his testimony, either Mr. Campbell or Mr. Gilbert, I am not certain which, stated with reference to your organization, that it was, I believe they described it as being similar to or the K. K. K.?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. If you will permit me, I will give you in a minute just the whole history.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of your organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; and the Klan as well.

Mr. WHITLEY. I don't care about the history of the Klan.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I can't give you the history of one, hardly, without the other.

Mr. WHITLEY. They would interlock?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; and it won't take but a minute.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right, sir.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. In 1867, during the reconstruction days, the old carpetbagger days, there were several organizations started; the Klan and Knights of the White Camellia. Now, you are familiar with what their purpose was. The Knights of the White Camellia were composed mostly of ex-officers of the Confederate Army. The Klan was composed mostly of men who were in the enlisted division. Naturally they formed buddies and grouped together. They both had taken their orders from General Forrest. After the need for those organizations—I want to say that every man below the Mason-Dixon line at one time or another either belonged to the Klan or our organization; that is, eliminating a few small outfits like the Palefaces.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are going back to the post-war period now?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes. When the need for those organizations was over, they disbanded or became dormant. In 1915 Simmonds reorganized the Klan as a fraternal patriotic organization, and in it took some of the ritual of the Knights of the White Camellia and put it in the Klan ritual and built himself up a synthetic Klu Klux Klan organization, based on certain principles, which had no connection whatever, as far as principles were concerned, with the old Klan in the reconstruction days.

The Knights of the White Camellia lay dormant all the time until this Marxist crisis arose and we reorganized it again.

Mr. WHITLEY. You deny any affiliation with the Klu Klux Klan?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. We have no connection with the Klan.

Mr. WHITLEY. No connection whatever?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. To continue the letter:

I also found that Kelly had been in constant contact with him. I gave him part of his record as I knew it and then had him write Griffith, etc.

Who is Griffith?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Griffith is—I don't mean he is, he used to be—a Reserve officer in the West Virginia area, who was connected with subversive activities and who was Kelly's immediate superior at the time that Kelly, I think, was the chairman of the subversive activities.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing) :

I gave him part of his record as I knew it and then had him write Griffith, etc., the dope which, of course, resulted in the truth coming out.

That means the truth about Kelly?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing) :

Your case came up also, as you have been smeared all over the place, the same as I.

Of course, that means Mr. Campbell's case?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing) :

That was fixed also, and the general is sold that you have been honest and sincere—all of which I also confirmed.

At the moment, although the general knows the story in general, he does not know all the dirty work, and particularly the working of the Jew oriental mind, and how they go about by indirect means to gain their ends. He is just such a square shooter himself that he cannot stomach or understand how people do these things. What I have unraveled for him so far has made him slow up and a little suspicious of everyone—as he should be.

How long did you work with the general down in Atlanta on this plan for the setting up of a national organization, Mr. Deatherage?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. We never actually got around to making a plan, we discussed it, the probabilities.

Mr. WHITLEY. For a period of several weeks?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I was down there once for about 3 days and then again for 2 or 3 weeks.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing).

The general swears that he is going through if it costs him all that he has, and it is up to you and I to keep his skirts clean—and from hooking up with a gang or persons that will ruin him—which can be easily done as you know. We have been through it and we know. That experience must be placed at his disposal—fairly, cleanly, not rumor—but actual facts. There has been a lot of smearing going on in our own crowd, which now—with things getting down to brass tacks—must be cleared up.

By "getting down to brass tacks" do you mean the situation coming to a head, or about to be precipitated?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing).

No doubt you have heard things about me in the past few years, and that also must be cleared up.

I should like you to write me quite frankly of any indecision in your mind—putting the cards on the table—all the facts—or if you can have facts that can be proven that says that I am not right, I should like you to give them to the general. At this stage he must not have anyone around him that he cannot trust to the very death.

You know that I supported the cause with all the cash that I could let loose of—

By the "cause" you were referring to your organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, that and helping Campbell; I helped Campbell out financially.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you hear Mr. Campbell's comments with reference to you and your organization when he was on the witness stand, Mr. Deatherage?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I was way back in the room and I could hear him just partly. I heard some of it. It was very difficult to hear back there.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing).

And the only regret that I have is that which went to Kelly. You know that story as well or better than others. Kelly is very active in the East and I can give you his connections and location.

In any case, this thing is coming to a head fast. The general is speaking before the New York Board of Trade on the 14th. I sent you a copy of his speech with which I helped him.

You helped the general prepare that speech?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I did.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing).

On the 15th he will speak with Coughlin in New York—at which time I expect all hell to break loose. Coughlin, as you know, has gone after the juice, both over the radio and in his paper.

What is that reference to “juice”?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. It means Jews, a rather facetious term.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing).

They will start on the general as soon as he speaks with him—for he too is going after them.

You mean the general is going after the Jews also—that he is going to be anti-Semitic?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't understand that term “anti-Semitic.”

Mr. WHITLEY. Against the Semitic race—opposed to them.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Against who?

Mr. WHITLEY. The Semitic race.

Mr. HEALEY. You mean he is going after the Jews, don't you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Thank you; that is exactly what I mean.

Mr. HEALEY. You understood the general was going after the Jews; that is what you meant by that letter?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. What do you mean by the “Jews”—Jews as a whole or part of the Jews?

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't qualify your statement. You say that he is going “after the ‘Juice.’”

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is the record, if you want to interpret it that way.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is not my interpretation. I was citing your own words.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I can give you my intention, if that means anything.

Mr. WHITLEY. I should be very glad to have it.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. My definition of Jewry, international Jewry, and whichever who is honest in this world refers to, is not all of the rank and file of Jews as a race, but a minority clique at the top of Jewry, in which are identified the international bankers, the very same thing which has torn Europe upside down. Now, the small Jew, as we see it, is the most oppressed individual, because he is subject to a hierarchy from which he can't get from under, and so to say that when you go against Jews, the enemy, are communistic Jews, wherever you may find them.

Mr. WHITLEY. You, I believe, have repeatedly and consistently over a period of years, Mr. Deatherage, attacked communism?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Criticized and attacked it in every conceivable manner?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever attacked, with the same degree of enthusiasm, nazi-ism or fascism?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. You define nazi-ism as national socialism, or are you using it in a colloquial sense?

Mr. WHITLEY. I am using it in the sense in which it is generally thought of and referred to in this country as a dictatorship.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I can't hardly answer your question that way.

Mr. WHITLEY. What do you mean by Nazi-ism?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Nazi-ism to me means just exactly what it is, and that is a national socialistic government, that is, well-known and accepted principles of national socialism.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you in favor of that or in accord with that principle of government?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are not?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever attacked it in your writings or in your speeches?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You haven't?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever attacked fascism as it is generally referred to in this country?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I have a lot of difficulty in imagining any one taking seriously what is known as fascism in this country, because it is a colloquial term that is used any way to smear any one who is anticommunistic, but fascism as it is, the government of a corporate state, is an entirely different matter.

Mr. HEALEY. Are you for that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I am not, only in this circumstance: If it was a choice between either, between communism, which means destruction of the Christian religion and the hatred of God, the removal of the right to own private property, I will take fascism, which at least gives me Christian religion and right to own property, even though they might take most of the property away from me.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you haven't been actively opposing any attempts which might have been made on the part of Nazi or Fascist groups to attain or to be active in this country, or to obtain followers, or to set up organizations to disseminate their principles? Have you actively opposed those groups?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Let me clarify it this way. In the 5 years I have been in this work I have never yet come across one single leaflet, booklet, or piece of propaganda of any kind, either from foreign German sources or American German sources, which advocated national socialism for America or for the changing or destruction of this form of government. Now, if such a thing exists, I have never seen it.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have seen propaganda, though, disseminated from those sources?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have seen anti-communistic propaganda and have distributed plenty of it myself.

Mr. WHITLEY. And anti-racial propaganda that some of those countries might be interested in?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is an argument as to what you call anti-racial. We might have a difference of opinion.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is quite possible.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I say, I am 47 years old, I went 40 years of my life working for people, minding my own business, and having no hatred for anybody until this thing came up, and until then I never knew that there was such a thing.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do have hatred at the present time, though, is that it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have hatred for the Jewish leadership and finance that is directing this movement, as they have directed it in every country in Europe. I lived in Russia, you see, I was in Russia, I was in the Asiatic coast in 1919, 1920, and 1921, and I saw this aftermath happen, and I lived in London at the time Mr. Hitler was getting his start, which was just about the time of the Munich putsch in 1932.

So I saw all of this thing happen before, and when I saw it happening to my own people, then is when I started.

Mr. WHITLEY. Continuing the letter, Mr. Deatherage:

All we have worked for all these years is heading up, and I think that it is very important that you get here as quick as you can. The general will be back here about the 21st, so if you can get here a few days ahead of that, we can talk things over—swap information—and be ready for him when he arrives. He is leaving tomorrow night—Monday. While in New York he will see about the financing and be prepared in his mind as to that.

Do you know who he was going to see about the financing of this Nation-wide organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir; I don't.

Mr. WHITLEY. That you were colloaborating with him on?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

and I think sold on the policy that he will have to follow. For many reasons you should be on the job, but if you cannot come, drop me a line as to your suggestions for national organization.

I would judge, from the tenor of this letter, that you and Mr. Campbell, you had reason at least to believe that you and Mr. Campbell saw eye to eye on this situation, Mr. Deatherage; I mean the letter is written in a sympathetic vein?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't think there has been any material difference at any time between Mr. Campbell's ideas and my own.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

The general gave me permission to ask you for the key to your reports.

Did the general have any idea where these reports were coming from or what the source of the reports was, Mr. Deatherage?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't know. I never discussed it with him.

Mr. WHITLEY. How many of the music scores, or reports, did you see?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Oh, there was a bunch about half an inch thick; there must have been 35 or 40 sheets.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was the general impressed with the authenticity of those reports?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. He made no comment.

Mr. WHITLEY. He showed them to you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. He didn't indicate whether he believed them or not; he didn't indicate what he felt about them?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; he didn't.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was your reaction to the reports you were inquiring about?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. You have got Mr. Campbell's files, and if you have all of them you will find in there a letter in which I discussed the authenticity of those reports.

Mr. WHITLEY. We will get to that in a little while.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

You refer to monkeys, George, et cetera, et cetera. Am I the George, by any means.

Were you the George referred to?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Oh, yes—the way that came about is this: There was an excerpt in one of these reports that referred to George and some adjective about monkeys, or so forth, and what I wanted to find out from Campbell was whether his source in New York for this information was not only authentic but whether he referred to me directly, because I have been accused of everything down to cradle robbing.

Mr. WHITLEY (reading):

We want to run down some of the material in the reports and tie it in with my dope and his, so it is important that we know just who is who.

That means your information along the same lines and general's?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

Also the accuracy of your correspondent must be checked—at least in our minds. How positive are you that the dope is right? It is damn important that we get after this now. Again—you, like myself, have sacrificed everything for the cause and now is the time to put across what we have been working for.

That is a national organization headed by a competent person to carry on this work?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Instead of a lot of little local groups such as you and Mr. Campbell had, you would tie them all together into one big federation?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

If you will come right away, we can get together, and between the two of us, not only have a hand in making the policy but in protecting the general through our longer experience. Please wire me on receipt of this letter if you can get here the latter part of the week. I am staying at 1007 West Peachtree Street, the telephone number of which is Hemock 9796. Bring your confidential files so that we can check up together.

This is the time to put the cards on the table and go to town.

Haven't seen Mike for a couple of years, but understand that he is now in Washington.

To whom are you referring there?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Mike Ahern is an Irishman located here in Washington. He is a past G-2 man. He was the man that uncovered

the Delaware corporations. He was the man that went over there and photostated them and got them out of the files.

Mr. WHITLEY. Had he in the past been associated with you in any way?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

Haven't seen Mike for a couple of years, but understand that he is now in Washington—having fallen out with Curtis—the mountain woman.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is Mrs. Curtis, of the Women Investors of New York. That term has never meant any discourtesy to her. She is about 7 feet tall and weighs around 240 pounds.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has she been associated with you or any other groups?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I don't know her.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has she financed or worked with any of the groups that you were interested in?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

He has tried to get in touch with me but I have dodged him until I can talk with you in detail. Jim is still going strong.

Who is Jim?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. James True.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

Great chap. Pelley has been making strides and I expect to hear in a week or so.

Who do you mean by "Pelley"?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is William Dudley Pelley, of the Silver Shirts.

Mr. WHITLEY. Asheville, N. C.?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. "And I expect him here in a week or so." Was he coming down to join this conference to help set up this organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; he was coming down to see me; he is too skittish.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is afraid to tie up with a big organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I think Mr. Pelley would like to have charge of it himself.

Mr. WHITLEY. He would want to be the head of it if you set up a national organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I think probably.

The CHAIRMAN. That is one trouble you had about getting together, they couldn't decide which one ought to head it, is that it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I don't think so. I think the main trouble was that there was no one appeared on the scene who was big enough to inspire confidence. You know us fellows that have been in this work have been more or less like the little boy with the long stick, poking the hornets' nest, we poke it and run, and cause a lot of trouble.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

My best and be sure and wire or call me pronto.

Cordially,

DEATHERAGE.

Before I get into this further correspondence, Mr. Deatherage, I would like to ask you a few questions about various individuals and organizations that you have cooperated with. I think it will clear up some of the future course.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I will be glad to give you any information I can.

Mr. WHITLEY. What have been your associations or contacts with Mr. Pelley in the past?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, only just casually in liaison. He was working in Maine for the same objectives we were working for. He was a rabid anti-Communist worker and he has got a lot of genius about doing a great many things, and we helped each other.

Every organization in the United States helped each other in that way.

Mr. WHITLEY. A kind of a sympathetic understanding?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where you could help each other out you did it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right, I stayed out of his territory pretty much and he stayed out of mine.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was your territory, Mr. Deatherage? Did you have a certain area you worked in primarily?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Primarily below the Mason-Dixon line.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was Mr. Pelley's territory?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, he was all over the country; he jumped from one place to another.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he trespass on your territory very much?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Not seriously; he has gotten down in Texas in the last 3 months, and has been raising a lot of fuss.

Mr. WHITLEY. What have been your relations or association or contacts with Father Coughlin?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, Father Coughlin, I get his paper. I have written him a couple of letters to which he hasn't ever replied. You see, we are like a pariah, everybody is afraid of us, because they never know what we are going to do, and I sized up Mr. Coughlin this way. He has got 21,000,000 Catholics in the United States. He doesn't need anybody else. He has got 1 out of every 6 votes in America as a potential member of his organization.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What do you mean that he has 21,000,000 Catholics?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I say there are 21,000,000 Catholics.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do you mean they are all his followers?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I just said potential followers.

Now, the way I sized it up is this: If Father Coughlin can get only one-quarter of 21,000,000 Catholics together, he doesn't need anybody else; he don't need George Deatherage or anybody else, because he will take all of you boys and run you off in a hurry, and he don't need to bother with me; see?

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Deatherage, insofar as the subject matter of speeches and material, et cetera, would you say you have been sympathetic with Father Coughlin as well as Mr. Pelley, I mean even though there was no actual working arrangement or relationship, did you exchange material or publications?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have exchanged material with Pelley, never with Father Coughlin.

Mr. WHITLEY. You never exchanged material with him?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. The greatest point of difference between the two, in my associations with them, is that I can't concur in Pelley's program of no more hunger, and so forth. I do stand fivesquare on the Catholic social-action program, social justice.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, there were some differences on a few points in the programs, in some points in the programs, although as a whole you approved of the programs; is that it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. You are talking about Pelley's?

Mr. WHITLEY. Both.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't think you can hook them up together; they are so far apart.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, they do agree on certain phases of their programs; do they not?

Would you say that they do?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I would want to study that before I would say.

Mr. WHITLEY. Maybe we will get back to that later on in the correspondence where there are some references to that.

I wanted to give you an opportunity to make any explanations with reference to this correspondence that you want to. I don't mean to limit you in any way. What have been your associations or contacts with Mr. Winrod, Mr. Gerald Winrod, of Kansas; had you any contacts with him?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have corresponded with Winrod and have both bought his material for distribution and shot it around the country.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have to buy it or did he give it to you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Sometimes he would give me a little shot of it, but most of it we bought.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know him personally?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I never met him personally.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you have collaborated to a certain extent by correspondence?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. As much as I could.

Mr. WHITLEY. In your programs?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does he have more or less of a definite territory, such as you and Mr. Pelley have?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I think you might say that instead of having territory he has a field which is the Protestant Christianity fundamentals. I want to make clear that word "fundamentals" because if the Protestant church as a whole was put up on the auction block today for 15 cents, I wouldn't give them 7 for it. They have gone over to humanism and all of these other "isms."

Mr. WHITLEY. But there has been some association or some contact by correspondence and interchange of literature between you and Mr. Winrod?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Absolutely.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you sent your literature or showed it to him?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I can't recall all of the details in the office. I know for sure that he was on the complimentary list for such publications as we put out, but I never spread our material for the rea-

son that he had a printing plant of his own and was putting out 10 times more than we were putting out.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have your own printing establishment?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I have my own mimeographing and stenciling and photoprinting establishment.

Mr. WHITLEY. What regular publications do you put out?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. None, now.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you put out one?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Up until September of last year, and then there was so much material on the market, such a flood of it, that I figured that there was no use of my putting out a mimeographed bulletin when I could get all I wanted throughout the United States, and help those fellows that had printing plants.

Mr. WHITLEY. So, since then you have just been distributing material you have gotten from other sources?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; there is so much of it I don't have to print it.

Mr. WHITLEY. What have been your contacts or relations with Mr. Christian?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have written Mr. Christian two or three letters, and I don't know him personally, I sent him one of my programs here 2 or 3 months ago, and he didn't return it, but he sent me back a letter in which he expressed an opinion that it would be better in the incinerator. So that ended my contact with Mr. Christian.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you receive his literature?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does your program and Mr. Christian's—do they coincide in any basic or fundamental points?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. By God, I hope not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you had any contact with Mr. Harry B. Rand, up in Massachusetts—Haverhill, Mass.?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't know Mr. Rand except through correspondence. I have corresponded with him. I get his publication, *Destiny*.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you sympathetic to Mr. Rand's program or his policies as set out in his publication?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I am sympathetic with his basic philosophy that the only solution for the Jewish problem is for the Jew to return to Christian principles, and that is the basic philosophy of his whole publication. Mr. Rand is head of what is known as the Anglo-Saxon Federation, which has about 4,000,000 members, I think, in the United States.

Mr. HEALEY. How long has he been operating out of Haverhill, Mass.?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Not very long; he used to operate out of Chicago.

Mr. HEALEY. He is a carpetbagger, is he, in Massachusetts?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I don't understand the term.

Mr. HEALEY. I mean, he packed his bag and came from Illinois to Massachusetts?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I am not certain of that. I think they changed their offices, and when he was made or put in the position of getting

out this publication he probably moved it to where he resided. I don't know that for a certainty.

Mr. WHITLEY. What has been your contact or association with Mr. True?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I have known Jim True probably for 5 years, and I have worked with him in every possible way I can. There isn't anything I wouldn't do for him.

Mr. WHITLEY. He puts out the Industrial Control Reports, I believe?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. A mimeographed sheet?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; it is photo-printed.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right.

Do you exchange literature with Mr. True?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I do.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever conferred with him on matters of policy?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. A thousand times; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you conferred with him concerning plans for the grouping of all of these various organizations into a Nation-wide organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Oh, we have discussed that many times; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about Edmondson, do you know him?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I know him; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you receive his literature, or exchange literature with him?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't have literature; I am on the publishing end of it; I have got members inside the Communist Party all over the United States, and inside of these so-called liberal organizations, stooges in the Communist Party, and when I pick up information which I figure is valuable and factual, I will then turn it over to him.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is Mr. Edmondson's first name?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. His name is Robert.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is presently in Pennsylvania?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was formerly in New York City?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Mr. Donald Shea, head of the National Gentile League?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I met Mr. Shea since these hearings started in Washington.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you familiar with his organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I am to a certain extent.

Mr. WHITLEY. And have you received any literature from him?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have in the past; I don't think I got anything directly from him, but I got some from their west coast organization, California or Oregon. I can look that up and put it in the record.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does his literature or his program in any way agree with or coincide with your program?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't know what his program is in detail except if he is anti-Communist I am for him, and I assume that that is what he is.

Mr. WHITLEY. What have been your contacts or associations, direct or indirect, with Mr. Fritz Kuhn, the head of the German-American Bund?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have had no contact with Mr. Kuhn, except I take his paper.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you read German?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, I don't; I take it to find out what is going on, and I met Mr. Kuhn in New York one time in the Harvard Club—a very opportune and likely place for that sort of thing—and I talked to him probably a half hour, just on generalities.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was there any discussion there of your organization or its objectives?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I didn't discuss it with him at all. We didn't have time to do that. Besides, the bund is not the kind of organization that will cooperate with anybody.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mean there is no possibility of getting them into a Nation-wide organization, or federation?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I think there is, if you can get an American organization started they will follow it.

Mr. WHITLEY. You think if you set up a Nation-wide organization that had the right leader, a competent leader, one who could inspire confidence, like General Moseley, that maybe a lot of these organizations that we have referred to here might be willing to join in that movement, including possibly—

Mr. DEATHERAGE (interposing). Oh, yes; you could get 500 of them overnight if you wanted to.

May I make a comment, please?

The CHAIRMAN. You will have a chance to.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. This chap back here is sneering and smiling, and I want to be fair about this thing.

The CHAIRMAN. We would like to have it orderly. There is no disposition to be discourteous.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I am of a rather nervous disposition and I resent that.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, don't sneer at the witness.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I am liable to get up and pop him, and I don't want to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's go ahead like we are going; you were doing very good.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I want to be fair.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the right attitude and as long as you assume that we are not going to have any trouble here.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Just one other question or two before we get back on the correspondence, Mr. Deatherage, and I think the correspondence will bring out probably most of the questions that I have in mind.

Do most of these groups with whom you have been in contact, and with whom you have collaborated, either personally or by correspondence, have a certain particular territory that they concentrate on?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. I ask you that question because I believe you previously mentioned your territory and Mr. Pelley's.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, we are probably the largest outfits, and that is the reason that the thing has come up.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is your own organization a membership organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. It is.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have chapters located in various parts of the country?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. How many chapters do you have, Mr. Deatherage?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. When I took my oath of office as commander of this organization there is one thing I promised on the value of my life never to reveal, and that is the number of members we had, the number of posts, and the members, and I am sorry I can't answer, and if that is in contempt of court and I have to go to jail, I am quite content.

Mr. WHITLEY. I am not asking you to identify any members, but as to the number of chapters or the number of members I don't see where that would hurt anyone.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. It may not, but that is my oath and I am going to stay with it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that a voluntary oath?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is a compulsory oath.

Mr. WHITLEY. That you never reveal any of that information?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right, and that oath is the same as a Klansman's oath.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does each member of your organization have to take a similar oath?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. He does.

Mr. WHITLEY. And it is 100 percent a secret, sub rosa organization as far as the membership is concerned?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. You, as its national commander, are the only one who is publicly identified with the organization: is that correct?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, it would be rather difficult to answer that. The Jews have been watching this thing so much that they have got certain fellows identified. But as far as the fellow who comes out and sticks his neck out in the open, that is me.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are the national commander publicly identified as in that position, and with reference to your association with your organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Official goat; yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You mentioned your organization and Mr. Pelley's as being the two largest—you wouldn't, for the information of the committee, you couldn't possibly even indicate approximately what your membership is. I am not asking you to give the exact figures if that is against the rules?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. It is against my oath: I am sorry I can't answer.

Mr. WHITLEY. Would you say it is Nation-wide?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, with the exception of the New England States, which are so blinking stubborn, we can't do anything with them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Otherwise in all sections of the country you have your local chapters?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. I will read the reply to your letter, dated December 13, 1938, at Owensboro, Ky., addressed to Mr. George E. Deatherage, 1007 West Peach Tree Street, Atlanta, Ga.:

DEAR GEORGE: Thanks very much for your special of December 11, which I have read with feelings of mixed emotion. First, I want to say that you are absolutely right about the general.

That has to do with praise of General Moseley and your recommendation of him as the logical man to head this national organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing).

He is the most square-shooting patriotic American it has ever been my privilege to know, and if we are worth a damn because of the experience acquired in the past few years we will see that he has the advantage of the distilled knowledge from that experience. Not only must he have people around him who could be trusted to the very death, but he must have individuals who are not afraid of facing death if this situation develops as anticipated by our internationalist friends.

Who does "our internationalist friends" mean?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. International Jew bankers; do you want their names?

Mr. WHITLEY. That won't be necessary, Mr. Deatherage. [Continuing:]

As you know, I was not only personally smeared, from the standpoint of reputation, but I also had a domestic break-up which resulted in Harriett's securing a divorce, almost 2 years ago, this directly traceable to friend Mike, so you can see there is an element there under which no circumstances can I ever be associated with him or have any part of him.

I withdrew from activities after being slapped down by the R. O. Association, and started in to make a living.

That is the Reserve Officers Association?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

I had found that the smearing of people who were being confused by agents provocature, by BSS—

Who are "BSS"?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. British Secret Service

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

and by Gentile fronts had become so great that I dropped all contacts with the crowd with which we had worked in the East.

He is referring to that period of approximately a year when you and Mr. Campbell were working together?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. He dropped it for 2 years, didn't he?

Mr. WHITLEY. He says the crowd with which "we had worked in the East."

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Would you mind reading that again?

Mr. WHITLEY. All right.

I had found that the smearing of people who were being confused by agents provocature, by BSS, and by Gentile fronts had become so great that I dropped all contacts with the crowd with which we had worked in the East.

That means when you and Mr. Campbell were working together?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing) :

You had been reported as being an agent of Fritz Kuhn, and practically every one with whom I had had contact were classified in one way or another as being wrong.

That report that you were agent of Fritz Kuhn, was that incorrect?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, typically, I am a Nazi the minute I begin to fight Communism. That is the smear.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I don't think you got Mr. Whitley's question. He asked you if you were an agent of Fritz Kuhn. You don't mean that you are?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Me? Hell, no; no, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, if that report is being circulated, that is incorrect?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Absolutely.

Mr. WHITLEY. Although you have met and discussed to some extent your organization and its program?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't know that we discussed the program at all. I think I never discussed the program at all. We discussed international communism.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he indicate whether he was sympathetic with your organization or the program of your organization during that conversation?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I think probably the mere fact that he met me and discussed it shows that he was more or less sympathetic with every anti-Communist move. You have a liaison, you see, international liaison, anti-Communist, which is exactly similar to the international liaison in the League of Nations—associations, and you have affiliates all through the United States who are connected with the International League of Nations at Geneva. Of course, we have the same thing.

Mr. WHITLEY. The big problem—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Right there; who directs the international—you say you have an international liaison? What is it; is there any directing head of it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; there isn't. They are attempting to start one now in Italy, but there never has been a real organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever been in contact with any of the international officers of this thing?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, as I say, I have been in contact with this one in Italy which just in the last 2 months—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). What is the one in Italy?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, it is called C. U. R.—I don't speak Italian, and I can't pronounce it, but it is headed by fellow by the name of C-o-l-s-e-c-c-h-i.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, there is a kind of a world-wide movement?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there one in Germany, too?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right; the one in Germany I wouldn't consider as being really international—oh, yes; I guess I would.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever been in contact with that one?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that at Erfurt, Germany?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the headquarters for the German Minister of Propaganda, that is from that headquarters that they send out material and maintain contacts?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. It is an international anti-Communist association which holds a yearly congress with delegates from every state.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you receive any literature?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, your organization and Pelley's organization, and these other organizations you have described all are loosely affiliated with these international movements; is that right?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I wouldn't say affiliated, because there is no such thing.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't mean in any precise terms, but I mean there is a contact, a liaison, between them?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You exchange literature with them?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You sent them some of your literature?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Let me give you a concrete example:

You have got a fellow who committed suicide yesterday, Ernst Toller. He is a Communist member of the Reichstag. He was over living with Louis B. Mayer, in Hollywood, and setting up the policy for left-wing movies. Toller was the man that signed the execution order for the women and children in Munich, and he also headed up the Third Internationale.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know; this is just reports and rumors?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have photostats of the order, with his own handwriting in which he signed them, and photographs of his own house, and I have all the details and documentary evidence.

Mr. VOORHIS. What does he have to do with your movement?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. He has this to do. Naturally, we are antagonistic to what we call Communist or left-wing movies that come out of Hollywood. We are naturally interested in a man who was directing them, directing their policy. Here was an alien that came over to the United States, he escaped from a concentration camp in Germany, and takes up a very active part in left-wing operations.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, wait a minute. That is not responsive to any questions. We are getting——

Mr. DEATHERAGE (interposing). I am citing an example of my liaison.

The CHAIRMAN. We are not interested in that.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think we should let him finish.

Mr. HEALEY. If he wants to demonstrate how his liaison works out, I think we should hear it.

The CHAIRMAN. The Catholics, for instance, have got a program of social decency, and they censor, as everybody knows, the attendance at movies. Now, in the same way they have started a program through all the Catholic churches to, more or less, if I can use the word, censor—I don't know that that is the word—but to discourage Communist movies or things which encourage communism.

Mr. VOORHIS. What does this have to do with this man's suicide?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I don't think you want me to answer that.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes; I do.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Do you want me to answer it frankly?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I will tell you. In my opinion this is the first of a wave of suicides similar to the ones that you saw happen after Germany occupied the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia, because the situation in this country now inside is at such a terrific pressure that one more defacing of the Catholic churches in New York will mean 750,000 Irishmen going on the rampage. That is my personal opinion.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean you think pressure was brought to bear on this man to commit suicide?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I think he saw that you were going to have in this country what he had gone through previously, and he couldn't take it.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you think that would be a good thing if we had a wave of suicides like that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, that is a difficult question to answer, to ask a man.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's finish this letter in an orderly way.

Mr. WHITLEY. Continuing this letter, Mr. Deatherage:

So I withdrew myself from all of that stage of confusion, came back here where one can breathe God's clean air, and tried to reason the only line which I will follow, and that is, in a typical American manner, maintain heritage of this Republic for which our ancestors fought. There is no question but what a postulate Jewry is responsible for communism, and communism is the cause of nazi-ism and fascism. Therefore, with an engineer's mind I have tried to go to the root of the thing in an American way.

We do not have to adopt Nazi or Fascist methods to eliminate communism. Personally, I am in favor of throwing into the sea every damned foreign or American agitator who is advocating other than cleaning house in the only way that will prove satisfactory and then seeing to it that our democratic republic is continued with liberty to the individual and with the principles as enumerated in our Constitution.

Frankly, I say to you that this thing has gone so far that there is only one remedy, and that is a military action which will put a military court in charge of the United States Federal Government and each State government, and let them operate under the Constitution until each State proves themselves worthy of the right of self-government, and that be done only by the citizens within each State cleaning house and exercising the right of free-born men.

Do you agree with that last paragraph, Mr. Deatherage?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No. You mean about establishing a military court?

Mr. WHITLEY. He says:

Frankly, I say to you that this thing has gone so far that there is only one remedy, and that is a military action which will put a military court in charge of the United States Federal Government.

In other words, he indicates that now at the present time there is only one remedy. My interpretation would be that he means now. Will you agree with that procedure or do you think that is substantially correct?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I am trying to formulate an answer that will give you my opinion correctly.

My opinion is—I don't agree exactly with what he says. I would agree in part this way, that this thing in the United States has now gone so far, which in my opinion has been proved from what I have

seen in Europe and Asia, that if you did put a military court in here and clarify this whole thing, you would obviate the necessity or the possibility of what has happened in Spain, because we have an exactly similar situation.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you think that to the extent of making it a temporary proposition, that it might be a good solution?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I say that in my opinion you are going to have, in spite of what 10,000 Dies committees can do, you are going to have civil disorder. If this civil disorder goes into what I witnessed in Russia, with piles of corpses of young children 14 and 15 years old as high as this room, I say most any expedient is justified, if it is peaceful.

Mr. WHITLEY. Would you say, Mr. Campbell, in advocating the establishment of a military government, both Federal and State, would you say that that was a Fascist principle that he was advocating, or that he is advocating a principle that might be along Fascist lines?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I don't think he intended that.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't think he intended that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; his idea is that the time is over for taking pills, and you have got to have a physical operation, so let's pull the corpse out and work on it.

Mr. WHITLEY. But with those reservations, you would agree with that statement, the reservations you stated?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I say this, you are going to have trouble. Now, how far that trouble is going to go nobody knows. If we can put a stopgap into this thing, and prevent it, I would like to see it done.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Deatherage, the more people you can convince that that trouble is going to come that you speak of, the more people that you will be able to get to go along with your organization; isn't that true?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I would say "yes."

Mr. WHITLEY. Continuing, Mr. Deatherage:

There is an answer to all of this which I would like to discuss with you, and then sit down with the general. But at the present time I am financially unable to spend the \$40 or \$50 which a trip to Atlanta would require. If I had it, you could expect me down there Friday. I have one client now with a new product which we are working very hard. If proper distribution can be made of this and one other that I hope to secure, then the revenue from these two will be sufficient for me to follow through in my determination to see America return to the sound basic principles of constitutional government.

Mr. Deatherage, the purpose of your trip to Atlanta was to see General Moseley?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you spent several weeks there?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I did. He wasn't in Atlanta all the time. He was away and I had to stick around there or else make another trip.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

Irrespective of the cost, however, I expect to stay in this picture and as close to it as long as I can. I have one thing left; that is, a 15-year-old daughter, and I'll be damned if I am going to see her have to grow up in a country controlled by a group of Orient-minded atheists who would sabotage everything we believe in.

Relative to the source of any reports, I believe I can show you enough of subsequent happenings to prove them correct. You and the general have both

had enough G-2 experience to realize that we cannot expose sources of information which would mean the liquidation of the individual or individuals concerned.

What was your impression of these reports that you read, that General Moseley had which he had secured from Mr. Campbell?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I have been trained all my life as an engineer. I deal with facts, not with theories or assumptions. Therefore, as the letter indicates, my first question was, Has this fellow got the correct dope and can he substantiate it?

Now, I know I have heard these musical scores for 3 years, not through Mr. Campbell but from other sources, mostly in the Reserve officers or ex-service men's organizations. There have been some of them published and printed. I have, I think, some copies of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who publishes those, do you know?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't recall; I recall I do have clippings of publications in which at least some of them appeared. But I know this, basically, to bring about the situation that you have in the United States, there has got to be people at the top, naturally, because you couldn't have this thing without having somebody doing it. Whether those specific individuals that were mentioned were responsible, was what I wanted to find out.

Now, as I see it, unless you get a hold of the waiter, put your hand on him, get him down here and sweat him, and find out all about it, you don't know whether they are true or untrue any more than I do. And I wouldn't take them as factual evidence until somebody substantiated them.

Mr. HEALEY. May I inquire right there—I just want to get this straightened out. You had heard these reports before you knew that Campbell was the source of dissemination of them?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; I have heard of them; just where and under what circumstances I can't tell you, but the thought is here [indicating forehead], and I know I have heard of them before.

Mr. HEALEY. That is in pursuance of your work you had somehow or other come in contact with those reports?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Oh, yes.

Mr. HEALEY. That was prior to your gaining knowledge that Campbell was the man who was responsible for the dissemination of them?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I would say "yes."

Mr. HEALEY. When was the first time that you knew Campbell was the person who propagated those reports?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I never knew it until General Moseley showed me the reports.

Mr. HEALEY. That was at the Atlanta meeting?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. How many of the reports did the general have when he showed them to you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I didn't count them, they were all clipped together, and evidently had all been sent to him at one time.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Was each individual report on one sheet or was there more than one sheet?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I can't swear that they didn't lap over from one page to the next, but they were all typewritten sheets.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You wouldn't even know the approximate number of reports he had?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Gaging from my experience with tissue sheets, I would say there might have been 35 or 40 of them.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Thirty-five or forty?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Did you think the general was impressed by retaining the copies of the reports?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't think he gave them any thought at all.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Why do you suppose he kept them?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, because he was, in the first place, doing this work, and he was flooded with correspondence from everybody, and he didn't have any office; he had it thrown in a trunk, and he threw it all out on the bed and said, "Here; what do you think of this stuff?"

And I just ran over it and I found, of course, people in there who were on the lunatic fringe, and everything else, and I pitched those to one side, and I tried to guide him as much as I could at the time from getting himself into a jam, associating with people that were wrong, but he made no comment to me about the reports. I asked him myself; I said, "Do you mind if I write Campbell and ask him about the authenticity of these things because if they are true and if they can be proven I have got enough dynamite there that I can go to Washington, and we will tear every brick down up around Connecticut Avenue, but I want to know."

Mr. WHITLEY. Your idea was to turn those reports into the official channels, whether it could be used officially?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, no.

Mr. WHITLEY. I mean if they were true and you could prove they were true?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. The reason we never turn anything over to official channels is because, as Mr. Dies, himself, put in the press—

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a moment—

Mr. DEATHERAGE (continuing). No agency—well, pardon me; I say that there was no agency in the United States, Mrs. Perkins or the Department of Justice, who would cooperate, and why should they cooperate with me? That is the reason that all people who have information keep away from that.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it is nearly 5 o'clock.

Mr. WHITLEY. I would like to finish this letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

I have attempted to cover this situation at length, because I feel you are correct and sincere. We learned a lesson from Kelly, and then, my experience with Ahern and Spencer, after having met both of them through you, was such that it helped me make the decision which I mentioned in the previous paragraphs in this letter.

Now, I want you to know that I believe in your sincerity and will do all I can to assist in outlining a program and working closely with the general.

He was referring to the program, I assume, that you mentioned in your letter?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I assume so.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

As you have learned to know and love him, don't forget that in almost every State in the United States I know personally other individuals equally as

loyal. The travesty being—one's financial lacking which prevents a close coordination of efforts.

Again let me say how much I would like to be there with you and discuss things in detail, but it is just financially impossible at the present time.

Most cordially and sincerely yours,

J. E. CAMPBELL.

P. S.—Please give me answers, if you can, to the following three questions, as it is extremely important, because of the source which has inquired.

1. Is it true that Hull's wife is part or full-blood Semite?
2. What do you know of Landon's Semitic connections?
3. What do you know of William Allen White's Semitic connection?

Why did he make that inquiry of you, Mr. Deatherage, do you know?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, because I probably have had more experience in research than he has. I have spent 5 years at it. He knew that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you give him the answers?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't recall; I think probably I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. I don't find the letter here.

In other words, he thought you would be more or less of an authority on that subject, and he made the reference to you for that reason?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right, when I collect evidence I get the dope; I mean I will take either photostats or something else to prove it. I don't take any rumors.

The CHAIRMAN. We will now adjourn until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning, at a place to be later determined.

Mr. Deatherage, you will return here at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning to resume your testimony.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. All right.

(Whereupon, at 4:50 p. m., an adjournment was taken until May 24, 1939, at 10 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, MAY 24, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10:30 a. m., in room 1324, New House Office Building, Congressman Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present: Congressman Martin Dies (chairman), H. Jerry Voorhis, and John J. Dempsey.

Also present: Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order and we will resume the examination of Mr. Deatherage.

May I again caution the audience to be silent and desist from conversation so we can have absolute order. Whereupon, George Deatherage, recalled as a witness, having been previously duly sworn, testified further as follows:

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Deatherage, will you describe for the committee your first contact with Mr. Dudley P. Gilbert, where that was and when it was?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. To my personal knowledge, I never met Mr. Gilbert. I have a very faint recollection of having met him at Newport about 1935, but I am not certain of that, that is just a vague recollection.

Mr. WHITLEY. If you have met him at all it was on that occasion?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. It was on that occasion, or I was introduced to him under an alias, that is, he was going under some other name besides Dudley Gilbert if I have met him. I have a recollection of having corresponded with him, I think.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever have any correspondence with Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't have any recollection of ever having any correspondence with him except if he went under the alias of Curtis in publishing material, then I have had correspondence with him.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you think that possibly some material which you received under the name of Curtis might have been from Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; I have that suspicion, I don't know it positively.

Mr. WHITLEY. What year was it that you received that material?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have been receiving material from that source, they have never stopped, it is the American Nationalist letters from New York. You have probably got copies of them in your files.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the American Nationalists, Inc.?

The reason I ask that question is that two or three organizations have various combinations of that word "nationalist."

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I can't tell you for certain. There are two organizations in New York, one the American Nationalists, Inc., which is not the outfit I am talking about, and then there is another one with this name Curtis.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever receive any literature from the American Nationalists, Inc.?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Are those the ones known as the Nationalist Letters?

Mr. WHITLEY. I don't believe they are.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Without referring to the files, I can't tell you. My recollection is I have got literature under the name American Nationalist from two different outfits in New York.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the purposes of your trip to Newport during the summer of 1936; was that the year you were there?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Either the summer of 1936 or the fall of 1935.

Mr. WHITLEY. You went up there with Mr. Campbell?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the purpose of that trip, Mr. Deatherage?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, we naturally were all starving to death for funds, and they have some money up there in Newport, and some people who were interested, that is, we were informed they were by a fellow that traveled in the Newport society, and he asked us to come up and present the situation to some interested people, and we came up.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was during the period of time you and Mr. Campbell were working together?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Mr. Gilbert assist you in any way while you were there?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have no recollection, I say I may have met him on that trip, I am not positive I met him. I don't think I met him at all personally.

Mr. WHITLEY. You had no subsequent contacts with him?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you know that he was working with Mr. Campbell subsequently?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; it was a complete surprise to me.

Mr. WHITLEY. You knew Mr. Campbell left you and was no longer with you, and you didn't know that he had any affiliation?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I thought he had entirely dropped out and did nothing.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the source of the finances for your organization, Mr. Deatherage?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, the main source is my own personal fortune, or was. It wasn't very much, about \$25,000. I sold my insurance. Of course, I was making \$10,000 a year with Carbide & Carbon Chemicals Corporation as an engineer, which was a little

more than I needed. I had other stocks and things of that sort, and I sacrificed everything I had except a couple of pieces of property. I have got some anonymous donations and we have naturally—in the very beginning we built our organization up into posts of 200 men and we charged dues. But immediately—well, we only ran along that way about 6 months, and it was very apparent that was the wrong thing to do, so we changed the procedure and split them up into 10-man posts, and accepted no money from any post at all at headquarters.

Mr. WHITLEY. No dues or contributions?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; each post carried its own financial responsibility. So I had no income and such income as I had is reported on my income-tax reports, and they are available in the files.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have any regular contributors or do you solicit regular contributions?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir; I am the rottenest begger in the world.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you have had some anonymous contributions?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; I have had.

Mr. WHITLEY. Sizable amounts?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; not sizable amounts.

Mr. WHITLEY. And at the present time there are no dues at all paid to the national headquarters?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, that is not exactly true. I have some fellows who are associated with the movement as individuals, known as members at large, fellows who don't want to stick their necks out in their community, and would like to go along quietly under cover and do the work without any build up.

Mr. WHITLEY. They don't want to be identified with it.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, most of your members are unidentified?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right; and a very good reason for that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever make any financial contributions to Mr. Campbell in connection with his work with you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. To what extent, do you recall, Mr. Deatherage?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, there was between \$1,000 and \$1,500; I think it was \$1,500 cash.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that during that period that he was working with you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever make any financial contributions to him after he left you and started his private enterprise with Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he ever make any contributions to you or to your organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; it was all one-sided. I might clarify that testimony if I may.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right, sir.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I made that contribution to Mr. Campbell. Part of that money, half of it, I think, \$750, went to Lt. John E. Kelly, who was also working on subversive activities for the Reserve officers.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you seen Lieutenant Kelly since you have been here?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This time?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He is not in town, as far as you know?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. As far as I know.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, Mr. Deatherage, you stated awhile ago, I think, that you found some interest in your work in Newport, is that right?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, how far did that go; I mean, what did you mean by that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I meant that there was an individual at that time who lived in Newport who was interested in this work very actively.

Mr. VOORHIS. Was that Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you mind telling the committee who it was?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. It was Howland Spencer, the man that sold the land to Father Divine across from Hyde Park.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did he contribute any funds to your organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I got \$200 from Spencer one time when I was in a jam, short, and I wired him asking if he couldn't help me out, and he sent me \$200, and that was split between Campbell and myself to pay hotel bills and travel expenses.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all you got out of Mr. Spencer?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have a hazy recollection of another \$75 or \$80 one time we got at New York, but it certainly wasn't more than \$300 all the time I knew him.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else did you get money from at Newport?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That was all.

The CHAIRMAN. That was all?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you confer with a number of people while you were there?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; I had dinner on a yacht with Howland Spencer and Frazer Jelke, who was the oleomargarine king, and I think young Astor was out there in a sloop, and two or three more fellows.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you discuss your work with them?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir; we discussed that and, of course, Jelke had just come back from Spain and he was torn to pieces.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Frazer Jelke.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they interested in your work?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Oh, yes; they were very much interested; but their attitude was "let George do it."

The CHAIRMAN. They didn't want to put up any money?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Oh, no.

The CHAIRMAN. But they approved of what you were doing?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I would say this: Naturally they are wealthy people, and Jelke had seen property and private capital destroyed in Spain and he was all upset, and naturally they were wondering what might happen.

The CHAIRMAN. What did young Astor think about it ; was he pretty interested in it ?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have a hazy recollection of him getting a cussing from Mike Ahern because he said he was going to take his yacht and go out in the Atlantic and let it blow over.

The CHAIRMAN. Before we get off that subject, have you had occasion to discuss your movements with other people ?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. What do you mean—in Newport ?

The CHAIRMAN. All over the country ; have you discussed it with many people ?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I talk my head off every time I get a chance.

The CHAIRMAN. You, of course, never tried to get into the political angle ; you didn't discuss it with any leaders in any party, or anything of that sort, from that standpoint, did you ?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). That is, you didn't discuss it with any of the leaders of the Democratic Party or the Republican Party, or anything of that sort ?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Oh, yes ; all the years I have been in this thing I have discussed it with leaders. For instance, I just discussed it the other day with ex-Senator Hatfield, of West Virginia, who is a cousin of mine, and we discussed this situation all the way through. He is a power in Republican politics there.

Mr. DEMPSEY. In what politics ?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Republican Party.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Power, you say ?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I say, in my State.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you tell us anybody else you went over this with at a conference, any of the political leaders ?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, that is rather difficult to recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you in a conference with anyone last night ?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was it you were in conference with ?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I talked with Jim True.

The CHAIRMAN. Jim True—were you with him last night ?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I saw him last night.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else was present when you saw him ?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Major McGuire, my secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else ?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you discuss with him certain committeemen that you had been in touch with ; did that come up in the discussion ?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. This committee ?

The CHAIRMAN. National committeemen of either party that you had been in touch with.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes ; I discussed a little conference I had at one time with one of the committeemen.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us about that, please, if you don't mind.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I had some dealings with Walter Hallinan in Charleston.

The CHAIRMAN. Who ?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Walter Hallinan, of the Republican National Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us what that was.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I want to get a choice of words here now, so let me think. Before the 1936 elections I had always put out our literature by mimeographing—that is, we put out publications, and the first was the Pioneer Herald from around 1934, and then we went to a mimeographed magazine, which we distributed among our own membership. It was never put on public sale any place and it was called the White Knight. We changed the name. Well, I visualized that we were going to have to increase our activities as elections came along, and I was out to get support for it, and I figured I might get out a magazine which we could put on the newsstands. In those days I was naive enough to think that I could get out something that the newsstands would sell or handle, but I quickly found out that the newsstands only put on sale those things of which they approved, not which the public might desire. So I had one of my men approach Walter Hallinan; he had gone to school with him and knew him very intimately, and I wanted to see if I couldn't get some financial support to start this magazine.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he give you any financial support?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, no; he promised it to me and then he ran out on me.

The CHAIRMAN. He was in agreement with your program?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, we discussed the thing quite frankly and went over the whole situation and there was present myself and three or four members of our local council.

The CHAIRMAN. You have just named the Republican leaders; have you discussed it with any Democratic leaders or committeemen or anything of that sort?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, not to my knowledge, not unless somebody would read the names off to me and I could check them that way. I can't recall.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Go ahead, Mr. Whitley.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Deatherage, have any of your speeches or any of your literature been published by the World Service Organization at Erfurt, Germany?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Been published by them?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. WHITLEY. Or sent out from there for distribution?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, we used to send out to organizations like that, sometimes as many as 8 or 10 copies of each issue, that is, we exchanged literature. For instance, I would send Pelley a couple of each issue.

The CHAIRMAN. Right in that connection please, sir, you say you would send to Germany copies of your publication?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And to Italy?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And they in turn would send you their publications?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right, a return, an exchange.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever know that some of your publications were sent directly from Germany by the propaganda agency to people in the United States?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I never knew that until I read it, I think it was in your testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't authorize them to do that, that was just a part of their plan?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, I want to explain my connections if I may have just a moment.

I have the reports that I have been accused of being in the pay of the Nazi Government, furthering their aims, and so forth. As a matter of fact, this Johannes Klapproth who was in charge of the American section, and who is now dead—he died 2 or 3 weeks ago—was a German-American who lived in this country for years and was a chemist for the Shell Oil Co., and he had been leader of the Friends of New Germany on the west coast, and the outfit got so rotten he wouldn't have anything to do with the Germans, quit them. But he was a member of my organization, the Knights of the White Camellia.

Mr. VOORHIS. What was his name?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. K-l-a-p-p-r-o-t-h, Johannes Klapproth.

The CHAIRMAN. Continue, sir.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. He was a member of my organization, and he helped me in getting out literature and editing material and things of that sort. So he was in financial difficulties and he decided to go on back to Germany, and when he got back to Germany he had no job and he was very much in distress, and he was trying to get on the American section, and I, of course—I had no acquaintanceship with anybody in Germany but they knew of my position in this work over here, and I felt that if I wrote a few letters to help him, I might get him on—so I assisted him all I could to get on there.

The CHAIRMAN. You never received any pay from Germany or from any German associations or sources?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Absolutely not.

The CHAIRMAN. No contributions for your movement?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; as a matter of fact we paid for what we got there; paid for the subscriptions.

The CHAIRMAN. It was more of a general sympathetic feeling because much of the situation is the same, isn't it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, these international offices established in Berlin or Stuttgart and Rome, you said yesterday they had liaison with the so-called anti-Communist organizations in the United States. Is that for the purpose of presenting a united front throughout the world, including the United States, is that what they want to do?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I don't quite understand your "united front." Well, I do understand it.

The CHAIRMAN. You said there was a liaison between the anti-Communist groups in the United States and the international offices in Germany and Italy didn't you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I testified I believe if you will refer to that, that they were trying to start one in Italy, they hadn't actually done it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what you testified to, I recall it. But you also said there was a loose connection in the respect that you exchanged literature and communications and things of that sort?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir. I am associated in that manner with organizations in India, in China, Siberia, even inside of Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. And is that true of Mr. Pelley; does he have the same communications; is he in the same situation?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. To a great extent. I don't know whether it is as extensive as mine or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that true with reference to George W. Christians?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have never had anything to do with Christians.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, to be absolutely frank, some of these people in this business, or in this movement, you suspect to be racketeers, don't you? I judge from the Saturday Evening Post article you have no use for a man that is in this thing just for the money; have you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Absolutely not.

The CHAIRMAN. Haven't you found some of these fellows primarily interested in getting money out of it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; but if they ever got it, they performed a miracle, which I couldn't do; they have all been starving to death.

Mr. VOORHIS. I am not sure that I understood—what was the job that you were trying to help Mr. Klapproth get?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I was trying to get him a job in the American section of the International World Congress at Erfurt.

Mr. VOORHIS. In the American section of it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. What is that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. You see, they publish anti-Communist news in eight different languages, and they have an English-speaking section. They have it all divided up. Each year they have a congress, and their representatives or delegates come from all over the world and meet there. You are familiar with the set-up they have got in the League of Nations. It is similar to that. In other words, if you have got a fellowship of faiths belonging to the League of Nations, that is a similar set-up.

The CHAIRMAN. The plan is to have a world-wide organization; isn't that true?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. World-wide organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Then in the United States the plan is to bring all these groups together under a national leader, if you can find a leader, isn't that true, a leader that you can trust?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, let me explain that. There are two schools of thought there. First, they realize that they are never going to get any place in the final analysis if the conditions in the United States are solved in a peaceful manner by ballot and in the American way and civil disorder does not break out, as it has broken out in Michigan and other places—and multiply that Nation-wide, say—there is no objective in having any great national organization.

On the other hand, a great many people object to it because they know that just the moment you build up a big organization they have got to have Mr. Dies and his committee on top of them, wanting to find out this and that, or the F. B. I., who are out now with their political police checking up on the subscribers, the men who are getting literature, and intimidating them.

The CHAIRMAN. That was in Mr. Pelley's publication as I read it this morning.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. They have been to see me and my subscribers, too.

The CHAIRMAN. They are going around to find out who your subscribers are?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. They have already got their names through the post office, and they are going to the subscribers and they go along to an individual, and his activity might be limited to being a subscriber to a magazine or newspaper, and they put the pressure on him.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Deatherage, when you get these communications from Germany and Italy, we will say, what do you want with them; does it give you factual information that you need in connection with your work?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And then, of course, by the exchange of information you are able to use some of the information that you get from Germany and Italy, and they are able to use the information you send them?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Surely. In one of their publications I might find two or three articles that are useful to me, and contain factual information. The rest of it might be just junk that I am not interested in at all.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. Well, of course, you have traveled extensively all over the United States in connection with your work, haven't you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You find a great deal of sympathy for what you are trying to do?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You find it among all branches of people?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, no.

The CHAIRMAN. What class of people do you get the greatest and most sympathetic response from?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, naturally the people you get the most sympathetic response from are working people; the intelligentsia don't bother with that bunch because they are the frustrated elite; as Max Salzman, the Kansas district organizer says, they are the first fellows we are going to bump off, and I kind of agree that if we ever got into civil disorder, we would take the same action. The liberal is in between the two fires. The way I could describe them, as far as we are concerned, is that they take in oxygen and give off carbon dioxide.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you are a student of Hitler's history, aren't you; his activities?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have made a great deal of study of nazi-ism and fascism, both; have you not?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you hold that really nazi-ism and fascism, the difference between them and communism is that under the Fascists and the Nazis the owner retains paper or nominal title to his property, but the state actually directs it; isn't that practically true of Germany and Italy?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the big distinction?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. And the other is religion.

The CHAIRMAN. I know the religious angle, too, but I am talking about economically speaking, one is national socialism and the other is international socialism; that is the theory of it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; it is nationalism versus internationalism—that is the division.

The CHAIRMAN. But in actual practice in Germany and Italy, the essential feature of private property, namely, control, has been taken away from the owners, hasn't it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, no; it is subject at any time to levy by the state.

The CHAIRMAN. The state reserves the right to confiscate without due process of law?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right; sure.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you know that Hitler made his greatest appeal among the workers, didn't he—wasn't that the bulk of his support, with the workers?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. He couldn't do anything with the middle class, and he denounced the middle class, didn't he?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, not to my understanding. I would say that he made his play with the workingman and the lower half of the middle class; but the intelligentsia and the businessmen, nobody paid any attention to them.

The CHAIRMAN. So you find very much in your work that that is true in the United States; that your appeal is greater to the same class of people?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, there is a greater acceptance there, and the reason for that is—there are two reasons for it. First, you can't get any truth; if we had tried to bring this thing out truthfully in all the press, and lay it out where we could all see it and discuss it, we would have no necessity to do certain things.

But not having that, you have only one recourse, and as you know enough about psychology of peoples you have got to appeal to their emotions, not their reason. The avenues to reason are closed to us.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what Hitler said in his *Mein Kampf*.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't know whether he said it or not, but that is what I said. If he agrees with me, that is all right with me. [Laughter.]

But that is true, gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN. But you find the greatest appeal, the strongest appeal you make is the fact that a lot of people don't like the Jewish race; is that right? Is that your first appeal from the standpoint of when you talk to a man—is it a racial proposition?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, no; absolutely not; emphatically not. I emphatically deny that.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not the appeal?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is not the appeal at all.

The CHAIRMAN. You would be in favor of using force if necessary in the United States to suppress this group you are talking about?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. The only time that I would advocate the use of force is if there is a break-down of constitutional law and order and

we have a civil disorder started by the leftist side, we want to be in a position to use force to save our own homes.

The CHAIRMAN. You think you ought to get ready now so that in the event that the other side does resort to force that your side will be ready; is that right?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Sure.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, the other side probably figures the same thing; don't you imagine that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I know they are getting ready; so does everybody else that knows what is going on in this business.

The CHAIRMAN. So that what you really have is two sides getting ready for some conflict?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What would happen to all the people who are not in that category—would they be caught between the two?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Here is the way we figure it out. I don't care what you think or I think. You might be on the opposite side of the fence, and we could argue back and forth. Say this assemblage is an example. If we were to take a vote on anything—whether you like yams and I don't like them, for instance—you would find it always divided 25 percent on one side of the fence, 25 percent on the other, and 50 percent in the middle; whether you go to a union labor meeting or one of my meetings or over to the House of Representatives, that is about the way they will divide themselves.

We could talk our heads off, like the two fellows that got together and were arguing, a Republican and a Democrat; and when they got through the Republican was a Democrat and the Democrat was a Republican; so they hadn't gotten any place, and they were still opposed. No matter what happens in this country, you will probably have, with 120,000,000 people, 30,000,000 taking the leftist side and 30,000,000 taking the rightist side and 60,000,000 who are sitting in the middle, and those two militant minorities are getting ready for something which they feel is inevitable.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't favor taking the initiative; you want to be on the defense and let the other crowd take the initiative?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I am going to let him take a crack at me first, because I am a believer in constitutional law and order. I say this—I don't care what sort of legislation, economic or anything else, political in this country, takes place, if the majority of the people by ballot and in a lawful constitutional manner enact it, and if I am on the wrong side of the fence, I am just lost—"all right; you just go ahead as long as it is peaceful."

But when I am convinced that it is not going to be, and when I see in my own eyes a social revolution going on, and they tell me that this is a peaceful social revolution, and I know from contemporary history that there never has been a peaceful social revolution in the history of the world, certainly not recently, every one of them Russia, Germany, Italy, and so on down the line, they have been marked by violence; now, if we are going to have a peaceful social revolution, that is fine; but history proves that we never have had one. That is my idea of force. I am not going to sit around and let a fellow bump me off if I know he is going to do it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Deatherage, do you know anything about a meeting allegedly held in Chicago during January 1939, at which various groups were represented?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I had a letter—I think it was about that time; I would have to refer to my files to confirm it—but about that time I got a letter from a west coast group saying that such a meeting was to be held and inviting me to come, and I didn't attend.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was the early part of this year anyway?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I think it was.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was that west coast group that invited you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That was Frank W. Clark's organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the National Liberty Party?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether General Moseley was present at that meeting in Chicago?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I know emphatically he was not.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was not?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't think he even knows who they are.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was he invited to that meeting?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, now, I couldn't say.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't know about that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; when he began making speeches the mail just tumbled in there, hundreds of letters a day. I don't know whether somebody wrote and ask him to speak there or not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what groups were represented at that meeting?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I don't.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of your own knowledge, or through hearsay, whether it was a large meeting or many groups were represented?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I have a recollection of receiving a letter saying that a certain number of groups were present. I have no means of knowing whether that was true or not.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. Can you name some of those groups to the best of your recollection, Mr. Deatherage?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I think it was the National Gentile Association or whatever it is.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that Mr. Shea's league?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I think he is associated with that; they have an organization in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. He claims to have an international league with chapters all over the world, doesn't he?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I read that in the Post; I don't know.

Getting back to your question, I don't remember; I could get it and put it in the record if you want it.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the purpose of the meeting as stated in the invitation you received?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. It is my recollection it was the formation of a national organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. Why didn't you attend; was it because you couldn't or didn't want to?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I have organized a couple of meetings of that kind myself, and I have been at several. I was at one in Cin-

cinnati at which they rung General Moseley in to speak, which turned out to be a branch of the anti-Nazis, a whole bunch got stung on that one. We walked out on them when we caught them with the goods, and it takes money to do these things; we haven't got it and the reason I think I didn't go was because I didn't have the funds.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, this meeting you attended that was promoted by the anti-Nazi league, when you found out that the meeting was sponsored by a group against the Nazis, you all pulled out?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Sure; because they were all enemies of ours and I knew everything I did or said would be misinterpreted and distorted and I would have been liable to have been slipped a dose of poison.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you at the Asheville meeting—do you remember when they had the general meeting at Asheville to try to get together?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. If you refer to the meeting of the Christian Kaymen?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; at Asheville, N. C.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I wasn't there; I was supposed to be a speaker, but when I found out what was going on——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). What was going on?

(The answer to this and a series of subsequent questions were stricken from the record as hearsay.)

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Deatherage, I want to get clear in my own mind just what your position is in connection with these alien agitators in this country. You know there are many of them, of course. Take the alien Communists—do you believe they should stay here or be sent back to Russia? Should the alien Communists who are here, creating disturbance and spreading propaganda against our form of government, remain here or be sent back to Russia?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I would say that if they were Communists, and they believed in the overthrow of this Government by force and violence, which they do, they ought to be sent back.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What would you say about the Nazis—should they be allowed to remain here or should they be sent back?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Any Nazis out advocating national socialism for the United States and change in the form of this Government, ought to get the same treatment, and ought to be sent back to Germany.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What would you say about the Fascists?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Exactly the same thing about them; they should be sent back to Italy.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You had some comment to make about the atheists yesterday; where would you send them?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I think I would let the Lord take care of them, He will fix them.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Thank you.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Deatherage, an article of yours, entitled "Will America Be Jewry's Waterloo?" sent out by this World Service organization from Erfurt, Germany—do you recall that that was circulated from there?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have no recollection, there is so much of it I don't remember.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall preparing an article or making a speech, the title of which was, "Will America Be Jewry's Waterloo?"—do you recall that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. The only thing I ever published or wrote for publication in Germany was a speech to be presented before the International World Congress at Erfurt.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the caption of that speech?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't remember; that might be it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall ever having made a speech or preparing an article with that caption, "Will America Be Jewry's Waterloo?"

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have a hazy recollection that I did, but I am not positive.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you are not sure whether it was sent out from this World Service, the agency in Erfurt, Germany?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't remember it.

Mr. WHITLEY. You wouldn't say that it wasn't?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I wouldn't say it wasn't.

Mr. WHITLEY. Some of your articles or some of your speeches were sent out through that service? I believe you said earlier that some of your articles or speeches had been circulated from this World Service Organization in Erfurt, Germany?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; I assume they did, because I sent them 10 copies of our publications.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you actually seen any of your material which had been circulated from there after you had sent it to them?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. You mean the publication had been sent over and sent back?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; you would send it to them, and they would print it and send it back?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I have heard of it, but——

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). You have heard that it had been done?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; I have heard of it.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have no reason to doubt but what it was done?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Because you do exchange material with them?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you know that the World Service Organization at Erfurt is the organization that does disseminate information from that point throughout the world, including the United States?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Deatherage, I read you yesterday and received your explanations on your letter to Mr. Campbell dated December 11, and his reply of December 13, your letter of December 11 having been written at Atlanta, Ga., while you were there conferring with General Moseley on this national organization.

I will read you now from your letter dated December 14, 1938, written from Atlanta, Ga., which is in response to Mr. Campbell's letter of December 13.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY (reading):

DEAR JIM: I have your letter of the 13th, and am sorry that you cannot find it possible to get here, and hope that on the General's return the financial end will be taken care of in such a way that there will be something for your expenses.

Is the suggestion in that sentence that the general might take care of Mr. Campbell's expenses?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. What it meant was that we had hopes of certain patriotic individuals, whom I can't identify, putting up some money to further this educational campaign; and if that was procured, it was possible that we might—the general knew nothing about it—that we might be able to put enough influence on the general to have him bring him down and take advantage of his material.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did those plans with reference to financing materialize?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; not to my knowledge.

Mr. WHITLEY. If they did, you didn't get any of it, is that right?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I didn't.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether the general has been getting financial support from certain individuals?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. To my personal knowledge he has never received a penny, he refused it.

Mr. WHITLEY. He hasn't been active in trying to enlist financial aid?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Not to my knowledge; I tried to persuade him to do it, but I never could get away with it.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

Rest assured that I will impress upon him that you should get here as soon as possible—and before we make the final plans for organization.

Please rest assured that our time is coming and that within the next 12 months those who have borne the heart-breaking load of carrying on the fight will come into their own.

You are referring there to your own organization, Mr. Campbell's, and other groups engaged in the same type of activities?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, he might get a postmaster's job or something.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

That sacrifice will not have been in vain—when the crisis reaches its climax—and the Nation knows the facts.

What did you anticipate there, Mr. Deatherage, when you speak of the "crisis"?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, we anticipated that this thing is going to end, as it ended in Spain, in a civil disorder, and an economic breakdown and all it involves.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Deatherage, in answer to Mr. Whitley's question, in explaining the phrase "will come into their own," you say you might get a job as a postmaster, is that why you were contacting these Republican national committeemen, do you think they had something to do with that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I had no thought of that in mind. My immediate thought was to get some financial help.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Now, that you might get a postmastership, that was just facetious?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What did you have in mind when you said "will come into their own"?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I meant that our aims would come to a successful conclusion, and this thing would be cleared up and instead

of being discredited and called Nazis and Fascists and everything on the earth, that we would come into our own as, at least, respectable people and good Americans.

Mr. VOORHIS. What do you mean by saying that the thing would be cleared up?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I meant this situation which now exists into which we are drifting.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Whitley, proceed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Continuing the letter, Mr. Deatherage:

You may rest assured that the General will take care of that as you know him.

In other words, you mean that the General will see that those who have helped him are taken care of whenever the climax comes or when the ends are accomplished?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, in a general way I mean that; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

He has already expressed to me that this must be the case for he is now realizing a little of what a number of people have gone through and have sacrificed for the cause.

You again, by the word "cause" mean this common cause in which you are all engaged?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. The common cause, anticommunism cause.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you mean, of course, by the "General," General Moseley?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

When I arrived I found him with the idea that all these outfits that we know so well were O. K. and good Americans.

That refers to the various other organizations engaged in activities along the same lines as yours, generally?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

I hated to disillusion him, but it had to be done. Fellows like Major Pease, who is now in Florida—

will you identify him for us, Mr. Deatherage?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, as far as I can, Major Pease has been active in anti-Communist work over a period of years. I never met him personally. I have had some contact with him and his background didn't suit me. He had been over in Germany and had been run out of Germany, and he had been over in England and had been run out of England, and he published a very violent sheet, which was absolutely racial prejudice and bigotry, which I couldn't stomach.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the name of that sheet?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, the only one which I recall and which he edited was called Nation Arise, published in Florida by a fellow named Blanchard.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were his headquarters in Florida?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. They were in New York, but he went down and attached himself to Blanchard, and then he wrote those articles.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he still putting out that publication?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I don't think so. They are active down around Miami. That was the gang that was in that anti-Jew riot down there recently, in which 19 men were hurt.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that the White Front, what he called his organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I think that is what he calls it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you exchange literature with him?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; when I found out what his connections were, I made up my mind that I didn't want to have anything to do with him, and I just dropped him.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me clear up one point there. The other day some excerpt from one of your letters got into the press, though it wasn't admitted in evidence, which mentioned Mr. John Frey, of the American Federation of Labor. In order to clarify that, while it wasn't in the evidence, you never had any contact with Mr. Frey in any respect, did you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. None whatever, personally.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Frey never indicated—as a matter of fact, you know it to be a fact that he has no sympathy with any racial prejudice at all?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, neither have I.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I say you never had any communication or contact with him or anything else, and when you mentioned in your letter to Mr. Campbell the names of some people that you thought might be interested in this, it was just your supposition?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. If you will give me a moment, I will tell you how that happened.

Naturally in the preliminary plans to build a national organization, to combat communism, the suggestion was made to me that I prepare a list of people who would sit in conference and would prepare the framework of an organization and establish its policy, and in that I included leading men from varying walks of life, Mr. Frey of the labor union, Mr. Tabor, because of the farmers—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). But you had no authority from them to mention their names, you had never taken the matter up with them to find out if they were sympathetic to any such movement?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, and I never mentioned the names publicly, and only privately in that one letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Which got out to the press.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. If it did, it came from this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to read from a letter dated May 22, 1939, which I received from Mr. Frey:

The facts are that I never heard of Mr. Deatherage until he was referred to as a witness before your committee.

I have been as opposed to antisemitism as to anticatholicism. As a trade-union official for over 40 years, I have vigorously fought every effort to bring within the trade-union movement an element of prejudice based on racial, social, or religious lines.

During the period, shortly after the war when the Klu Klux Klan was active, I vigorously opposed their efforts to get a standing within the trade-union movement.

Free institutions and racial or religious prejudice cannot long live side by side. In the end those who propagandize these prejudices will discover that they have been public enemies instead of intelligent champions of free institutions as they have been understood and accepted by our Nation.

Any other gentleman, whose name was mentioned in connection with that—which wasn't a part of our record unless the reporter made a mistake and put that in the record—any other gentleman

whose name was mentioned in connection with that will be accorded an opportunity to explain his attitude. We don't want someone smeared through some mention in any correspondence.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I wish to state right there, that I have never given any interview to the press or published through word or deed any of those names except in a private letter to Mr. Campbell.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing the letter) :

Fellows like Major Pease, who is now in Florida, Gwiner of Atlanta, Mrs. Fry, and others who cannot be trusted, were active in attempting to get him swung into line.

Gwiner you identified yesterday, I believe?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That "Mrs. Fry" didn't refer to Mrs. John P. Frey?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, she is the editor of the Christian Free Press in Los Angeles.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing) :

When he saw for himself what Gwiner here in Atlanta was trying to do, he began to wake up.

You are still referring to the General?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing) :

You are right in no man close to him must come with other than clean hands and that he must be ready to lay down his life if that is required without hesitation. It is our job to see to it that this fact is turned into reality, for one slip on his part, or ours and we would be sunk.

This reference to laying down his life, you mean there in case of a military action, revolution, he must be ready to fight?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; that he must defend the principles of this country with his life.

Mr. WHITLEY. In that connection, Mr. Deatherage, you have already explained what your attitude was with reference to military action, that is, that you felt that your organization and all of the affiliated organizations should be prepared to take military action if necessary. What did you contemplate there, a private military organization within this Nation-wide group, or did you contemplate utilizing the established armed forces of the Nation in case military action was necessary?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, what I had in mind was a group of nationally organized men, properly formed, and in sympathy with the ideals of this Republic, who would be, in case of civil break-down, able to place themselves in the position of defending their homes and the things which they stood for.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you wanted to build up along with this Nation-wide organization, at least a nucleus of a military organization, an organization that could function as a military organization—

Mr. DEATHERAGE (interposing). In case of civil disorder.

Mr. WHITLEY. In case it was necessary?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What—or was that the reason that you and Mr. Campbell were both very much interested in sending literature to

veterans' organizations and to members of the Reserve Officers' Association, because they were men with military experience?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; there was a double motive there, that and the fact that most of the men of that caliber were leaders in their community to a certain extent.

Mr. WHITLEY. They were in a position to pass on the information?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Here is the thing. What we wanted and what we do want and work for is leadership. We don't care about the mob, because I explained to you awhile ago that you can talk your head off and when the division comes if there is ever a break-down of civil law in this country, and you have disorder, the sheep and the goats are going to divide themselves automatically, you will have all the manpower you need. But if you got leadership, that is all you need.

The CHAIRMAN. Right there, isn't that the same principle the Communists work on when they train their party men, and have a vanguard of the proletariat, they want a trained leadership to head the movement?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right, and it has been very successful.

The CHAIRMAN. What you have in mind is following their plan?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I had in mind building up an opposing force.

The CHAIRMAN. I know it is an opposing force, but it is along the same lines.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. In a general way.

The CHAIRMAN. You wanted men who are ready to lead the people who would be ready to follow.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing the letter):

The realization of this has caused the General to take it a little easy for a start—until he got his feet thoroughly under him. He thought, as I did at the start, that this great America would rise up in their wrath and wipe this bunch off the face of the earth when they knew part of the truth.

What "bunch" are you referring to there which would be "wiped off the face of the earth," Mr. Deatherage?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Oh, those communists, Jew, Gentile, or whoever he is, I don't care who he is, if he were my own brother I would wipe his mouth out.

The CHAIRMAN. You realize that there are a lot of men in the communistic movement of different nationalities, don't you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Surely.

The CHAIRMAN. Earl Browder is not a Jew, is he?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Clarence Hathaway is not a Jew, is he?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I know that.

The CHAIRMAN. So that when you speak of the Communist Party, you recognize the fact that there are different nationalities in there, and it even comprises people who are citizens of the United States, as well as aliens?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

Alas—he finds that there are skunks every place and that the enemy procedure is that of the Oriental—sly, cunning, and crooked as hell.

However, he will decide on his return, just what procedure he will follow, and the plan now as he sees it, is to start a little G. H. Q. in Atlanta, where we will map the enemy—our friends, consolidated with us those that we know are right, and prepare the plans for the campaign.

In other words, as a result of your conversations with the General, you are predicting that upon his return to Atlanta, he will be in accord with your ideas for the formation of a Nation-wide organization or consolidation of the various groups, and set up his headquarters in Atlanta, from which he will direct this federation of all these groups?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, yes; that in a general way, but, although I tried to influence the general, naturally to my way of thinking, you will find when he gets on this stand that he is a man that makes up his own mind, and I couldn't put across the things that I wanted.

For instance, this national conference at which these leaders and the farm group, and the labor group, and everybody else was to be invited, to make the policy—it wasn't my policy, it was the policy which they would make. If I could persuade him to follow my ideas, that was my privilege to proceed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it a fact, though, Mr. Deatherage, that most of the organizations, at least with which you were in touch and had been cooperating, agreed that the general was the logical man to head this national movement or group?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Oh, yes; they immediately——

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). They all agreed to that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't say they all did.

Mr. WHITLEY. The majority of them?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. A great many of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Right there, as I understand that letter, the wording of it, what you are actually saying is that the general had agreed to this plan of setting up the headquarters in Atlanta—did he agree to that part of it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. He had in mind that that was the logical thing to do, that he would set up a central headquarters, if a national organization could be organized, and should be organized, and then they could put up a national headquarters in Atlanta to combat communism, but who should belong to it and what policy should be followed was up in the air.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you both agreed that there should be a national organization; it was just a question of how to set it up and who to include in that organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was the big problem?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

This—realizing that the situation is not yet where we can enlist the mass support of reaction—

Reaction against what, or with reference to what?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Reaction against what we interpret in this country as a Jewish, Communist, Marxist government.

Mr. WHITLEY. Jewish controlled?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Not Jewish controlled particularly, but a Communist, Marxist, anti-American movement of any kind.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing) :

Many people are starting to react, but the main idea now is to build the framework of a campaign, this army, and secure and qualify the leadership.

I believe you already explained that a moment ago. You stated that the primary purpose of this national organization was to co-ordinate all of these forces and to train the leadership to lead any military action that might be deemed advisable?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, not strictly. That was my idea, it was the General's idea that if we were to form a national organization and should include representative organizations of the American people which are represented by the names of the men that you refer to. In other words, it was labor and farmer, and everybody else, and not only what you might term as anti-Semitic or anti-Communist groups, but all patriotic groups, or all organizations which might feel sympathetic.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing) :

The mass reaction will follow the leader when they are hurt bad enough. Now, we must have State and county leaders all over the Nation that we know without the shadow of a doubt are men that will stick under any kind of fire.

That was in keeping with your plans for the national organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That was my plan.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you stated that at least the General agreed with the idea or plan?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. The only definite thing that he agreed on, was that he agreed that there should be either now or eventually, a national organization to unite all Americans who were anti-Communists.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing) :

That is a job in itself, and a thing in which you can be of a great deal of help.

That is building up this Nation-wide organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. And consolidating the existing organizations and then expanding?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing) :

Of course, the General must be careful in dealing with men of the R. O. A. (Reserve Officers Association) or any outfit that is still in active service—for if he did the accusation would be made at once that he was building up a Fascist army.

The possibility of dealing with men in active service or any of the active service units, was that discussed or considered as a possibility?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. With reference to the "building up a Fascist army," you were trying to avoid being in a position where anyone would accuse you of that, or where anyone might accuse you of building up a Fascist army?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. We didn't either want to do it or be accused of it.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing) :

We must deal with persons in a civilian status. I would much prefer, and I think that you will agree, that the leadership should be officers who have seen active service for, generally speaking, they are men who hold decent positions in society, are more apt to be true, and are trained in the work that we must eventually do.

That is in keeping with our discussion a moment ago, that you were trying to get men in the organization or wanted to get men into the organization who could furnish the leadership, and of course you would prefer men with military training?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, you have got an example of that in the Associated Farmers, in California. Most of your leaders there are officers, and in the case of civil disorder they are experienced men.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing) :

I feel sure that if these men, many of whom you and I know, were appraised of the situation, they would resign their commissions and enlist with us for this American-Jewish war, for that is all that is—a war fought with money and propaganda instead of rifles.

I believe yesterday you objected to that, to a reference to your activities as propaganda, Mr. Deatherage? I made some reference to your literature or your activities along propaganda lines, and you objected to the use of that word?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't recall that testimony.

Mr. WHITLEY. I may be wrong; that is just my idea.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. It is propaganda; that is what it is.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is what I thought.

Now, you refer to many of the men if they were properly appraised of the situation would resign their commissions and enlist with your organization. Do you mean the men in active service?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I mean by that the men in the Reserve Officers' Association, the Reserve officers, either of the Navy or the Army.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing) :

And enlist with us for this American-Jewish war, for that is all it is—a war fought with money and propaganda instead of rifles.

Would you like to enlarge upon that statement or explain it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, if you have got about 2 days to give me, I will give you a chart and I will take it step by step and point out just how it is being done.

Mr. WHITLEY. I don't want to limit you, Mr. Deatherage, but if you can make it briefer than 2 days, we would appreciate it.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have been assured that I will be offered an opportunity to offer my evidence of this situation before the committee, and at that time it is rather an extensive and complex subject; it takes certain documentation: I don't want to make statements that I can't support with documentation. The documentation which will be necessary to support my evidence—I have got about 2 tons of it in boxes, and I have got it where I can have a truck into it in 5 minutes on a telephone call and spread out here, and I could take you step by step and show you the whole situation, names of individuals, organizations, methods of financing, documentation, photostats of this and that and the other thing, which support it all.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Deatherage, realizing as you do that this committee is desirous of getting all of the facts in connection with subversive activities, but also realizing that this committee is not going

to smear people by having their names appear, would it be agreeable to you to submit these documents you have to our counsel and go over them with him and then put in the record such as you can substantiate?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I certainly am in agreement with doing that, but the only obstacle is that I have to earn a living. I haven't the money to bear the expense of compiling it and to get it into shape.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Well, we will take care of that, if you have got it.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have got it.

Mr. DEMPSEY. All we ask you to do—

Mr. DEATHERAGE (interposing). I will turn myself right over to the committee and every bit of documentation which I have.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You can see why, in an open meeting, this committee would not accept all these statements and put them in the record.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I appreciate that; yes, sir.

Mr. DEMPSEY. And the other would be agreeable to you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir; I will help the committee in any way I can.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is your evidence, in Atlanta?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; in the hills of West Virginia, where nobody can find it except myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we will be very glad to have our investigators and attorney go over every bit of the evidence you have and any reliable evidence that you have got, it doesn't make any difference to us who is affected. This is not a partisan committee and we don't care who is affected. We want the truth and if it is the truth it doesn't make any difference to us who is involved in any disclosure, if the facts will back it up. So we will certainly see that all the information you have is checked over carefully by our investigators and attorneys, followed out and ascertained if there is foundation for it, and if there is, regardless of who is involved, it will be used by this committee.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I might add that I am of a very studious nature and I have tried to be exact. I think I am in touch with sources of information all over the United States where I can get you anything you want. If I don't actually have certain photostats, I can get them, or know where to get them, but the whole object, the whole thing against that in the past, to me, has been the fact that nickels and dimes from working men and myself are the only money we have ever had.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Deatherage, you have studied the Communist very carefully, haven't you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the difference in the way in which they work and the way in which your organization and similar organizations to yours work?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well—

The CHAIRMAN. You keep your membership lists secret, you say that you are under oath that you can't divulge them—the Communists join under fictitious names and they have no lists—so in that respect you are similar?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, there is a good reason for that, Mr. Chairman. I was fired from a job that I worked 25 years to get, where I made \$10,000 a year, because I had entered into this fight. The

Carbide & Carbon Chemical Co. said to me, "You either stop fighting this thing or you are out.

The CHAIRMAN. And you felt embittered about that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I did not feel embittered about it, they had that privilege because I realized their connections, but when they started to boycott me, to prevent me from getting a position any place else, that was why I became embittered.

The CHAIRMAN. What I am trying to get at, you see, here is your movement and here is the Communist movement; now when we put them both side by side, what do we find? Both of you keep your membership lists secret. You say that the other side is going to start war, and, therefore, it is necessary for you to have trained men to get ready. That is their strength, they have a vanguard, a trained leadership, and penetrate other organizations, set up front organizations. Do you undertake to do that, too?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I have been inside the Communist Party to find out what they are doing, sure.

The CHAIRMAN. You have gotten inside their party? Is it your idea to go into patriotic organizations, as the Communists go into the labor movement—do you have the same strategy?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; we don't, we try to convert them to our point of view, but make no attempt at penetration.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you destroy your files or are you frank and willing for the committee to see everything that you have? The reason that I ask that is because you have been very frank in your testimony before this committee. Do you have all your files, letters, written by you to people, and letters you have received?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. All the letters?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I burn them up.

The CHAIRMAN. You run right into the same strategy the Communists use—they burn theirs.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I was smeared in Life magazine just recently, a lot of lies, and the basis of those lies was Mr. Metcalfe who worked for this committee, who distorted his testimony, and who I want to have an opportunity to explain what he did down there to me.

All right, there was a man by the name of Mills, from Sedalia, Mo., who wrote a letter to Life, and they published it, in which it said that "Thank God for men like Deatherage and Winrod", and things like that. Immediately that was published, he was threatened with his life. One fellow said, "I have got two automatics, and I am going to use them on you".

He is a doctor. They came down and tore the sign from his house. They busted his windows, they abused him in every possible way.

Well now, I am not fair to my membership if I got a man that is, say, working on W. P. A., and who can't get his job unless he got it through the Workers Alliance, he is out if they don't o. k. him—well, am I going to take the bread out of his mouth, which is what will happen if I let his name out, and that will keep his children from eating. I can't do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the Communists have always advocated the overthrow of the Government by force and violence, haven't they?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Hasn't the application of force and the achievement of their objectives, been one of their time-honored or ancient beliefs?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you express practically the same view when you say, "if necessary apply force"?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I don't; I don't mean that; I mean that I am going to apply force in defense, in self-defense.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what are the circumstances that would lead you to believe that you were justified in acting for defense; would you wait until there was an armed insurrection in the United States?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You would wait until the leftist group actually took the field before you would advocate the use of force to repel them?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right; exactly.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Deatherage, do you mean to say that before a man can get a job, a relief job, on W. P. A., he must be certified by the Workers Alliance?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't say that that is true 100 percent, but it is true in the majority of cases.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Well, when you say the majority of cases, are you referring to certain States, certain localities? You certainly don't mean throughout the Nation?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I mean throughout the Nation; that the influence of the Workers Alliance is such that if one of my members is known as an extreme rightist and in opposition to their policy, he isn't going to last any time; he is out.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that based on definite evidence that you have got?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir; and definite evidence which I think you have got.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you consider the Workers Alliance as controlled by the Communist Party?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You think that it is a front for the Communist Party?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you got any evidence to show that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. It depends on what you call evidence. Certainly Benjamin is a member of the Communist Party; he is a leader; he admits it before this committee. All the actions of Dave Lasser are indicative of the same thing.

Mr. DEMPSEY. How many States do you have information about, Mr. Deatherage, with reference to the Workers Alliance; do you have anything about in New Mexico?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I couldn't tell you without checking into it.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Deatherage, I have had a great many people that I know that have had to get W. P. A. jobs, I suppose thousands of people. I never ran into anything like that in my life.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, we can give you some evidence on it; put it in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. You are willing to furnish this committee with evidence to that effect?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What other Communist front organization have you run into; do you have any evidence on the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; we have plenty on that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you consider that a front organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; I do.

The CHAIRMAN. What evidence do you have showing that fact?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I have their own publications, their own rosters, and a great deal of information that is indicative of that fact.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do you ever take into account the action of these organizations; that sometimes speaks, too, doesn't it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And the League for Peace and Democracy—their action hasn't convinced you of that, has it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, if you know the Communist activities, you know that their basis of operations is setting up fronts in which they deny any affiliation.

To get actually right down—as Mr. Matthews, I believe, here testified—that he got Mr. Browder, come over there and gave him the money, to get the numbers of the bills and the date on which the bills were passed, and all that sort of thing, is a difficult matter for us. That is a job for an outfit such as this committee.

Mr. VOORHIS. But, Mr. Deatherage, you realize, I suppose, in view of the study you have made of this question, that whereas once the Communists did openly advocate a revolution by force, that they now on the whole deny that, and they say practically the same thing that you say—that they believe that someone else is going to start something and that they are going to have to defend themselves. In other words, they say almost exactly the same thing you do about just how this violence is going to take place. Now, do you think that is true or not?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I say that in all of my study of the Communist activities in Europe, that their tactics never change; they always go the same way. You can see 6 months in advance just exactly what they are going to do.

Mr. VOORHIS. I am trying to see whether we can tell 6 months in advance what anybody else is going to do or not.

The thing that I am impressed with, and that has been brought out already in the testimony here, is the fact that there may be the great mass of American people here in the middle who are going to be caught between two conflicting kinds of propaganda, each of which denies that, so far as the people giving it out themselves are concerned, that they have any intention of using violence in an attempt to change our form of government; but where the effect of such propoganda is constantly and always to divide the people who really believe in democracy, in the middle, into two conflicting groups, then I think this committee is concerned about that situation very deeply.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, they may be concerned, Mr. Congressman; but how can they prevent it?

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, we think maybe we can help to prevent it by bringing out the facts regarding these matters; that is the only function that this committee has.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I say if they are published in the press and the press is not distorted and the truth is told, if they didn't suppress the news the American people would settle this proposition for themselves.

Mr. VOORHIS. But you see the committee's problem arises where you have a group of people who say that they are not interested in anything of a violent nature, and then you say—well, a particular organization or a group really is; they are lying to you—don't you see?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, then, on the other hand, it seems to me that you have told us almost the same sort of thing that some of the other people on the other extreme might have said—namely, that you don't want violence; you are not interested in it, but you are going to be prepared for it if it comes; and don't you think that the more influence you can bring to bear upon the people of this country to make them think that a resort to violence is going to be necessary that the more likely the more danger there is of it actually taking place? Don't you think that is a pretty dangerous sort of a thing to say?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, there is some logic, I admit, in your statement, but I have back in my mind a situation that you had in Spain. Now, the people let this thing go, and they let it go, and they let it go, and finally it got in such a position that there wasn't anything else to do but cut each others' throats.

Now, how did that come about? It came about through apathy, distortion, and suppression of the news, and people believing, "Well, it can't happen here." They let the thing ride. Now, how can you get it out?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Deatherage, you made a very careful study of communistic activities in this country over the past 5 years?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I have a fairly decent knowledge of it, I think. I think there are other men who know more about it than I do. I have made enough study of it that I know what the objectives are.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that directly and indirectly they have many people lined up with them?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, they have a fairly large membership; I think you have gone into that in your testimony here, but that isn't the danger in this country. The danger here is from the liberal, the fellow who calls himself a liberal.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. The fellow traveler. For every Communist there are about 25 or 30 fellows more or less sympathetic with him, and they pave the way; they did it in Russia and have done it in every nation; and then the poor suckers were caught between two fires.

I will give you an example of that. A newspaperman came to me in St. Albans by the name of Ray Tozer, of the Kansas City Star and the Post, and I had an interview with him; and we got to talking about what was going to happen, and he said to me, "I don't think I have got very long to live."

I said, "Is that so; what makes you believe that?"

"Well," he said, "I am a liberal writer, and I know that both sides have got me listed, and they will liquidate me. The fact of the matter is that Saltzman, the district organizer, told me that I was one of the first guys they were going to bump off when this thing started."

Mr. VOORHIS. It happens that I talked with the same gentleman, and he told me that you told him that you felt the same way about him; is that right?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Let me get to that. I was going to bring that out. So I said to him, "All right, suppose you had a revolution started in this country and there was internal conflict, you had a break down of constitutional law, and it was every man for himself, like it is over in Spain. We are assuming that situation, that it has broken down." I said, "I have no respect for you; I have got respect for the man—even if he is a Communist—who will stand up and fight for his principles, but if he hasn't got guts enough to stand up for the things he is trying to do, I have no respect for him, and I have no respect for you, and if there is a break down in constitutional law in this country, and it is every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost, I would take you and put you behind a barbed-wire fence and give you a drumhead court martial, and you wouldn't last longer than it took you to pull the hat off your head."

The CHAIRMAN. Isn't it conceivable that some people, in fighting for their principles, may want to fight simply just for democracy and justice and decency? What are you going to do with the people who want to fight for that. Is it necessary that they must fight on one extreme or the other in order to fight for something?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Getting away from theory and ideals and possibilities, and dealing only with practicabilities, you had a situation in Spain exactly that way. The fellow was told that every man up to 30 should be in the trenches tomorrow morning at 7 o'clock to be shot. Franco did the same thing. The Communists or Loyalists, or whatever you call them, did the same thing. They were the people who were in the middle.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right; but there was a long background of propaganda behind that, it seems to me, and I am concerned lest the continuous hammering away at the fact that the people have got to choose sides, they have got to go to one extreme or the other, will lead to the very thing which you profess not to want but for which you prepare?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I say this: There is no necessity for either side—I mean it is coming to pass—if we can awaken the American people to facts and what is going on, and get rid of their apathy and let them stand up and be——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). But isn't the thing that we have to awaken them to, Mr. Deatherage, a vigorous employment of constitutional democracy rather than to awaken them to a hatred of a certain group of people or to the idea that they must prepare and arm themselves for conflict?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I don't like the word "democracy" because the Communists use it so much.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think that the history of Europe has shown pretty clearly that one brand of hatred always begets another brand, and we will start out, for instance, with class hatred when you hate people because they happen to have a little more property than other people. And you start promoting that kind of bigotry all over the country, and that soon goes to religious and racial hatred, and

finally the whole country is split into two armed camps and is destroyed through that hatred; isn't that true?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Sure.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think that the man who is promoting one brand of hatred is just as bad as the man who is promoting another? What is the difference between picking out a business group, let us say, and condemning them, saying that they are all pirates, blood-suckers, they are no good—what is the difference between doing that and picking out a religious group and saying that they are no good? Isn't the same principle involved in both cases?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Absolutely, in that illustration.

The CHAIRMAN. If a man is going to be tolerant, he has got to be tolerant with respect to all groups?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And isn't it true that we have in this country to a large extent men tolerant in one direction but very intolerant in another?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, here is the reason for that, and it is recognized by Communists as well as ourselves.

In the first place, take the 2,000,000 men in the United States Army during the war. Their I. Q. was around 12 to 14—14 years of age. Those are facts. Now, those men have no understanding of things by reason, they act by emotion.

Now, I can get up in my post, I have got 200 men, and I can take any concrete example or piece of legislation or anything else, and I can talk to them until I am deaf. All right, now they can listen to me for an hour, they don't get that, and then they break up, they go downstairs and each one of them will maybe get four or five beers, and then all they want is trouble, they want action, they want to break somebody's windows or shoot somebody, and especially that bunch of wild mountaineers. The biggest trouble is to keep them under blankets.

You see what I mean, they can't reason, and they can't reason because they don't have the intelligence to reason and be tolerant.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, of course that gets back to the very point that I am saying, that there would be no such thing as tolerance in this country unless it is applied impartially with respect to every group, isn't that right?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the difference, if you pick out a race, no matter what the race is, the German race, the Italian race, or the Jewish, and condemn them; start out with a big anti-Italian or anti-German campaign—aren't you violating the very basic principles upon which the Republic is established?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And don't you think further, if you step in the other direction, the Communist direction and radical direction, and say that you are going to condemn, say, all the business people in the country, they are all scoundrels, aren't you guilty of the same amount of intolerance?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. And in the end you are promoting hatred in the country just like they did in Russia and Germany and Italy, that is

all it was in Germany, isn't it, didn't they promote it merely as a means of establishing dictatorship?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, that came about, of course, in a gradual way.

The CHAIRMAN. But that was what enabled Hitler to bring his followers together, wasn't it, it was the appeal to their prejudice that was in their bosoms, wasn't it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I wouldn't say that in the beginning. I have a copy of Hitler's original program that he printed in Munich in 1922.

The CHAIRMAN. The German Workers Party?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; and there is nothing anti-Jew in it in any place.

The CHAIRMAN. What actually brought him the followers, brought the people flocking to him, was the feeling of hatred that spread over Germany, wasn't it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I would agree with you.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't think that had anything to do with it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. The anti-Jew movement in Germany was isolated to two or three political parties, it wasn't widespread over the populace.

The CHAIRMAN. Not only anti-Jew but antibusiness or anti anything else, hasn't that been almost the universal history of all these countries that have gone into dictatorship? Take Russia, didn't they propagandize constantly against a class of people, treating them as a class, not recognizing the good ones from the bad ones, but condemning the whole class? Wasn't that spirit of promotion of that responsible for the success of the Communist Party which numbered less than 1 percent of the population of Russia?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Oh, yes; that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, on the other hand, Germany used hatred just in a different form, in a different brand, isn't that a fact?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, that came about in the later stages, it wasn't in the beginning.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, whether it came about first or last, won't you agree that the first preparation to make for dictatorship is the promotion of hatred, whatever form it assumes? You never heard of a dictator rising to power through messages of love and understanding, did you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, no; I would say no. Jesus Christ has been trying to do that for 2,000 years and he hasn't gotten away with it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Continuing this letter:

Of course, that business of resigning cannot be suggested by the General, but it might be done through other sources with which you have contact.

That is the business of the men in the Reserve officers' association or the active service units possibly resigning to go through with this organization that you and the General were discussing?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, that was my suggestion to Campbell. I never discussed that with the General.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing).

You will note from the General's speech, a copy of which was sent you, that the plan is to do this job peacefully, and by force if that becomes necessary.

The job being to set up this Nation-wide organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; whose purpose is the retention of the ideals upon which this Republic was founded.

The CHAIRMAN. Right at that point, if I may interrupt?

Don't you believe that our whole democratic Government rests upon one thing, and that is the protection of the fundamental rights of each individual in the country, regardless of his race or religion or economic condition? Don't you think that each man, no matter how humble he is or what his race is, has certain fundamental rights guaranteed to him by the Constitution?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you agree that if you take away the rights from any individual on any excuse, on any ground whatever, you take away those fundamental rights, you have dealt a serious blow to the whole system of the Government we have?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I will agree with that.

The CHAIRMAN. And won't you agree that if you begin to make a distinction, it isn't a question of this race or that race, it comes to a question of the fundamentals? If you begin to make a distinction, saying that one man shall enjoy his fundamental rights, but another shall not, on account of his race, color, creed, or economic conditions, then you are destroying the whole basis upon which our system of government is based; isn't that right?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I would only make one dissention, in that you have an Asiatic exclusion law.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a matter of immigration. We have a right to keep out people altogether if we want to. I am talking about those citizens in the United States who have the protection of the Constitution. You are bound to concede that each individual, whether he is a Jew or a Gentile or a Catholic or a Protestant or what not, must be, if he is an American citizen, protected in the enjoyment of his fundamental rights, the same as everyone else, isn't that right?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right, except I am bigoted enough to believe in white supremacy in the South.

The CHAIRMAN. With that exception you agree with the statement?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Then what do you mean when you make generalities like anti-Jewish or anti this or that—aren't you classifying, aren't you grouping without saying which one is the one to blame, naming them, don't you think it is better to condemn a man on account of his misdeeds, rather than upon the race to which he belongs?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; I would say so.

The CHAIRMAN. Wouldn't it be better now—you are talking very frankly to this committee—wouldn't it be better, if you have some evidence against a man, regardless of whether he is a Jew or a Gentile, or who he is, if he is a bad man and has done something wrong, then name the man? Wouldn't that be a better way of proceeding in any case?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right; but if you are trying to pin me down—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I am not trying to pin you down.

Mr. DEATHFRAGE. Here is what I mean. If you want an explanation of this Jewish question as I see it, I can give that to you. What we mean when we say the Jewish question——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I am now asking you if you agree with the statements that I made, that each man ought to be judged by his own conduct?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the only American way, isn't it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And on any other basis this country will fall; isn't that right?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I agree with you 100 percent.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

You will note from the general's speech, a copy of which was sent you, that the plan is to do this job peacefully, and by force if that becomes necessary.

That sentence implies to me the suggestion of aggressive force, Mr. Deatherage. Did you mean that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. You ask General Moseley what he meant. He said that publicly in a speech. He is going to testify, and I would rather he would say himself.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

He will go through if it takes everything that he has. He does not yet quite realize the tremendous forces that are against him, but after his speech in New York on the same platform with Father Coughlin, he will be attacked from every quarter, this alone showing him the strength of the enemy.

Did he make that speech from the platform with Father Coughlin?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; he did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Why didn't he do that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I couldn't tell you.

Mr. WHITLEY. He had planned to make the speech?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. There were some preliminary plans made, and I don't know why they fell through. You can ask him that.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

I suggest to you that in your spare time you make a list of leaders in the Nation that you are sure of, that this might be presented to the General when the time is ripe.

By that you mean when the time is ripe for the organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. The time is ripe for me to say, "Well, here are some fellows that you can depend on."

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

I will do the same, and between the three of us we can decide on them.

Especially in the preliminary plans for this Nation-wide organization you, at least, were planning for you and the General and Mr. Campbell to work out the preliminary details and plans?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I will answer that this way. The General had no knowledge, or practically no knowledge, at the time I first contacted him, of the type, number, and extent and power and trustworthiness of any organizations in the United States. He thought that if an organization was a patriotic organization, that they were all fine, O. K., and that everything was lovely. And I took it on myself as my responsibility to get a hold of Campbell because I knew of his past experience and because, in spite of all the things

that he had done, which in a minor way I didn't agree with, substantially he and I agreed, and we thought, or I thought, that I could get Campbell there and we could present this thing to the General and naturally the human element came into it that I would try to convince him to my way of thinking.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, the general didn't realize that some of these groups, at least, had unworthy motives or possibly financial objectives?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well—and then some of them were violently on the racial prejudice side, which I knew he wouldn't agree with. I knew he wouldn't agree with the policies of a great many of them. As a matter of fact, the way it has turned out all the advice that I have given to the general he has absorbed it like a blotter and said nothing. What he thinks today I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing). Mr. Deatherage:

I am sure that he will not select them until we have a chance to put the old G-2 on them.

That means to check up on them, investigate them?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Intelligence; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

Right after the first of the year it is intention to call a small conference, say about 25, in some place as Chicago, quietly, and discuss the matter of what we are going to do about this thing.

Now, you say "right after the first of the year." This letter was written in December 1938. Was this Chicago plan that you suggested here anything to do with the conference which was actually held in Chicago the early part of 1939?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Absolutely not; that conference that I suggested was to take leaders from agriculture, from the labor unions, from all classes of life, to make up their program.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

These will not be the organization leaders, but leaders of the main groups throughout the Nation—Father Coughlin, ———, ———, ——— of the ———, ——— of the ———, as well as other veteran leaders, ——— of the ———, ——— of the ——— (names and connections omitted at the direction of the chairman)—in all, men who are heads of large groups on our side of the fence. Out of that will come only a program—the rest we will do on the basis of what the general thinks can be done at the moment. Then he will get the temper of these men.

The idea you had in mind in suggesting this conference was to give the General a chance to look over these leaders whom you were going to suggest be present?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. The idea was that, of course, he would get acquainted with them, and get their viewpoint, and they would make up a program, I mean not accept my program, but make a program of their own.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

In my opinion—he will find most of them pussyfooting the issue, and that it will end in his having to take the bull by the horns, and go to town on his own. However, you could not convince him of that now—he will have to go through with it himself.

I will send you the list when it is decided on, so that you can tell him what you know about each one—qualifying them as far as we can before they are brought in.

It was just a coincidence, in other words, Mr. Deatherage, that you suggested this Chicago conference in your letter to Mr. Campbell in December 1938, and that such a conference was actually held, or a similar conference at least, in January 1939?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; they had absolutely no connection.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was just a coincidence?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

About your G2 reports.

Are you referring to the music scores?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

I necessarily do not wish to know your source—but if we are to act on that information, we must be certain for the General's sake that we are right and do not slip. If you are absolutely certain that none of this is rumor—that he is safe on proceeding on that information, that is all that we need to know. You realize what would happen to our standing if we went ahead and then found that we were barking up the wrong tree. It would discredit the General nationally, and ruin us as well. Facts should be established as facts—and if rumors, we should qualify them as such—stating that they need confirmation. In the past it did not make a great deal of difference—now it may be life or death to the movement, and possibly the people in it.

You state there that in the past the verification of facts or the basing of statements or actions on evidence, didn't make so much difference, but that the situation is different now. What caused that change whereby you had to support your statements by evidence, and not just base them on rumor or hearsay?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I meant by that that all of the organizations in the United States put out information and certainly it wasn't important for us to take it upon ourselves to prove that what they were putting out was true, but if they were affiliated with the organization, those facts had to be facts, and not rumor.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, in the past you have just accepted the information or the literature that was sent out by these other groups without attempting to check it or question it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Absolutely not, when I put anything down I am going to be fairly certain in my own opinion, as certain as I can, that those things are true, but I am not going to take it upon myself to get after Mr. Pelley and say to Mr. Pelley, "Now this thing is all wrong and is haywire," because I wouldn't have the time to do it, and it is not my business. They would resent it.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

We are interested in this fellow Dies for instance. I believe that he is wrong, for he is attempting the old smear—refusing to give me a chance on the stand, or anyone else that he feels will bring this thing out in the open. We need to get him and get him right.

Would you like to enlarge on that statement?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I wrote my first letter to this committee on June 14, 1938, in which I requested an opportunity to appear, and said I would offer my services. I wrote them 8 or 10 different other times, the copies of the correspondence being in my files. I never got replies. I sent in evidence to the committee just to see what they would do with it. I never got any acknowledgment. I never got it back. I tried rough-shod tactics, to get a little tough, to see if I could make

them mad enough to call me on the stand, and finally I resorted to the age-old method of slapping Mr. Dies with a personal telegram, and the background of that was to see if I could get him red behind the ears so that he would call me on the stand. And what I refer to is, in all seriousness, organizations which were called in your reports and testified, or were stated in the press—whether Mr. Dies actually said that most of them were rackets, and I personally know that they were absolutely Christian gentlemen, who sacrificed their homes, resources, funds, and fortunes and everything else, and due to the fact that they weren't called in their own defense and all that information was put out against them, men lost their jobs, they lost confidence and lost everything.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you yourself condemn some of these organizations in your letters here, you said that they weren't any good?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I mean——

Mr. DEATHERAGE (interposing). I never condemned them as rackets.

The CHAIRMAN. You condemn them in just about as strong language; didn't you warn about certain men in these movements?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you are very frank about this, isn't it a fact that you have come in contact with a good many of these fellows that you really believe are in this thing purely for what money they can get out of it, don't you really think that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I really wouldn't say that I could name two organizations in the United States——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Why did you condemn these various ones in your letters?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Because they were hooked up underground with the Communist Party, with the enemy.

The CHAIRMAN. If you condemn them, now you are objecting that we condemn them, and you are criticizing us for condemning them, people you have condemned, many of them.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I condemn you, Mr. Dies, because you didn't give them an opportunity to defend themselves. When you charge a man with a thing publicly, the first thing is to give him an opportunity to get on the stand and say it is true or it isn't.

The CHAIRMAN. They are all going to have ample opportunity to appear here.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I hope they are.

The CHAIRMAN. You see we run into a situation, for instance, such as this. We wired General Moseley promptly. We didn't bring his name in. The correspondence brought his name into the picture. We wired him promptly to come here and testify if he desired to be heard in order to accord him an opportunity to answer this.

Now the General says that he is in Atlanta and he won't show up this week. Well, manifestly this committee can't sit around here and wait for his convenience. We offered many people an opportunity to be here, and they refused to be heard, so that you will find that while there may be instances here and there of those who are willing to come with clean hands and be frank about this thing, you will find that we will run into the same difficulty that we have to slap a subpoena on them and compel them to come here; they are not anxious to be heard. I

don't say that in your case because you manifested a prompt attitude to be heard when we wired you this time, but I merely cite General Moseley's case to you to show the situation that plans had been made to hear him this week, he is in Atlanta and has had ample opportunity to come here. We are not going to sit around here indefinitely to hear him, although we are going to hear him before this thing concludes; that is, before the investigation concludes, and it is our purpose to hear everyone that has any material information.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Deatherage, in order to clear the record, you stated a moment ago that your correspondence or your letters to the committee last summer or last fall were never acknowledged, that you never heard anything at all from the committee.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I think I had one letter; I have the file here.

Mr. WHITLEY. I was just going to read you a copy of a letter dated June 18, which was addressed to you by the committee:

MY DEAR MR. DEATHERAGE: This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 14, to Mr. Dickstein, who has nothing to do with our committee, he is not a member and he is not identified with it. We are going to make a thorough and complete investigation of all subversive activities in the United States, including communism. Communism is, of course, one of the phases of our investigation. I will welcome any information that you can furnish the committee.

Sincerely yours,

So that you have to qualify your statement, Mr. Deatherage, that the committee completely ignored your request?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Except that one letter; and I followed that up immediately and said that I would be glad to do this or that to help the committee; and then I followed it by a request to appear, and I never got any answer.

Mr. WHITLEY. The fact remains that you are here?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Oh, yes; I am here all right.

Mr. WHITLEY. And have an opportunity to express yourself?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; but I regret that I had to take the steps that I thought were necessary to get myself here.

Mr. WHITLEY. Continuing, Mr. Deatherage:

Any information that you have—send it direct to the general, and if he feels that he wants to show it to me, he will do so.

Mike will not be in the picture. He cannot be trusted in this work—for he is the type of an Irishman that would do almost anything for money.

You have already identified Mike, I believe, as Mike Ahern?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

No soap as far as I am concerned. Kelly is taking an active part in New York and is hooked up with a half dozen outfits.

I believe you have also identified Kelly for us?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

I wish you would confirm to the general—what you know about him. Major G in Huntington has already done so. We must not let that fellow near him, as I see it.

Who is Major G in Huntington?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Major Griffith, a Reserve officer.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you had contacts or have you cooperated with him?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Only about 3 years ago when he was in charge of subversive activities for the Reserve officers I gave him information, and the disposition of that information I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

Regarding your questions. It is true that Hull's wife is Jewish and that she has a family connection with Kuhn-Loeb. I have her record at home.

I do not know anything much of Landon's connections, except in a general way—that he and the Jews combined to lick Winrod, and that he is out. M has no use for him.

You are referring to the campaign out there in which Winrod was defeated, in Kansas?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

Don't know anything about White intimately, except that he is a pal of the Jews and is thoroughly wrong. Winrod can tell us in detail about both of them.

I believe, as you do, that it will take military action to get this gang out, and the organization must be built around a propaganda organization now that can in a few hours be turned into a militant fighting force. That's the idea of the boss also—but must be kept on the Q T.

By the "boss" you mean General Moseley?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you would build up this Nation-wide propaganda machine that can be turned overnight into a military organization if necessary?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

As far as the program is concerned, that is something else. We do not need fascism or nazi-ism, that is true; but to my mind we will have fascism—call it what you may—for there can be no solution to this except a disciplined force under central leadership and an economic program that will put these millions back to work and keep them there.

So you are saying that while we can't have fascism or nazi-ism as such, in effect we have got to have the same thing, central control, to handle this situation?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; extreme nationalism.

Mr. WHITLEY. Extreme nationalism?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you prefer to call it that instead of putting the label of nazi-ism or fascism on it, but in effect it is the same type of an operation?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, when I say "fascism" or "nazi-ism," I don't refer to it in the colloquial way as the press does, branding every crackpot schemer in the world as a Fascist or a Nazi, but it is a corporate state—for instance, it is more or less the guild system, as advocated by the Catholic action.

The CHAIRMAN. You are in favor of that, are you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I am in favor of that as an antidote, as a last resort, between that and communism.

The CHAIRMAN. How does that read?

Mr. WHITLEY (reading):

As far as the program is concerned, that is something else. We do not need fascism or nazi-ism, that is true—but to my mind we will have fascism, call it what you may—

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you are saying there that in your opinion we are going to have fascism in the United States?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I say you don't need it, but in my opinion that is what you are going to come to, not because you want it but because you can't help it.

The CHAIRMAN. Now in that connection, what is the explanation of your conduct? I mean, here you issue certain pamphlets, and make certain statements, and you attack people of a certain race, we will say. Mr. Campbell did the same thing. Mr. Gilbert did the same thing. We find expressions from all of you in which you either sympathize with fascism or you predict that fascism is inevitable. What is the tie-up between the mental attitude of this thing? Doesn't that indicate to you that this racial prejudice that I have been talking about inevitably leads to some form of fascism?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I wouldn't say that, Mr. Dies; I would say that the idea of communism, the acceptance of it, and the planned program for turning this country into—it is my conviction that there is a planned program to turn this country into a soviet. Now, all of my statements are predicated on the fact that there is a program that is being undertaken.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean that the Communist Party and their allied groups and sympathizers would like to turn America into a soviet union. They admit that; there is no argument about that.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is what they are doing.

The CHAIRMAN. The point is that here you are on the other side. I want to be very fair with you. The explanation I am trying to get is that in every instance when you go into this thing, here was Mr. Campbell disseminating antiracial propaganda. Here was Mr. Gilbert participating. Here are you with statements in which you condemn people as a whole. You don't qualify it in your letters or various statements. We find all of you expressing, either admiration for Hitler or Mussolini or, in your case, predicting that fascism is inevitable. What is the explanation of this tie-up here, this thing of having the two linked together, the belief in fascism and then you have the antiracial feelings? Doesn't that indicate to you that what this stirring up of race strife or class hatred must inevitably lead to is dictatorship, if it continues unchecked and gains wide adherence throughout the country?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; and it also indicates that if the international Jewry doesn't stop what they did over in Europe—yes; it is no use denying, Mr. Dies, that the whole of Europe is torn asunder on the very issue, and to deny that the issue exists, certainly is not intelligent action on the part of any man. To deny that this country today—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Wherever the racial issue has arisen and become widespread, the result has been dictatorship, hasn't it, always?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Not only the Jews but the gentiles, the Catholics, and the Protestants, and everybody?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I admit that; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So what is to be gained by assuming that here is a minority over here and that you can go out by superior numbers and forcibly suppress them? All the other people are losing their liberty at the same time; they haven't gained anything. The same

oppressive laws apply to them. The point I am trying to drive over to you is this: In bringing these letters and in disseminating this different material and so on and so forth, speaking of Jewish wars and of this and that, don't you feel that you are, whether intentionally or not, that nevertheless you are aiding in the promotion of the very conditions in America which lead to dictatorship abroad, and don't you think that you are, we will say unintentionally, promoting one form of hatred, and here are the Communists, all busy promoting another brand, and the conflict develops between two brands of hatred?

MR. DEATHERAGE. What are we going to do, let the other fellow go and don't do anything?

THE CHAIRMAN. Don't you think if we remain faithful to our form of government, and the known principles of it, that that is the best answer for this whole thing? Why do you have to divide America into an armed camp, what is the necessity for taking sides?

MR. DEATHERAGE. We are forced to.

THE CHAIRMAN. Who is forcing you to do it?

MR. DEATHERAGE. Well, this is my opinion, whether you accept it as a fact or not, you have got the Communist movement all over the world, hooked up with the financing and leadership of international Jewry. That is a fact which I can establish and I believe—if you will let me finish, please—you have got in this country the very same conditions you have in every country where it has ended up in a proletarian government. Now if we know that this administration, the bureaus in this administration, and a good deal of this evidence has come out in your own reports—and we do know this—are infiltrated with this thing, and the same methods and tactics that were used abroad, if I have any intelligence and if I can recognize the same thing that happened in other places, I look forward and forecast in my own mind what is going to happen in this country, and I say what is going to happen I don't want.

THE CHAIRMAN. Don't you see here is what I am trying to impress on you? The thing that astounds me is so many people believing the very way you are talking, as reflected by, we will say, the mail I got here this morning. Now you are helping to spread this, you say you are sincere. We will assume that you are, because you have been frank with the committee. But don't you see that what you and others are doing in assuming that you are absolutely sincere, that you want to combat communism, and we are all just as anxious about it as you are, or anyone else, but assuming that you are sincere, you are spreading information that is causing many people to believe it, and if it goes far enough, if people in this country are actually convinced that here is a race of people who are controlling America and trying to absolutely destroy our freedom, then you are going to rush headlong into the same situation that Europe is in, and you will not gain from it, you will become a slave like everybody else will be, you won't be in any more advantageous position than the Jew will or the Catholic will or anybody else, because in Germany everyone has to obey the dictator.

MR. DEATHERAGE. Well, that may be true; we have a difference of opinion as to what is going on, and what the inevitable result is going to be. There is this certainty, that we can't deny the fact that this country right now, underground, is on fire.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think that we have got a form of government that is infinitely superior to fascism or communism?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the necessity of making an issue between the Communists on the one hand and the Fascists on the other? Why don't you keep your issue, the issue between fundamental Americanism, based upon tolerance, and the known principles that have come down to us, and all other forms? Why come in here and say that the inevitable issue must be fascism?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Because I believe that the present administration is communistically inclined, and is heading in that direction.

The CHAIRMAN. That is just an opinion of yours. Assuming that you do believe that, where are you gaining anything by disseminating this dynamite, we may say, because it is, and you reach many people who believe it, they see this thing and they think that it is about to happen, and you get everybody in a feverish state of mind, and you are liable to bring on the same situation in this country that was brought on abroad, if we don't have enough intelligent people to resist it.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Deatherage, you said awhile ago, you made a statement that made a great appeal to me, you said that you didn't care what was done in this country so long as it was done by constitutional methods, by the people's use of the ballot, and that if, by means of our American constitutional methods, even if some results, we will say in the matter of economic policy, that you didn't like, were achieved, that you would be perfectly willing to accept that because that was part of our form of government. Am I quoting you correctly?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. You said that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I did.

Mr. VOORHIS. A minute ago you made a statement that to my mind is ridiculous, but never mind that, you said you thought that the present administration was communistically inclined. It was certainly democratically elected, wasn't it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right, and I voted for Mr. Roosevelt myself in 1932.

Mr. VOORHIS. You wouldn't propose to combat that administration or any other Democratic administration, Democratic or Republican, or any other kind, that you didn't like, by any methods except ordinarily accepted political methods, would you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I would combat the situation by any means within my power as an individual American citizen and under the law, but if I vote for a man on a platform and he turns right around and repudiates it, then I am not going to stick with him.

Mr. VOORHIS. But I mean—I might say the same thing, but if I did I wouldn't mean that I was going to go out and try to start a movement that was going to be looking forward to fascism in America. If I said I wasn't going to stick with him I would mean that I was going to try to get him defeated in the future, or something like that, is that what you would mean?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. If I felt that if the changes that were being enacted and the things in my forecast of what was going to happen would only result in a peaceful social revolution, even though it

repudiated the platform on which I voted, I would say all right, but my practical nature tells me that this sort of thing has always ended in disorder and violence.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you have no faith in our democratic processes through the ballot?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Then why do you say that your practical experience has shown you that you can never solve these things through the ballot? That is in effect the substance of your statement. You say your practical experience shows you that these things always have to be solved by force by revolutionary movements.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now this letter from which I have been reading, you recognize this as your letter, and identify it, do you not? Do you want to look at it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I will accept it, I remember enough about it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are there any other letters you want to be identified for the record?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I think they have all been identified properly.

Mr. WHITLEY. I won't read the rest of this letter, there are a few more pages, but I think we have covered the principal portions of it, Mr. Deatherage.

I want to ask you about the American Nationalist Confederation, when was that formed, or organized, and by whom?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That was organized last year, I don't remember just when, by myself.

Mr. WHITLEY. By yourself?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it a corporation?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you the head of the organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Such organization as it is, it is a letterhead organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is a letterhead organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are described as the president, I believe, of that organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. The headquarters of the organization are at St. Albans, W. Va.?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; that is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have any local chapters or any individual membership?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; the structure of that organization was built for a purpose, for the purpose of establishing liaison between different other organizations in the United States which might have the same objectives.

In other words, what I had in mind, if you will give me time to explain it, was just this. I knew that the time was going to come when the question of national organization was going to be discussed, or the time was going to be ripe for it. I decided that I would start this organization and attempt to bring into the American Nationalist Confederation as many organizations as I could to see what the objections would be, to see what the answers of these fellows would be as to why they didn't want to come in, or as to why they wouldn't

join, because of certain reasons, certain definite reasons, or, "I don't like this fellow" or "I don't like his policy."

So that, when the time was ripe for a real national organization, and we had a conference and some of the delegates would say, "We are going to do so and so, and this is the policy we will follow to get the organization started," I would be able to tell them that a certain thing wouldn't work because I had already found out it wouldn't.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get a lot of these organizations interested in it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Not very many, they all had their own plans of this, that, and the other.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of them were interested in it, was Mr. Pelley's outfit interested?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Was George Christians'?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I wouldn't have anything to do with Christians.

The CHAIRMAN. Who all were?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. The interest never got to the point where we actually brought them in as an official liaison.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of them did actually come in?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. There wasn't any of them came in officially.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of them did you establish that liaison between?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I imagine 35 or 40.

The CHAIRMAN. Organizations?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You worked together?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you were "jumping the gun" on this confederation idea?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. You anticipated that sooner or later all of these various groups would join together in a federation, a Nation-wide organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. So you set up the American Nationalist Confederation to start getting these groups in?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Before someone else did that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is this the organization that you were trying to set up in your negotiations with General Moseley? Did you anticipate that he would take over the leadership of this organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; that never entered my mind. In fact, I advised General Moseley not to join any organization, head up any existing organization, or have anything to do with it.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you realized from your experience with your own confederation, or your own federation plan, that the best thing for him to do was to start a new organization, a new move for a federation, which he was to head?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right; go on his own.

The CHAIRMAN. But there were 35 or 40 organizations that were indirectly affiliated with the American Nationalist Confederation?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you tell us who those organizations were?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, there was the Militant Christian Patriots in Los Angeles, and the American Women Against Communism, and Pelley was more or less sympathetic, but there was no direct affiliation.

The CHAIRMAN. But you corresponded and exchanged information?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And sort of worked in sympathy?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us the next one. What about the bund; did the bund know about this?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. They knew about it, but I never made any attempt—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Did you correspond with them regarding it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they exchange correspondence or information with you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; the bund has always taken a very peculiar attitude with me.

The CHAIRMAN. Why?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. They seem to have the attitude that I didn't want to work with anybody.

The CHAIRMAN. Then the bund wasn't in it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us some more in that same category.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, there was Winrod in Kansas.

The CHAIRMAN. You corresponded with him?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And he knew about this movement?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And there was that sympathetic feeling there?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes. Well, it was hard to say how far their sympathy went. Of course, they had always worked with me because they believed in my integrity.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else besides Winrod?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I would have to get the list, but I can get it for you and put it in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. You will give us the list of the 35 or 40?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir; I will put it in the record.

Mr. VOORHIS. Was a man named Martin Luther Thomas connected with the Militant Christian Patriots?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I don't think he ever had anything to do with the Militant Christian Patriots, except that they used to attend these meetings, and I imagine they must have helped him or were sympathetic or something of the sort, but there is no official connection to my knowledge.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have a list here I am going to read of various individuals and organizations and get you to state, as I read them, whether you were in contact with them in connection with this American Nationalist Confederation?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. It is going to be difficult for me to be accurate in this, because I sent out a general letter, and it is awfully difficult.

Mr. WHITLEY. Some of them you will be sure of, and if there is any doubt you can qualify your answer.

Father Coughlin?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. George W. Christians? You have already stated you didn't contact him.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I am not certain; I think I might have, but I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Gerald Winrod. You stated you had contacted him.

William Dudley Pelley—you stated you had been in contact with him.

Charles B. Hudson, of the organization America in Danger?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Major Pease of the White Front?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. James True?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. F. W. Clark, of the National Liberty Party?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. The Nationalist Press Association?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I would say no.

Mr. WHITLEY. General Moseley?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. He had nothing to do with it, that was before he ever retired.

Mr. WHITLEY. E. N. Sanctuary?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Robert E. Edmondson?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. The German-American National Alliance?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't know them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you had any contact at all with that organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Not to my personal knowledge. If I have, it has been under some other name or the name of an individual.

Mr. WHITLEY. The organization known as the American-Ranger—did you have contact with them?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Martin Luther Thomas—I believe Congressman Voorhis asked you about that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Put a question mark after that, I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. The American Guard?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Hal Walton, of the Committee of Witnesses?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Henry Allen?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Stuart (X)?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. The Constitutional Crusaders of America?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Anna Bogenholm Sloane?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mrs. Jewett, of California?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is her group or organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. She hasn't any group or organization of her own. She works with the Militant Christian Patriots.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever sought any financing through her, sought to secure any financing through her?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. You mean by asking her for money?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir; I never asked her for a dime in my life.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is she on your mailing list?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, we had a falling out. She thinks that I am a bad boy.

Mr. WHITLEY. She is associated with or has contacts with a number of these organizations to your knowledge?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has she had any contact with General Moseley?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. He has been in touch with her?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. She has been in touch with him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Regarding this organization that you were discussing with him?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; she tried to run me out.

Mr. WHITLEY. Donald Shea, of the National Gentile League?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; I think so.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mrs. Fry, of the Christian Free Press?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. She was one of the group you contacted concerning this federation?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Oh yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, while there wasn't any definite affiliation, there was this exchange of letters between you and working together to some extent?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; not 100 percent, that is, we didn't agree on everybody's policy.

The CHAIRMAN. And you sent them your literature under the American Nationalist Confederation and wrote them under that letterhead?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Deatherage, what was the official emblem that you selected for the American Nationalist Confederation?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. The swastika.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was the emblem of the organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is on your letterhead?

The WITNESS. No; I don't believe it is on the letterhead, it never was on the letterhead.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you identify this as your letterhead?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; that isn't a letterhead, that is the first sheet from the bulletin we used to put out.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have it on your literature, then, if not on your letterheads?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; it was on the literature, but never on the letterheads.

Mr. WHITLEY. You state here in this bulletin, the mimeographed sheet which you put out under date of April 23, 1938:

Editorial. The meaning of the emblem, the swastika. This issue carries at the masthead our newly selected emblem, the swastika.

Why did you select that particular emblem for this federation that you were trying to organize or set up, Mr. Deatherage?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. It was done deliberately to direct at me all of the venom and abuse which I felt might be directed at me, with the idea that these fellows, as they always do, overdo themselves, if you give them enough rope; in order to identify my enemies, if I could put something out that could be shot at, that was the thing, and that was the reason it was done.

Mr. WHITLEY. On page 2 of this bulletin, which you just identified, you state as follows:

Fascism is defined as a patriotic revolt (such as of the White Russians) against Jewocracy (alias democracy) and a return of statesmanship. Fascist (or patriotic) rule insists upon the duty of cooperation.

Do you give that definition in conjunction with your emblem—this definition of fascism which you give in this bulletin which you sent out?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't quite understand that question.

Mr. WHITLEY. You define, undertake to define, fascism for the individuals or organizations to whom you sent this mimeographed bulletin. Do you submit that definition in conjunction with the emblem, the swastika?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. As I remember it, I took the definition out of the dictionary; that is what I used.

Mr. WHITLEY. On page 3 of that same bulletin you have a sub-heading captioned "Platform of the American Nationalist Confederation—a Fascist party."

Do you have any further explanation of that to make?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. About using the word "Fascist"?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Sure; it was done for the same purpose. In other words, here was the idea: This American Nationalist Confederation business was all set up for a purpose, and the purpose was to see who we could get together, on what basis we could get together, and I made up a platform into which I put all of the possible things that might come up. Some of them were, to my point of view, very radical; but, on the other hand, I knew they would be issues which would be taken up eventually. Then I was going to have our own organizations, on our own side of the fence, come back and say, "I am not going to agree with No. 15," and I would have a certain amount of them, a preponderance of opinion that wouldn't agree with them, and I would cross that item out, and by that I hoped to get a cross section of feeling.

Mr. WHITLEY. On page 3 of that same bulletin, Mr. Deatherage, you state as follows:

International bankers, of whom the Jews are in a majority.

You make that reference and then you state:

The party therefore definitely pledges itself to immediate and drastic economy reforms through the advocacy of:

(c) The confiscation of the illegal hoardings of the international bankers for the payment of the national debt.

That was a part of the program which you were advocating for the federation?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. It wasn't the platform I was advocating; it was a platform I put out to be shot at.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was the platform, at least, which you outlined in here which you sent out, I believe you stated, to test the temper or the attitude of the people to whom it was sent?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say that that doesn't in any way indicate that you are in sympathy with fascism or that you advocate such a system of government?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I put it out just for that purpose.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you think that that could be easily misinterpreted, that is, an interpretation other than your explanation, could be put on that type of material?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I imagine you could, but you want to understand there was never more than 500 of those things went out any time, it wasn't a case of flooding the country with propaganda of that nature, they went to certain leaders.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of course, you have named a great many of the organizations; do you recall how many copies of this were circulated?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Certainly not more than 500 at any time in an issue, in a particular issue.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the time you were printing your own material?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But since then the market has been so flooded with material that it is cheaper for you to get it from others than to try to print it yourself?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't bother with it.

The CHAIRMAN. You can get all you want for nothing?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Not for nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. You can get it on a mass-production basis cheaper than it costs you to print it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; I can get a bundle of mass-production material at a very reasonable price. So can anybody else who wants to put the money up.

The CHAIRMAN. And how much of this stuff that you can get cheap comes from the United States and how much of it comes from abroad; do you know?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I would say that 99 percent of it is from the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know whether that originated from abroad, though, do you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I am fairly certain in my own opinion that none of it did.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, a great deal of the material in it came out of these international agencies in Germany and in Italy?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, we will have to leave Italy out of it because they are only starting this organization, but say the World Service bulletins that come out, there would be factual information such as in the case I mentioned yesterday of Mr. Toller. It would give his record. Well, if somebody wanted to quote Mr. Toller's record, they would take it from there.

The CHAIRMAN. Take it from this material coming from abroad?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; and add what they knew from the United States, knew of this man.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you contact these agencies in Berlin and Italy, do they write you first, do they have your mailing list and write you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I wrote and requested that they send me copies of the information which was available.

The CHAIRMAN. You wrote direct?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any instances in which they sent it without having any letter from the person asking?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I have heard claim made, I don't know whether they have or not. I would assume they probably have.

The CHAIRMAN. They have a very efficient service there, ready to accommodate anyone in the United States with material?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; I would say that they do.

The CHAIRMAN. And when you get the material, as you prepare your publication, such part of the material as you might want to use, you can use?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right, if I were publishing myself.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, these agents abroad serve more as international bureaus to furnish information for the different organizations in the United States?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; just like the League of Nations in Geneva.

The CHAIRMAN. It doesn't cost you anything to get those, does it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. From Germany, you mean?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. They will send you one or two pieces of literature that you inquire about. I have never imported anything in any quantity.

The CHAIRMAN. When you inquired you didn't have to pay for it, did you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, yes; we have in some cases.

The CHAIRMAN. Some cases you didn't pay for it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they pay the postage in those cases that you didn't pay, or did you have to pay the postage?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I sent them funds for certain special pieces of literature, and the profits on that I suppose paid for the postage on the stuff they sent free, but I don't know that.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they communicated with you frequently since then? Do they write you at stated intervals and tell you they have certain material ready for distribution?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; they haven't done that. My contact with World Service has mostly been personal, through this fellow who recently died, Johannes Klapproth, who was one of my men over here.

The CHAIRMAN. He handled that end of it for you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he get many letters from this World Service?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. He?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have no knowledge of that.

The CHAIRMAN. How many communications have you had from him; do they write you at any stated interval; since he died have they written you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have only had one letter of notification of his death, and the name of the fellow who took his place, and a few generalities.

The CHAIRMAN. They told you the name of the man in the United States who had taken his place?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; the man is not in the United States; they told me the name of the man in charge of the American section in Germany who had taken his place.

The CHAIRMAN. He is now in Germany, and they notified you of his name so you could contact this man when you wanted to?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Evidently.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you contacted that man?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I wrote him the other day and sent my regrets about the death of my friend and said I hoped that they would take steps to take care of his family, because I know he was in distress and had a wife and two children.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, you wrote the man whose name was sent to you and you said you hoped that they would take care of the family of Mr. Klapproth because he had been very faithful, and so on, and so forth?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else is in charge—did you get the names of anyone else in charge of the American section?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; and I don't know anybody else.

The CHAIRMAN. During the time that you had this contact, were you ever referred to the German Embassy here?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever have any contact with the German Embassy or any member of it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I went twice.

The CHAIRMAN. To the German Embassy?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who told you to go to the German Embassy?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Nobody; I went myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Who did you see?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. At San Francisco, last year. I went to get certain information, and I saw Baron von Killinger, the consul, and I talked to him about 15 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. What information did you want from him?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I wanted to ask him about this chap Toller; I wanted his background, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you discuss anything else?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he treat you very friendly?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he compliment you on your activities or interest?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He didn't do that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; the fact of the matter is that Mr. von Killinger was very explicit that if there is any movement in this country it would have to be an American movement.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he tell you that? What led him up to telling you that if there was any movement in the United States it would have to be purely an American movement?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Because I identified myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Why would he, out of a clear sky, tell you that? You must have asked him if he was interested in some American movement, didn't you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I can't recall what the conversation was.

The CHAIRMAN. You recall that he was very explicit in his statement to you that if there was any movement in the United States it would have to be an American movement?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; that thing stuck in my mind.

The CHAIRMAN. But you don't recall what led up to that statement, do you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; frankly, I don't.

The CHAIRMAN. But there must have been some discussion about the American movement?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, there probably was, but I don't recall it.

The CHAIRMAN. But you didn't go to him for the purpose of getting his aid for your movement, you know that you didn't do that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I know that positively.

The CHAIRMAN. And when was the next time you contacted the German Embassy?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Let me see. It was about 3 months ago here in Washington. I went in cold to see Mr. von Gienow, the director of public relations here in the German Embassy, and I wanted some information.

The CHAIRMAN. What information did you want from him?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I wanted to ask Baron von Gienow, whom I had heard was one of the first members of Hitler's Party, how and when they really got any financing in order to start their movement.

The CHAIRMAN. You wanted to find out what their experience had been in Germany?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right, I wanted to find out for my own personal benefit when I could expect the reaction to give us some help in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, in other words you had been having a pretty hard time getting money, and you wanted to find out how they did the trick over in Germany?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Sure.

The CHAIRMAN. And about what time you could expect the returns to begin coming in on this side?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he tell you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, he was very uncommunicable, except that he did tell me, he said that the big industrialists in Germany, that is,

the big money, hadn't come to help Hitler until 6 months before he came into power, and that they had struggled along in their movement in the same way everybody else in this country evidently did, as I explained it to him.

The CHAIRMAN. And finally, when the big industrialists thought it was going to be a success, they took it over?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. They saw the bandwagon, and there was no other bandwagon, so they hopped on that one.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what he told you. Did he give you any advice as to the best way that you could handle the financial end in the United States?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, was that all he told you about the big industrialists, that about 6 months before the final push they jumped on the bandwagon, is that all he said?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. He explained that in some detail.

The CHAIRMAN. How did he tell you they raised the money?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. They originally started out with headquarters at an old brewery, just a few of them, and they pooled their money for food. Then they had some left over and they took that money and they got themselves out a little sheet, the same as many of these sheets which you have seen here. They would peddle them by hand, and they got a little money that way, and they got a little money through party meetings, and they went on literally starving to death until, as I remember it, there were two or three individuals who had helped with a little bit but not very much. But industry and business as a whole hadn't done anything until they saw what was going to happen, and then they did it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any letter of introduction to him?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You just went to the Embassy and called?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You had never previously talked to him or met him?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you call by telephone first?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You just walked up to the Embassy and knocked on the door?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And they asked who it was and you told them?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. They asked me who I was, and what my business was.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you tell them your business was?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I told them I was George Deatherage, and the head of the Knights of the White Camellia, that was raising all this hell around the United States, and I wanted to talk to Mr. von Gienow.

The CHAIRMAN. That was all the introduction you needed?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. They stalled me about an hour, from this man to that man, asking me who was this and who was that, and finally very reluctantly I got in.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether they checked you up by telephone, seeking information about you, while they were stalling you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. God knows what they did.

The CHAIRMAN. It took you about an hour to get to the inner circle?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they greet you as a long-lost brother or anything of that sort when you came in, or with much friendliness?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; this man was a perfect gentleman; he greeted me very nicely.

The CHAIRMAN. He was a perfect gentleman?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he compliment you on your work?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. He said nothing; he was very reticent about that.

The CHAIRMAN. You told him about what your work was?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Outlined it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you tell him how the movement was growing in the United States?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't recall telling him that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you discuss how this situation was gradually working around very favorably in the United States; didn't that come up in the course of the conversation?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, no; not exactly that way. One question I did ask him, and that was information I wanted, and he told me.

I said, "This anti-Jewish feeling, what was the extent of that in Germany before Hitler's rise to power?"

And he said, "Well, as far as I can see, it seems from what I read that you have more anti-Judaism in the United States than we ever had in Germany."

I think he used the expression, "It looks to me from what I read in the papers and the information I have, that probably there is 10 times more of it now in the United States than there was in Germany before Hitler's rise to power."

The CHAIRMAN. He told you that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; he said that was his opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you say in reply to that; did you agree with him?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I didn't know; that was what I was asking.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. Did he seem to be very much encouraged by that situation?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, he made no expression at all. Now you can understand, here I was, a fellow, coming in cold. I knocked at the door, and they have got a little round hole that they looked through. You would think I was going to buy a pint of whisky in a speak-easy.

The CHAIRMAN. But you are very certain that he told you that there was 10 times as much anti-Judaism or anti-Jewish feeling in the United States today as there was in Germany before Hitler got into power?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I might qualify that. At least he said there was a whole lot more; I am not sure about the "10 times as much."

The CHAIRMAN. How did that happen to arise; what led up to him making that statement to you? Were you previously discussing with him that issue?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I asked him.

The CHAIRMAN. You asked him directly the question?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Sure.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ask him about how they raised money over there in Germany, how they did it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That was the first thing I was after, to find out how they financed their party.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he give you any lead that was helpful?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, now just wait a minute.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't mean it in that sense. I want to be very courteous to you.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I went in there cold; you can imagine what he would do to you if you went in there cold.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I can imagine. [Laughter.]

Mr. DEATHERAGE. He was suspicious.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he say anything further than that with reference to the American situation?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he offer any assistance?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Only he bowed me very graciously out.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he offer to give you any literature, pamphlets, or anything of that sort?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir, nothing; not at all. I gathered up some in the lobby as I went out.

The CHAIRMAN. You got some literature as you went out?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he tell you the name of anyone to contact?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you discuss the German-American Bund with him?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. It is my recollection that I did. The question came up about activities of the bund. I have forgotten just how it came up, it was in a casual way, and he evidenced very much disapproval of the bund, that it had caused him a lot of trouble.

The CHAIRMAN. Caused Germany a lot of trouble?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They didn't want this thing to be in the open, like the bund had it; did he say anything about that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. He didn't discuss it in that detail; he made a casual remark about the bund causing a lot of trouble.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he say anything to you about this world service that they were providing?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All he said about the bund was that it was causing them a lot of trouble?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall anything else that was said on that occasion?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is about all; I was only in there probably 10 minutes, not much more.

The CHAIRMAN. He spoke English?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; he went to Johns Hopkins, and lived in this country for years.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, those were the only two times you have ever been to the German Embassy?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not Mr. Pelley or any of the others in these groups have ever been to the German Embassy?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. If they had they wouldn't tell me.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know of your own knowledge?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't see any of them in the anteroom when you went there?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. He didn't tell you of different ones having been there from time to time?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you contacted any other German officials in this country?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever go to the Italian Embassy?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever go to any other embassy?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That was the first time I was ever in an embassy in my life.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about—have you ever had any of the consuls or representatives of the embassies at or represented at any of your meetings?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether they have ever been present at any of Mr. Pelley's meetings?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Not to my knowledge. Certainly I have had no contact with them. I wanted information, and you know when I want information, from the way I have acted before this committee, I will take a straight line, the straightest line between two points, to get it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you send any of your literature to the embassy here?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You just send yours straight to Germany?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. If you have any information—my only contact with Germany is the International Anti-Communist Congress at Erfurt. That is where it did go; it doesn't now because I don't publish anything.

The CHAIRMAN. When you send that material out, do you put anything on it indicating that it is confidential, or that they shall not reprint it, or that they shall give you credit for it, or anything of that sort?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; the thought never even occurred to me that they would do anything like that, and to my knowledge they never have. The question never has really come up.

I imagine they might have taken information which I have sent, and put it in other languages.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you get much mail?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. More than I can take care of.

The CHAIRMAN. How many secretaries do you have?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Just me.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any vice commanders in your organization, or are you just the commander?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have got a council of men, and they each have their duties, but of course they are all employed and they don't do anything but just what is local.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you get mail from people all over the United States?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; and all over the world.

The CHAIRMAN. All over the world?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you get much mail out of Germany?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I get hardly any; World Service is about the only one.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you get it from all over the world; tell us some of the countries?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. The Bombay Press Service in Bombay, India. I lived 3 years in India myself; I speak Hindustani, so I got in contact with that outfit. They put out a bulletin in English. They have contacts inside the Soviet Union, and they get information which is very good and put it out.

There is also an outfit recently which I have had a little correspondence with, the last 3 or 4 months, in Japan, an anti-Communist organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Where are they located?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I can't tell you the address; it is in Tokyo.

The CHAIRMAN. How did they happen to write you, or did you write them first?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. They wrote me, and sent me a money order for a subscription to my paper, which was extinct, and I couldn't of course accept the money order.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send the money order back?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I sent it over to Jim True; and we have got industrial-control reports going over there.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they write you any other letters?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; that is about all—just in relation to that.

The CHAIRMAN. But they have been sending you information from time to time?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I haven't had any direct literature from them except that I got their paper, the Japanese-American, from the Japanese Chamber of Commerce, I think it is printed in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. What other countries have you gotten mail from?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. France.

The CHAIRMAN. Who writes you from France?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. There is an anti-Communist organization over in France. I don't read French, so most of them end up in the waste basket or the files.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't have any interpreter in your organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, no; I can't afford that yet. When I break down this industry and get it to help us, we will have an interpreter.

Then I get it from Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Great Britain, Canada, stuff that is printed clandestinely in Soviet Russia and South Africa.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you ever hear from Canada? -

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you get that Key to Mystery they send out?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Whenever they send it out they see that you get a copy?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. It was only one copy.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right. But they send it to you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I got a copy; I bought it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you ever have any letters from Oswald Moseley; he is in England, isn't he?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you ever get any letters from Mosley?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What about Captain Bemish; did you ever get any letters from him?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is he?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. In Southern Rhodesia; he is a member of Parliament.

The CHAIRMAN. He is head of the Fascist Party, isn't he?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't think they have a Fascist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. What sort of an outfit does Bemish have?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't know what kind of an outfit he has got now, but Bemish was the man who originated the Britons; that was an organization in England. He organized that in 1918.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he write you about?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Oh, he writes about general conditions over the country, he is considered among our group the greatest living authority, the greatest living anti-Communist authority.

The CHAIRMAN. Does he have anything about the Jews in his letters?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; only he is very polite; he calls them "chosen people"; he doesn't say "Jew."

The CHAIRMAN. Does he ask you for information about the same situation in the United States?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, he asks me about the general situation, the anti-Communist situation and the political and economic situation generally.

The CHAIRMAN. And you write him back?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; and give him my opinions, which may be worth something or maybe not.

The CHAIRMAN. You really have a world-wide correspondence going on?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir; I do.

The CHAIRMAN. And you get letters from every State in the Union?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I would say yes, I do.

The CHAIRMAN. What would you say your mail amounts to—averages a day, approximately?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Oh, well, it varies. Every time somebody smears me, like in Life or Ken, or Mr. Metcalfe gives me a ride, or I am called before the Dies committee, that is the best publicity I can get, and then my mail just buries me.

The CHAIRMAN. People sympathizing with you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Oh, yes; they want to join up, want to know this, or that, or the other thing. I would say ordinarily, if there is no smearing going on, that I might 25 or 30 or 40 letters or pieces of literature and whatnot in a day.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't call this "smearing," giving you an opportunity to tell us the facts, do you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I am talking about the Ken magazine and Life and Time, and the rest of them who have ridden me.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not Mr. Pelley and Mr. True and others have the same amount of correspondence from all over the world?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I have not knowledge of that. I know that Mr. True gets literature from all over the world; I say "all over the world"; I know that he gets it from a great many foreign countries.

The CHAIRMAN. You have had lots of conversations with him, haven't you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Oh, yes; he is a pal; he is a honey, that boy.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he ever tell you about visiting the German Embassy?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He never did relate any experience he had about visiting the German Embassy?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did any of the rest of the fellows whom we have talked about ever tell you about their experiences visiting the German Embassy?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir; not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. But all of them are on this mailing list for the World Wide Service?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I can't tell you that.

The CHAIRMAN. You know it is true with reference to Mr. True?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I know he gets part of them, just how many, I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of anyone else who gets them, of your own knowledge?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I imagine in most all of the organizations that were named by Mr. Whitley there awhile ago probably get World Service, but whether they get any more of these things, I have no personal knowledge?

The CHAIRMAN. In the stuff that you get from abroad do they have any politics in them, talk about the administration or anything of that sort?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, now, you would have to define that.

The CHAIRMAN. In writing you from these World Services, do they make comments about our own situation in the United States, political situation in the United States?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, yes; I think they do.

The CHAIRMAN. They write you about the question of the United States getting into war?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. They don't write me; it is published literature and it is in there; you fellows have copies of them and know about the character of the material that is in it.

The CHAIRMAN. What has been your relationship with Mr. True.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have been associated with him: he has been a friend of mine for a couple of years, a number of years. I have had a liaison, a contact with him, and assisted him, and he has assisted me in any way but a financial way, all the way through. Anything I can do for Jim True I would do it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he or someone have a publication called the Kike Killer, do you recall that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. There was no publication at all; no. I can tell you about that. He patented—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). A weapon?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. A piece of wood about that long (indicating), a baton, a square piece of wood with notches cut in it. That was a legitimate patent, which he hoped to sell.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he call it?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Somebody, I don't know whoever coined the term "Kike Killer," but he had ladies' and gentlemen's sizes of it. [Laughter.] I can't tell you who coined that phrase. I tell you who I think did it, Spivak, in the Communist Daily Worker probably was the fellow that used that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever have any contact with Mr. Spivak?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; but if I do, it is not going to be the kind of a contact he is going to look for.

The CHAIRMAN. Have any of your statements or literature or anything ever been published in the Daily Worker?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I can't say as to that, I don't keep a file of the Daily Worker. I buy it once in a while on the newsstand. I know what is going to happen anyhow.

The CHAIRMAN. Has any of your material ever been reprinted in official publications of the bund?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't think so, not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. They send it to you, don't they?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I subscribe to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever seen instances where they predicted incidents or events in Europe before they were generally known in the United States?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever gotten any advance information from the World Service about events that subsequently occurred?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir; I have had nothing of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever have a telephone conversation with the German Embassy?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they ever call you at any time?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. VOORHIS. What do you reckon the purpose of this World Service organization is, Mr. Deatherage? I mean, why do they have that, what is it for?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, on the face of it, ostensibly, it is an anti-Communist international congress. They might use it for any purpose other than what it was originally initiated for, that is quite possible.

Mr. VOORHIS. I mean insofar as that World Service reaches into a country like, for instance, the United States, what would its purpose be in the United States?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, as far as I know, it is to supply anti-Communist information.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, it is all an anti proposition, doesn't it have any positive program?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. There is no positive program at all, I mean if there is, I have never seen it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Deatherage, you have been a pretty close friend of Mr. Pelley's, haven't you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; I am pretty close to Pelley, I wouldn't say I was a close friend, I am an acquaintance; well, I am a friend.

The CHAIRMAN. I was looking at the Saturday Evening Post article that just came out. They interviewed you, did they?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Stanley High did.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they report what you said accurately?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No, sir; they did not in this instance.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice here that they have some quotations of yours?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have got them marked too, as to which ones they were cockeyed on.

The CHAIRMAN. It says that you have stated that "fascism is America's only solution." Did you say that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; I don't recall saying it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever say it in any of your publications?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; I have.

The CHAIRMAN. You say Pelley never made any contributions to you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Not at any time; not a dime.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever help disseminate any of his literature?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You put out a lot of his stuff?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Oh, boy; stacks of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you put out that publication of his—Two or Three Minutes in Heaven, Seven Minutes in Heaven?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; that was one of the differences between Mr. Pelley and I. I can't see that angle. If I go to hell, I will probably go there some other way.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions?

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Deatherage, are you acquainted with Mrs. Lois d'Lafayette Washburn?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have had correspondence with her, I don't know her.

Mr. WHITLEY. She is the national secretary of the National Gentile League?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In Chicago?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is the way she signs her letters.

Mr. WHITNEY. You have had correspondence or exchanged literature with her?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I haven't exchanged any literature to my knowledge, I don't think they have any to exchange.

Mr. WHITLEY. The National Gentile League is Mr. Donald Shea's organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; I think it is.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you familiar with the publication called The Key, published by the Irish-American Patriots?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Oh, yes; I got a copy of it the other day. That is the first issue, I think.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what individual heads that organization?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; I think it is Ray Healey that used to be in New York and published—he used to have a little newspaper there, I have forgotten the name of it, the Irish Storm Trooper.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that the name of his organization, Irish-American Patriots?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I never heard of them until I got that paper the other day.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what the motto of that organization is?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I didn't have time to read it.

Mr. WHITLEY. The motto, as published in the publication, which is printed in Chicago, is, "Irishmen of America United, You Have Nothing to Lose But Your Jewish Chains of Bondage."

You are not acquainted with that individual?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Who, Healey?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; I know him.

The CHAIRMAN. How many pieces of literature along this line are being disseminated in this country; do they run into the hundreds?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Oh, yes; there are untold thousands of them being distributed.

The CHAIRMAN. And they have a wide circulation all over the country?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you get your mailing list, out of the telephone book; how do you get your mailing list?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I have a little printed bulletin for my organization, the Knights of the White Camellia, which sets forth our principles and this and that, and I will send that out to names that are sent me. Sometimes I get a list from somebody who is a member or has been a subscriber. He will give me 50 names, and say "These fellows will all be interested in receiving some information or literature, or whatever it is."

Sometimes I have taken the telephone book and taken out names just like selling Wheaties, you know, send them out as advertising matter.

The CHAIRMAN. Most of the people to whom you send those publications write back and express approval of the contents?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I will say most of them don't, no; but you know the returns from anything of that sort, if you get—well, I think the average is in a commercial advertising campaign, if you get 3 or 4 percent, that is considered a very successful campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. But you are not comparing your movement to commercial advertising, there is no similarity between what you are doing and commercial advertising?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. No; no similarity, except I am trying to establish what percentages, you asked me how many.

The CHAIRMAN. Most of the letters you get were favorable or unfavorable?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. 95 percent of them were very favorable. I have received threatening letters.

The CHAIRMAN. Did anyone ever question the statements you made and write and ask for proof?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, most of the letters, in a very few cases, they have written in, yes; but most of the replies that I get are asking for more information.

Mr. VOORHIS. Don't you find that people are much more ready to believe something that is derogatory to somebody or some group than they are to believe something good about them? Don't you think that is generally true?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I don't really think that; I think most people are pretty fair-minded.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't think it would be harder to get a wide circulation of this literature if it didn't contain some of the more lurid phases of it, than it does?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I presume if you deliberately set out to appeal to people's emotions in a lurid way, in the same way these books such as Look and all these other magazines, they appeal to a certain type of mind, that you could increase your circulation that way; yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. What I am trying to get at is this, isn't it a device that is used all through this movement to try to play up on those things in order to get the thing across? Don't you think that is a fair statement?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, in my case, I don't believe so.

Mr. VOORHIS. I don't necessarily mean your case, Mr. Deatherage, I mean generally. Let me ask you this question. Taking this literature as a whole, Mr. Dies just asked you how many pieces of literature of that character were put out, how much of the stuff that purports to be factual in that literature do you think really is true?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, without identifying the literature I would hesitate to say. I read it all with a grain of salt, the same as I read the newspapers.

Here is a Saturday Evening Post. There is a man that came down there, and just to show you, I gave him an interview; I was mighty polite to him, invited him into my home, and I expected he was going to give us a square shake. Well, the fact of the matter is—the way they deceive the people—here is Stanley High; he is a member of the Friends of Democracy; he is on the board, a left-wing organization. They smeared me. I sent men into Kansas City, where Mr. Birhead operates; contacted his men who had written to me on his behalf, found them members of the Communist Party, established all the facts, and so forth. Well, now, the only thing is that—that that proves—is that that man who wrote the article wrote it with a definite left-wing bias. Therefore, I am going to take that

thing just the way it is. He uses the terms Nazi and Fascist in a colloquial sense, which I very much disapprove of. I say, if you are going to use those terms, use them for what they are. There is no Nazi menace in this country. The German-American Bund couldn't come and take St. Albans; we would whip hell out of them. All of them in the United States couldn't take that town.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Deatherage, there is one thing you have said that interests me considerably, and that is the fact that you have said several times that the international bankers were connected with the Communists, that they were working together.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. You feel that is true?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I could furnish all sorts of documentary evidence to that effect. The first man that established that fact was Samuel Gompers himself, and he was a Jew.

Mr. VOORHIS. I want to go back. You said something about the associated farmers, and you said that their leaders were officers—what did you mean by that?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Well, I said that most of—what I meant was that the fellows that I met with who are in leadership in the associated farmers were ex-officers of the American Army in the American Expeditionary Force.

Mr. VOORHIS. Why is that; do you suppose?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I think, as I gave it in the testimony, usually those fellows are outstanding in their community in some respect, and it was natural that they just fell into that. For instance, Colonel Garrison; I think he was one of the men instrumental in forming the association.

Mr. VOORHIS. I mean, are they farmers?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. They are ranchers in California; yes. You know of that organization, of course, the Association of Farmers?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes; I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, it is growing late. You are going to submit all your information to the counsel and investigators of the committee so that they can check it all over carefully. Does that satisfy you?

You are satisfied that you have had an opportunity to explain everything satisfactorily?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I would like to have an opportunity to present my evidence before this committee. But you have got to keep in mind that that is a terrific job.

The CHAIRMAN. Sure; I know it is.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. And I have got to earn a living. There is nobody paying me; I don't get any return. How am I going to live by spending my time, all that extensive time—I can compile in my spare time all of this factual information. I think I furnished Mr. Whitley with a chart. You have a blueprint chart that was sent to you of all the organizations.

Mr. WHITLEY. I think I have.

Mr. DEATHERAGE. All right. Well, that chart is the key. I sent it to you. I was instrumental in having it sent over to you as an assistance. Now, the chart itself means nothing unless I can place

my documentary evidence on every step of it down the line, and that is going to take time.

Now, if I can be permitted time enough to prepare it in my spare time and then come up here again and present it before the committee——

Mr. DEMPSEY (interposing). How long would it take you, Mr. Deatherage?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. I think it would take me, to compile all the information, 30 days, if I spent my full time.

Mr. DEMPSEY. At the expiration of that time, could you bring it here and go over it with counsel so that you could make sure you had proof for all your claims?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That satisfies you?

Mr. DEATHERAGE. Yes; the only thing is, if the committee can give me any assistance regarding typing or help or anything of that sort, which I might arrange with Mr. Whitley——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). You and Mr. Whitley can talk that over.

Now, gentlemen, this concludes our hearings until we hear from General Moseley, which, as he has stated to counsel this morning, won't be this week. We are going to hear from him but it will be at a later date, at a date to be fixed later on.

That will conclude these hearings for the time being.

(Whereupon, at 1:50 p. m., the committee adjourned subject to call of the chairman.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, MAY 31, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES.

Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10:30 a. m., in the caucus room, Old House Office Building, Congressman Arthur D. Healey (acting chairman) presiding.

Present: Congressmen Arthur D. Healey (presiding), H. Jerry Voorhis, Noah M. Mason, J. Parnell Thomas, and John J. Dempsey.

Also present: Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee.

Mr. HEALEY. The committee will come to order.

Due to the fact that Mr. Dies is in Texas, he has authorized me to act as chairman and to administer oaths to witnesses.

The committee will now proceed with this inquiry, and General Moseley, you are the first witness to come before the committee this morning. I will ask you to be sworn.

TESTIMONY OF GEN. GEORGE VAN HORN MOSELEY, UNITED STATES ARMY, RETIRED

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. HEALEY. Will you proceed, Mr. Whitley?

Mr. WHITLEY. General, will you state your full name?

General MOSELEY. Maj. Gen. George Van Horn Moseley, United States Army, retired.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your age?

General MOSELEY. Sixty-four.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your present residence address?

General MOSELEY. Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta.

Mr. WHITLEY. And your office address?

General MOSELEY. The same.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is your present occupation, General?

General MOSELEY. I am just a retired officer, a pensioner of the United States Government.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, will you state for the record, or give for the record, a concise résumé of your Army career?

General MOSELEY. Is that necessary? You can find it in Who's Who.

Mr. HEALEY. Now, General, will you please answer questions? You can give him an answer to that question, can't you?

General MOSELEY. I graduated from the Military Academy in 1899. I went immediately overseas, or I soon went overseas and was involved in the Philippine campaigns for several years. I came back then and served much of my time in Texas; then on the General Staff in Washington. I appeared here before a committee as a youngster, as captain on the General Staff, about 23 years ago, interested in Army legislation at that time.

I then went overseas with the First Division in the World War, then became one of the chiefs of the great General Staff at Pershing's headquarters. G-4, G. H. Q.

Thereafter, on return to the United States I accompanied General Pershing over the United States when he made his tour of the United States. Thereafter I joined General Dawes in the organization of the Bureau of the Budget, and stayed with him until the first Budget got through, and it was a balanced Budget.

Thereafter, I went overseas again and stayed in Honolulu, I think, for 3 years or more. Then I came back and commanded the Cavalry division along the border during the 1929 Mexican trouble.

Then I returned to the General Staff in Washington and finally I was Deputy Chief of Staff with MacArthur. Thereafter, after a short service commanding the Fifth Corps Area, I went down and commanded the Fourth Corps Area, and took command finally of the Third Army, and that was my status when I retired.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you first meet James E. Campbell?

General MOSELEY. Gentlemen, I am here——

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). Can you answer the question, please? We would like to have the answers just as responsive as you can make them. Now, that is a question that you can answer, General; when did you first meet Mr. Campbell?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir; but, Mr. Chairman, you gave out various——

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). You are not here for the purpose of making speeches, General, and this committee feels that the best way it can develop this case, this phase of the inquiry, is through the question-and-answer method. Now, please try to make your answers responsive to the counsel's inquiries.

General MOSELEY. Mr. Chairman, I had correspondence with Mr. Dies in regard to this, and I understood——

Mr. HEALY (interposing). Can you answer that question; when did you first meet Mr. Campbell?

General MOSELEY. Won't you hear me?

Mr. HEALEY. I am very happy to hear you, and will give you all the opportunity to speak later.

General MOSELEY. I will answer that question, Mr. Chairman, in this statement, fully. I have a statement here, and, Mr. Chairman, I have been before committees of Congress for years, and they have always permitted me to start out with a statement. That will answer that question.

Mr. HEALEY. General, this committee feels that in the interests of orderly procedure, the best method to develop this phase of the inquiry is through the question-and-answer method. Now, if you will please answer the questions of counsel for the committee, and later on it develops that way, that we need amplification——

General MOSELEY (interposing). Will you ever give me a chance to make this statement?

Mr. HEALEY. Well, that, of course, is in the discretion of the committee. We would like now to have you answer the questions of counsel and be as responsive as you can.

General MOSELEY. Well, I want to cooperate with you all I can, but gentlemen, you have taken my name——

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). Will you please cooperate by doing that; can you answer that question, sir?

General MOSELEY. I can answer that question, but that question is answered right here, Mr. Chairman. Won't you allow me to make a statement? The American people want to hear this. I have a lot of good evidence. Aren't you interested in un-American activities?

Mr. HEALEY. That is what we are here for.

General MOSELEY. Then let me read this statement.

Mr. HEALEY. General, wait just a moment. We feel that we can best serve the purpose that we are here for by the method which we have outlined, of having the counsel ask these questions. Later on you will be given full and ample opportunity to make a statement.

General MOSELEY. To read this?

Mr. HEALEY. To make a statement.

General MOSELEY. To read this? Do you object to my being heard?

Mr. HEALEY. Wait just a moment, sir. Do you intend to go along with the desires of the committee for an orderly hearing on this matter, or not?

General MOSELEY. I do. I want to cooperate with you, but let me make a statement, just a minute. I was out on the Pacific coast when all this came up. I knew nothing about it. I am perfectly innocent; my only offense is that I am a patriotic American citizen.

Mr. HEALEY. Can't you answer this question right now?

General MOSELEY. Let me make my statement. I want to be perfectly orderly, I want to be respectful and I want to cooperate.

Mr. HEALEY. The committee will appreciate that.

General MOSELEY. But, Mr. Chairman, you advertised me from coast to coast in things that you gave out. I knew nothing about it, and as I came back from the West——

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). That statement is not correct. Those are matters that developed at this hearing. The committee didn't advertise you. The conditions and circumstances that were brought out at this hearing did that.

General MOSELEY. All right, I am ready to answer that right here.

Mr. HEALEY. Then answer this question of counsel, that is all we are asking you to do.

General MOSELEY. Well, gentlemen, I think my friend who accompanies me here will bring this all out. I hope on the floor of the House, and I am sure I will bring it out before the American people from coast to coast.

Mr. HEALEY. That is perfectly all right. We just ask you to answer the question.

General MOSELEY. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, when did you first meet Mr. James E. Campbell?

General MOSELEY. I met Mr. Campbell before I retired, probably 3 or 4 years before I retired. Mr. Campbell used to make a tour of the United States investigating conditions. I had never known of him before. On his tours around the United States he would drop in my office and give me a report, informally, of conditions, and they were very interesting. As far as I know, Mr. Campbell belonged to no organization. He gave me the impression that he was financing his activities largely himself.

Mr. WHITLEY. What year was that that you first met him, General?

General MOSELEY. I can't say positively, but approximately 4 or 5 years ago.

Mr. WHITLEY. What has been the extent and the nature of your relationship with Mr. Campbell since your meeting with him?

General MOSELEY. I would say about once a year he reported, he came to Atlanta and I would see him only in my office in a perfectly proper and official way. I never entertained him or anything of the kind. After I retired, Mr. Campbell said to me on one occasion that he had received certain highly confidential reports, supposed to come from a New York group, that he would send me copies of those reports, and I could read them with interest, remembering that he did not know how much credence should be placed upon them, unless here and there they were interesting because they checked up with information that he received some place else.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, your relations with him have been, over a period of time or since your meeting, rather infrequent and—

General MOSELEY (interposing). Very infrequent.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing). And rather casual?

General MOSELEY. Rather casual; yes. He did warn me of the nature of those reports, and so I never even showed them to anybody. Generally, I destroyed them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever hear Mr. Campbell express himself as being in favor of setting up a military government in this country?

General MOSELEY. Never.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of both Federal and State?

General MOSELEY. Never.

Mr. WHITLEY. You never heard him express himself that way?

General MOSELEY. Never; and, gentlemen, all these young men who talked to me always got the same advice, and that was to do these things that they had in mind, lawfully—

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). You have answered the question.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, did you know that Mr. Campbell had been closely associated with and had worked with Mr. George Deatherage, of St. Albans, W. Va., for a period of approximately a year?

General MOSELEY. I knew that they knew each other; I was aware of the fact that they knew each other, that was all.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't know they had worked together?

General MOSELEY. Only in this way, that a lot of these individuals know each other, heads of patriotic organizations; that is all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you know, General, that Mr. Campbell had numerous contracts with various individuals and organizations through—

out the United States who were engaged in disseminating anti-Jewish propaganda?

General MOSELEY. No; I did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you first see a copy of the so-called music scores or the report that Mr. Campbell was disseminating?

General MOSELEY. Probably some time last fall, perhaps October or November; I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he send you those reports at your request, or did he voluntarily send them to you or give them to you?

General MOSELEY. He volunteered. I knew nothing of their existence until they came.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe you have already stated briefly what Mr. Campbell told you with reference to those reports. Did he tell you from what source he received those reports, General?

General MOSELEY. No; except in a most indefinite way, that they came from some source in New York City supposed to be evidence overhead from some gathering in New York City—but I knew nothing about that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he identify Mr. Dudley P. Gilbert with those reports in any way?

General MOSELEY. Not that I remember, I don't know Mr. Gilbert.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have never met him?

General MOSELEY. Never met him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he indicate to you whether he thought the reports, as received and disseminated by him, were authentic, accurate?

General MOSELEY. I explained above that he stated particularly that

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he tell you what he was doing with those reports? but they were interesting only when they checked up with information received from other places.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he tell you what he was doing with those reports?

General MOSELEY. No; not to my knowledge.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he tell you that he was mailing those out to prominent persons identified with American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars organizations, throughout the country?

General MOSELEY. My impression was that the distribution was some place else. Now, it may be that Campbell was the distributor and I just didn't get that impression. I can't answer positively who was actually making the distribution. Campbell sent me the copy that I got, that is all I know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he mail that copy to you or give it to you personally?

General MOSELEY. He mailed it always, because I saw him very seldom.

Mr. WHITLEY. And did he tell you how long he had been receiving those reports, or how long he had been sending them out?

General MOSELEY. He did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. He didn't indicate to you that he was distributing those to certain persons throughout the country?

General MOSELEY. He told me that a few of those reports were distributed here and there. I haven't the slightest idea of a single other person who may have received a copy of those reports.

Mr. WHITLEY. Any other individual or group of individuals?

General MOSELEY. Neither individual or group of individuals.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he indicate to you the purpose of those reports, that is, his getting them and sending them out?

General MOSELEY. The only purpose would be the general purpose of protecting the United States. He is a patriotic American, as I know him, and he was just interested in that phase of it, and when any information of a startling nature came in those reports, naturally he was interested, that is all, but as a patriotic American citizen.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he indicate to you, General, who might be financing his activities?

General MOSELEY. Never. As a matter of fact, I said a minute ago when he first talked to me I was under the distinct impression that he was paying most of his expenses himself, but I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Approximately how many of these reports or music scores, as they were identified, did he send to you or give to you, General?

General MOSELEY. I would just have to give you a guess, perhaps 15 or 20, that is as near as I can guess.

Mr. WHITLEY. And those were furnished to you by him over a period of approximately a year, I believe you said?

General MOSELEY. No; I told you that I thought the first one may have come in October or November.

Mr. HEALEY. What year?

General MOSELEY. Last year.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, what was your impression of the reports that he furnished to you?

General MOSELEY. I didn't take very much stock in them at first except that here and there they checked up with information that came from other sources, and if you would allow me to read this report I could check up in two or three places very definitely where that occurred.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you send those reports to anyone or show them to anyone after you received them, General?

General MOSELEY. Never. On one occasion I asked if I couldn't show one or two of those reports to General Craig, who I thought should know about it, and he said no, that I could give him the information that was in those reports, but could not show them to anybody. And so I never disobeyed those instructions. But I did take them up with General Craig that way on two or three occasions that I would like to explain to this committee, and I would like the American people to hear about it.

Mr. HEALEY. You will have plenty of opportunity to do that, just answer the questions.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you tell anybody about the nature of these reports or the nature of the information contained in those reports?

General MOSELEY. I gave, as I stated a minute ago—I wrote General Craig on two occasions in reference to what I believed was important matter in those reports, that he should know about. On one occasion, in passing through this city, I stopped at the information section, the G-2 section of the War Department, and told them of one or two things in those reports that were very disturbing, and they thought so too.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever furnish the information contained in those reports to any other official sources? In other words, if

that information was correct, did it occur to you that it should be brought to the attention of some official agency of the Government that might be able to handle that situation?

General MOSELEY. That is just why I went to the War Department with them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you caution General Craig or whoever you might have discussed those reports with, not to make that information public or not to identify the source of it?

General MOSELEY. Your question is involved—what are you asking?

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, did General Craig indicate that he intended to take any official action with reference to the information you gave him?

General MOSELEY. He did.

Mr. WHITLEY. He did?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, have you received similar literature from any other sources?

General MOSELEY. None of that nature.

Mr. WHITLEY. None of that particular nature?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you received literature from Mr. Edmondson?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir; I don't subscribe to Mr. Edmondson's literature, but he sends it to me.

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Counsel, I don't like to interrupt, but I think it is important to fix the date of General Moseley's call on General Craig, the time when he gave him the information he has just testified to, if he can fix the date approximately.

General MOSELEY. Let's go backward. My last warning to Craig was some time this month. Then perhaps 2 months ago I stopped in at the G-2 section of the War Department, and perhaps one time previous to that I told Craig about it.

Mr. WHITLEY. You wrote him about it?

General MOSELEY. I wrote him about it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he indicate what he intended to do with reference to the information you furnished him?

General MOSELEY. I know exactly what he did in one case, and in the last letter from him he thanked me for the information I had given him and told me one or two other things.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, General, you did take the reports seriously?

General MOSELEY. Don't you think I should have?

Mr. HEALEY. Please don't answer the question with a question. You can answer that, General.

General MOSELEY. I did.

Mr. HEALEY. Will you propound the question again?

General MOSELEY. He got an answer.

Mr. HEALEY. No, he didn't.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, General, you did take the information contained in his reports seriously?

General MOSELEY. I think so, in the two or three cases that I brought it up to him.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, the answer is yes, is it?

General MOSELEY. Yes, I think so, in the cases I brought up to him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever received any literature from Mr. James True?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Industrial Control Reports?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were those sent to you voluntarily or did you solicit them?

General MOSELEY. They were sent voluntarily.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you didn't subscribe to the service?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you received literature from Mr. Pelley, Mr. William Dudley Pelley, of Ashville, N. C.?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is head of the Silver Shirts, I believe?

General MOSELEY. I guess so; you probably know more about it than I do.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that literature solicited or sent to you voluntarily?

General MOSELEY. Sent to me voluntarily.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have any idea how he happened to select you to forward this material to?

General MOSELEY. For the reason, the same reason that all of these organizations that are working on similar lines do, to preserve this Republic. They saw my name in the paper and they would shoot me some information, don't you see? They would put me on their mailing list. The result is that I received, as you gentlemen of Congress receive, a great deal of such stuff, don't you?

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you buy any literature from Mr. Pelley? He sells quite a bit of literature.

General MOSELEY. I think I sent for one book of his that was advertised.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall the name of that book, General?

General MOSELEY. No; I do not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever met Mr. Pelley personally?

General MOSELEY. Never.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you receive literature from Father Coughlin?

General MOSELEY. Never.

Mr. WHITLEY. Never received any?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever met him?

General MOSELEY. Never; I have been invited to speak with him twice, and I don't know how it happened, but I just didn't.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever received any literature from the German-American Bund?

General MOSELEY. Never; except that I would like to explain this, which would have been answered in this statement: That the German-American Bund, when they had that big gathering in New York City, wrote me a letter and asked if I would be the principal speaker. I have had nothing to do with these Nazi or Fascist organizations, and I declined. That is all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever met Fritz Kuhn?

General MOSELEY. I did meet him once in passing.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where was that meeting?

General MOSELEY. I met him in New York City.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that some time ago or recently?

General MOSELEY. No; that was some time ago.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the nature of that meeting; was it a pre-arranged meeting or a casual meeting?

General MOSELEY. No; he came to see me.

Mr. WHITLEY. While you were in New York?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You hadn't notified him that you were going to be there?

General MOSELEY. No, sir; I had no connection with him in any way, shape, or form.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the nature of his visit to you; in other words, he must have had some purpose in mind?

General MOSELEY. I don't know what his purpose was.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, what did he discuss with you?

General MOSELEY. A number of these people—when I go to New York a number of these people come to see me.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it just a social visit, or did he have some matters he wanted to discuss with you?

General MOSELEY. Nothing; apparently he just wanted to meet me, and that was all.

Mr. HEALEY. How long ago was that, General?

General MOSELEY. That was the last time I was in New York, perhaps 6 weeks ago.

Mr. HEALEY. You haven't any recollection of what took place in that conversation?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. HEALEY. You can't give the committee any information on that?

General MOSELEY. No; it was just in passing; I have no connection with him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was anyone else present at your meeting with Mr. Kuhn?

General MOSELEY. Yes; there were others present; and he apparently came to see them, not me.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where was that meeting?

General MOSELEY. It was out on Long Island.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, General, that was May 5 of this year, was it not?

General MOSELEY. I don't remember the date.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't remember the date?

General MOSELEY. I can look it up in my records.

Mr. HEALEY. Now, General, may I just make this statement: You take all the time you want to in answering these questions, and if you have any data with you that will refresh your recollection, you are at perfect liberty to consult it if you have any difficulty in answering the questions. You can refer to any statement or any data that you have there. Now, please try to be as responsive and as accurate as possible with your answers.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, that meeting with Mr. Kuhn was at the home of Mrs. Uzzell out on Long Island; is that correct?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that meeting which was held at her home was prearranged; you went up there for the meeting, did you not?

General MOSELEY. In this way: I had never met Mrs. Uzzell before, but I heard that she was a fine patriot, and several times I had been invited to go to her home on Long Island, but I had never had the time to go. At that particular time I did go, and she, unknown to me at the time, had invited these various people in to meet me.

Mr. HEALEY. And among others was Fritz Kuhn?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Do you have any definite recollection of others who were there at that time, and can you give the committee that information?

General MOSELEY. I can't; but you could get that from Mrs. Uzzell. She had a list of the people that were invited.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, have you now any recollection of anyone else that was there other than Fritz Kuhn?

General MOSELEY. By name, no. Let's see. I could probably sit down and think of a few, but right now I can't think of anybody. Her husband and son, of course, were there, and there were representatives of patriotic organizations. I remember meeting one who came from as far as Philadelphia—they drove up.

Mr. HEALEY. Do you know what organization he represented?

General MOSELEY. No; that was a woman, and she represented patriotic organizations of Philadelphia.

Mr. HEALEY. What organizations, specifically?

General MOSELEY. Well, you know a great many patriotic organizations head up at Philadelphia.

Mr. HEALEY. Do you know which ones she represented?

General MOSELEY. Well, they have a sort of a coalition there, Mr. Chairman, and she represents the head of that coalition.

Mr. HEALEY. But you can't tell the committee what organizations they were?

General MOSELEY. I have got some place in my records the list of those; they are fine old patriotic organizations.

Mr. HEALEY. We haven't asked you for a description of them, we merely want now the names of them.

General MOSELEY. No; I haven't got that. I remember I was invited there once, and there were something like 70, I think, patriotic organizations represented.

Mr. HEALEY. But let's get back to this meeting. Do you remember anyone else that was there other than the woman from Philadelphia, Fritz Kuhn—anyone else?

General MOSELEY. There was a man there who spoke, who formerly belonged to the legislature, of New York City, whose name may be in there [indicating brief case], because he is writing a book which is to be entitled, I believe, "The Other 60 Families." Now, he was there.

Mr. HEALEY. You don't know his name?

General MOSELEY. I could get it from my records.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, if you want to, you can take time to refer to any data, as I said, that will refresh your recollection.

General MOSELEY. I didn't expect to have you go into that. I have no record of that meeting.

Mr. HEALEY. Have you done the best you can to tell the committee just who was there at that meeting?

General MOSELEY. I have. They were all strangers to me.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mrs. Uzzell's first name is Rudyard; is that correct—Mrs. Rudyard Uzzell?

General MOSELEY. The first name I wouldn't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. And her residence is 85-12 One Hundred and Sixty-fifth Street, Jamaica, Long Island?

General MOSELEY. I think that is right; it is One Hundred and Sixty-fifth Street, I know. The exact number I don't remember.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you went up there for the purpose of attending this meeting, General; is that correct?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was the purpose of your trip to New York?

General MOSELEY. Yes. Well, I went to New York for other purposes, too, but I said the only thing I promised was that I said the next time I came to New York if I had the time I would go out there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Then you mean that you didn't get in touch with her about this meeting or your attendance at this meeting until after you arrived in New York?

General MOSELEY. I let her know that I was coming to New York about that time, by letter.

Mr. WHITLEY. And she arranged the meeting?

General MOSELEY. Yes; she arranged the meeting, but, mind you, when I left Atlanta I knew nothing about any meeting except a private talk with her as an individual, that is all.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, General, there were quite a few people present at that meeting, probably as many as 40?

General MOSELEY. Yes; I imagine so.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether her house was guarded during that meeting?

General MOSELEY. I do not.

Mr. WHITLEY. By Fritz Kuhn's men?

General MOSELEY. I don't believe that is true?

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't know that it is not true?

General MOSELEY. No; but I don't believe that it is true. I saw no evidence of it. There was nobody there in uniform that I saw.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it more or less of an informal gathering; were any attempts made to keep the fact that the meeting was going on secret?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. No attempts of that kind?

General MOSELEY. Not as far as I know, because they notified these people openly. I found that out after I got there.

Mr. WHITLEY. There was no attempt on your part to conceal the fact that you were in New York or that you were going to attend this meeting?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was there any attempt as far as you know on the part of Mrs. Uzzell to conceal the fact that the meeting was being held?

General MOSELEY. Not that I know.

MR. WHITLEY. In other words, there was nothing secret or sub-rosa about it in any way?

General MOSELEY. There may have been on her part.

MR. WHITLEY. But there wasn't on your part?

General MOSELEY. No; I had nothing to do with the arrangements for the meeting whatsoever. As a matter of fact, let me repeat that when I went to New York on that trip, I expected to see her; something I had never done or had time to do before, but I didn't expect to meet anybody else.

MR. WHITLEY. Have you ever heard it alleged, or do you know of your own knowledge, that Mrs. Uzzell has been very active in spreading anti-Jewish propaganda?

General MOSELEY. The only thing I know about her is that she is very much interested in the critical situation in New York City, and as far as I am aware of her activities, she is just simply working from a patriotic point of view in handling that situation.

MR. WHITLEY. Is she affiliated with any organization or definite group?

General MOSELEY. I don't think so, as far as I know—

MR. HEALEY (interposing). Just if you know; that is all.

MR. WHITLEY. General, in your letter dated April 21, 1939, addressed to Capt. James E. Campbell, Odd Fellows Building, Owensboro, Ky.—first, I ask you to identify this as your letter?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. That is your letter?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. You state on the second page as follows:

I shall return here—

This letter is dated at Atlanta, Ga.—

on the 28th or 29th of this month, remain here a couple of days, then go on to New York. Could I meet you some place before leaving for New York City? On May 5 I am spending the day in Jamaica, where a number of important individuals will be assembled.

That statement is not consistent with your oral statement a moment ago, General, that you only intended to see Mrs. Uzzell when you went to New York?

General MOSELEY. If she notified me of that meeting before I left Atlanta, it entirely escaped my memory. I have a lot of letters of that kind, and it is impossible for me to remember all the details, and if she wrote me about any such meeting prior to my going to New York, as I stated before, I had just forgotten it.

MR. WHITLEY. You remember to tell Mr. Campbell about it in this letter of April 21?

General MOSELEY. I was writing him right at the time; I was going to be away, and, as I recall, Mr. Campbell said that he might be coming through Atlanta, and I wanted to let him know I was going to New York.

MR. WHITLEY. You say, "where a number of important individuals will be assembled." I would judge from the wording of your letter there that you had some idea as to whom these individuals were going to be?

General MOSELEY. At the time I knew nothing about it, as I remember now.

Mr. WHITLEY. How were you able to identify them as being important individuals, then, General?

General MOSELEY. What happened was, I was to go out there and see her—I mean it was first arranged I was to go out and have a talk with her in her home, don't you see? As I understand it, she never comes to New York City. Now, if afterward it was arranged to have these individuals meet me, I had forgotten that, because I was out there twice, you remember. I went out one day on that visit to New York, and then this meeting to which you call my attention there was 2 or 3 days later.

Mr. HEALEY. But the letter indicates that you had some information that there were to be certain important individuals present?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Persons that you deemed were important?

General MOSELEY. Yes; but I was evidently quoting her letter, don't you see?

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you were taking her word for it that they were important?

General MOSELEY. Yes; absolutely.

Mr. WHITLEY. She didn't identify them for you in making the arrangements?

General MOSELEY. I am sure she never mentioned a single individual.

Mr. WHITLEY. So at the time, whether you recall it or not, it is rather obvious from this letter that at the time you left Atlanta you know you were going to New York to attend a meeting in Mrs. Uzzell's house of some important individuals?

General MOSELEY. Evidently, from that letter.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, reading from your letter of April 29, 1939, addressed to J. E. Campbell, your letter being dated at Atlanta—I will ask you to identify that letter?

General MOSELEY. Yes; that is mine.

Mr. WHITLEY (reading):

I plan to leave here at 1 o'clock Tuesday, May 2. Mrs. Uzzell has asked to see me before I register at the Pennsylvania.

You mean the Pennsylvania Hotel in New York City?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

So I shall go to the New Yorker on the morning of May 3, register there under the name of A. B. Parker. I shall stay there only 1 day and then transfer to the Pennsylvania Hotel.

I believe you stated a moment ago there was no effort on your part to conceal the fact that you were in New York or that you were up there to attend this meeting?

General MOSELEY. That is in compliance with a request that she made. She said she would like to talk to me before I was annoyed in the Pennsylvania Hotel. When I go to the hotel and people know I am there, I have a great many visitors, and so she particularly asked me would I like to come and talk with her. I had never met her before—before I registered.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. In other words, this using of a fictitious name and registering in one hotel for a day and then moving to another—that was all her idea?

General MOSELEY. No; she just simply asked me to come, as I remember it, before registering. As a matter of fact, I didn't do that. What I did was to check my baggage in the depot and take a train out there and then pick up my baggage and go right to the Pennsylvania Hotel.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you didn't carry out your plan to register under a fictitious name?

General MOSELEY. Not exactly according to that.

Mr. WHITLEY. And your plan to do that was not for the purpose of concealing your presence in New York, or concealing your identity?

General MOSELEY. I didn't want anybody to know I was in New York until after I had complied with her request to talk to her first.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, General, every precaution was exercised by Mrs. Uzzell and everyone present at that meeting to make certain, if possible, that no one knew it was being held, isn't that correct?

General MOSELEY. That may be correct, but I know she sent out invitations, printed invitations.

Mr. WHITLEY. Printed invitations—is that what you received, a printed invitation?

General MOSELEY. No; but lately I received a copy of it. I don't remember when I saw the copy first, but I know that printed invitations were sent out.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know to how many individuals or organizations those invitations were sent?

General MOSELEY. No; I had nothing to do with that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Apparently, then, it was only your presence that she was so anxious to conceal?

General MOSELEY. Only for that period until I had spoken to her.

Mr. WHITLEY. Until you had gotten there and talked to her first?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did she explain to you after your arrival why she wanted you to keep your presence in New York City so secret, and have you use a fictitious name?

General MOSELEY. If she did, I don't remember.

Mr. WHITLEY. She didn't explain to you why she thought that it was necessary?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did she tell you, in explaining the preliminary plans for this meeting, that Fritz Kuhn was going to be one of the important individuals who would be present at this meeting?

General MOSELEY. What was that again?

Mr. WHITLEY. Did she explain to you, when she advised you of her plans for this meeting, that Fritz Kuhn was going to be one of the important individuals present at the meeting?

General MOSELEY. I don't believe so; she may have shown me the list of people that were coming, but I don't think I saw that list until afterward. I remember she had a list of people, but whether that was a list of people she invited or those that were there, I don't remember. I know she had a list.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you are unable at the present time to name any other individual present at that meeting, which occurred the early part of this month, other than Mr. Kuhn?

General MOSELEY. As I said, there was a lady there from Philadelphia, representing those patriotic organizations.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was her name?

General MOSELEY. Her name was Mrs. Good.

Mr. WHITLEY. G-o-o-d-e?

General MOSELEY. I don't think there is any "e" on it.

Mr. WHITLEY. G-o-o-d?

General MOSELEY. Yes; Mrs. Good.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is her first name, General?

General MOSELEY. What is her first name?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; what is Mrs. Good's first name?

General MOSELEY. I don't remember.

Mr. WHITLEY. What organization was she representing?

General MOSELEY. She represents the group of patriotic organizations in Philadelphia.

Mr. WHITLEY. A confederation?

General MOSELEY. Yes; the federation there at Philadelphia.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it under the sponsorship of those organizations that you spoke in Philadelphia?

General MOSELEY. Yes; she was the head of that organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't recall the name of that organization under whose sponsorship you spoke in Philadelphia?

Mr. HEALEY. Take your time in answering any of these questions, General. If you have any material you want to refer to, to refresh your recollection, you are at liberty to do so.

General MOSELEY. There are so many of those organizations it is hard to remember.

Mr. WHITLEY. Your speech at Philadelphia was made March 28, 1939?

General MOSELEY. Well, if you have got it there, doesn't it say before whom?

Mr. WHITLEY. Before the National Defense, Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, Philadelphia.

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that the organization Mrs. Good represents?

General MOSELEY. It is the national defense committee of those patriotic organizations.

Mr. WHITLEY. And she was one of those present on the night of May 5?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Can you name any others, General?

General MOSELEY. I ought to be able to name a number of them. There was a man there who spoke, as I mentioned before, who was a former member of the legislature, of New York City. As I said, he was right near me, and I remember him distinctly.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall his name?

General MOSELEY. He is writing that book called the Other 60 Families. That ought to be sufficient to identify him.

There was a woman there who is a very patriotic woman in New York City on this work, whose name is Mrs. Linn.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know what group she represents?

General MOSELEY. I don't think she represents any particular organization. I think she is just one of those many patriotic women.

There are a great many of these groups, and I have been associated with them over the country, and I can't remember.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Mrs. Kunze there?

General MOSELEY. Mrs.——

Mr. WHITLEY. Mrs. Kunze?

General MOSELEY. If she was I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Mr. Kunze there?

General MOSELEY. If they were, I don't remember.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is Mr. Kuhn's publicity director.

General MOSELEY. No; I don't know him.

Mr. HEALEY. Do you know him, General, Mr. Kunze or Mrs. Kunze?

General MOSELEY. No; they were all strangers to me.

Mr. HEALEY. You can't name any of the other 35 or 40 individuals who were present at that meeting?

General MOSELEY. I talked with many of them right there in a little group, as they stood around, but I am not good at remembering names anyway, and I would have to get the list from Mrs. Uzzell.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were there any individuals there whom you had met or had contact with previously?

General MOSELEY. Mrs. Good; that is the reason I remember her name.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Mr. Henry D. Allen, of the "gold shirts," present?

General MOSELEY. As far as I know; no.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Mrs. Fry there?

General MOSELEY. No; she wasn't there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was James True there?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know Mr. True?

General MOSELEY. Yes; I met him just once in Washington.

Mr. WHITLEY. You met him in Washington?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You receive his reports, I believe you said?

General MOSELEY. Yes; he sends them to me gratis.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever met Mr. Henry D. Allen, of the "gold shirts"?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Allen is in southern California?

General MOSELEY. No; I have never met him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Mr. Sanctuary, Mr. E. N. Sanctuary, of New York City, present at that meeting?

General MOSELEY. I don't know; if you have got the list you may know; I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever met Mr. Sanctuary? He is the head of the American Christian Defenders.

General MOSELEY. If he was at that meeting, I met him, but I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. I am not saying he was.

General MOSELEY. I can't identify him.

Mr. HEALEY. Do you know him?

General MOSELEY. No; I don't know him, I know Mrs. Good and Mrs. Linn——

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). What was the purpose of this meeting, General, that was held on the night of May 5, of this large gathering out on Long Island?

General MOSELEY. It was relatively a small gathering, only about 40 or 50.

Mr. WHITLEY. I mean, relatively large, 35 or 40 people, to be in a private home.

General MOSELEY. It was a patriotic purpose.

Mr. WHITLEY. Just a patriotic purpose?

General MOSELEY. That is all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you address the gathering?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Mr. Kuhn make a talk there?

General MOSELEY. Not a word. As a matter of fact, he sat way back; I never saw him.

Mr. WHITLEY. He was there participating in the proceedings?

General MOSELEY. Yes; he did get up at the end of the meeting; I remember he got up and they asked him to stand up and identify himself. That is all. He may have said two or three words of greeting, and then sat down.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he approve of the purpose of the meeting or of the subject matter discussed there?

General MOSELEY. I imagine so, it was just simply a patriotic gathering of people interested in patriotic purposes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is Mrs. Uzzell very close to or a very close friend with Mr. Kuhn, or do they work together?

General MOSELEY. I don't know. You see, I never had seen him except on this trip, and as I stated before I had never gone out there, although I had known of her, and it had been suggested that if I wanted to know of the situation in New York City, I could talk with her because she knew it very well.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, as a matter of fact, wasn't it the purpose of this gathering to discuss plans for setting up a confederation of various groups or organizations, organizing a national organization, with the idea in mind that you head that organization?

General MOSELEY. Not at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. That wasn't discussed at all?

General MOSELEY. Not at all. Now, may I make a statement there on that point?

Mr. HEALEY. You have answered the question, General. You are going to have all the opportunity that you want to make statements, but right now we would like to have you, just in the interests of the expedition of this hearing, respond to the questions, and we want to be as fair as we possibly can, General, you can take all the time you want to answer them. You won't be harried or anything of that sort.

Mr. WHITLEY. You can't explain in any further detail what the subject matter was under discussion there at the gathering, General, what the purpose of the meeting was, away out on Long Island, of this group?

General MOSELEY. Only the purpose that I find in all these gatherings. A number of people assemble together who want to see their country go along according to its basic law. They are just interested

in patriotic purposes, that is all. I have never discovered anything else. As a matter of fact, I wouldn't have anything to do with anything else.

Mr. WHITLEY. And if there were any elaborate precautions taken to make this meeting secret, other than having you use a fictitious name and register at another hotel, you don't know about any further precautions that might have been taken, you don't know whether the house was being guarded during the meeting?

General MOSELEY. I don't know, but if they had had it guarded it would seem to me it might have been a fine idea when you realize what happens to some of these other meetings when patriotic people try to get together.

Mr. HEALEY. The latter part of that answer is not responsive to the question. Please make your answers responsive.

Mr. WHITLEY. How long did this meeting last? Were you there about 2 days?

General MOSELEY. I was in New York, I should say, 4 days.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you in contact with Mrs. Uzzell during those 4 days?

General MOSELEY. No; only the first day when I went out there to meet her for the first time, and then when she asked me to come back.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you seen her or had any correspondence with her or contacts with her since that meeting?

General MOSELEY. I have not seen her since, and as far as I know I have had no communication whatsoever with her. I have a large mail, but I am quite sure she has never written me anything since.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, I believe you stated a few minutes ago that you had received literature from Edmondson, True, and organizations of that type?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever distributed any of that literature? I mean, have you sent it out to your friends or persons in whom you might be interested?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you haven't undertaken to redistribute it?

General MOSELEY. It was mentioned in connection with this hearing that somebody had distributed my speeches, or that I distributed them in some regular, systematic way. I have never done that. I can explain that further.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, there is no further explanation needed. Your answer is "No," as to whether or not you disseminated that literature.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, I show you for identification a letter dated March 25, 1939, Atlanta, Ga., addressed to Mr. James N. Wilkerson, 2404 East Thirtieth Street, Kansas City, Mo. That is a photostatic copy. Is that your signature, General?

General MOSELEY. Yes; and that is all correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. This letter reads as follows:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of the 23d instant.

The daily press of today, too, often gives us a very imperfect picture of the world situation and especially in reference to the enemies within our gates.

I am enclosing herewith four reports. Should you care to subscribe for them, you will find that the information furnished will be frankly stated and authentic.

I am leaving tomorrow to speak in Philadelphia. Enclosed is a copy of my remarks, which may be of interest, for the facts are plainly stated.

With kindest regards and best wishes, believe me,

Very sincerely yours.

Do you recall what the four reports which you enclosed to Mr. Wilkerson were, General?

General MOSELEY. No, I do not; but I can explain that letter in this way, if you will let me:

In answering a fellow that asks me for information, if I have got anything available, instead of writing a long letter, I will say, "Here is an enclosure that answers your question better than I can." That is what that is.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't recall, though, what the reports, the four reports you enclosed in that letter, were?

General MOSELEY. I haven't the slightest idea.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall whether a copy of Edmondson's American Vigilante of March 7, 1939, was enclosed?

General MOSELEY. It may have been, if it referred to the subject that man wrote me about. If it was an answer, I would pick that up and put it in the letter. I did that once in a while; not often.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall whether the reports of James True Associates, dated March 16, 1939, were enclosed?

General MOSELEY. They may have been.

Mr. WHITLEY. They may have been?

General MOSELEY. Yes; they may have been.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall whether a copy of America in Danger, by Hudson, dated February 27, 1939, was enclosed?

General MOSELEY. It may have been.

Mr. WHITLEY. And a copy of Charles Phillips' The Individualist, being the fourth piece; do you recall whether that was the fourth piece?

General MOSELEY. No; but it may have been.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, you stated a moment ago that you had never undertaken to disseminate any of this literature which was forwarded to you from time to time. Now, this letter is inconsistent with that?

General MOSELEY. I don't think it is at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Don't you call this dissemination?

General MOSELEY. That is a personal letter answering a question put to me. I have no regular way of sending these out, and never attempt it, but when a man would write me, if you should write me about some national question and I had something that I thought answered it, instead of my trying to figure it out myself, I would send that to you, but I had no general system of dissemination.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, when you interpreted my question a moment ago, you interpreted "dissemination" to mean just handing them out on the streets, or handing them out at meetings, or spreading them wholesale throughout the country?

General MOSELEY. Or in some systematic way by a letter.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you didn't mean that you didn't ever send such material out in correspondence with your friends?

General MOSELEY. Of course, I feel at liberty, if I am writing a letter to that fellow that wants information, and I have got the answer in a pamphlet here, I would just as soon give it to him.

Mr. HEALEY. Then so far as dissemination of that nature is concerned, you have disseminated some of that information?

General MOSELEY. I have passed some of that information along in exceptional cases.

Mr. HEALEY. But you had no organized system of doing that?

General MOSELEY. Not at all.

Mr. DEMPSEY. General, as I recall the letter, you say that it is "authentic" information. Before sending the pamphlets out to these people who write you, do you make sure that the information is authentic?

General MOSELEY. Generally, the information that I would be interested in is quoted from something. You will find in most of those circulars that the information is quoted from some source.

Mr. DEMPSEY. But is the source correct, is the information correct, do you know that before you send it out?

General MOSELEY. Oh, you couldn't go back into it.

Mr. DEMPSEY. So you just send this information out as authentic information when you have made no check upon it whatever?

General MOSELEY. In a personal letter could I check everything that an enclosure covers?

Mr. DEMPSEY. I am simply asking you if you send out as authentic information—and that is what you say in your letter—these pamphlets, without the knowledge on your part that they are authentic?

Mr. HEALEY. Did he use the word "authentic"? Mr. Whitley, will you please read the letter?

Mr. WHITLEY. I will just read that portion of it:

The daily press today too often gives us a very imperfect picture of the world situation and especially in reference to the enemies within our gates. I am enclosing herewith four reports.

And you state that the four reports I named might have been the reports—

General MOSELEY (interposing). Might have been.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

Should you care to subscribe for them, you will find that the information furnished will be frankly stated and authentic.

You are putting your stamp of approval on those reports and passing them on as being authentic. In other words, you are vouching for the accuracy and authenticity of those reports, General?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir; but you see that is a personal letter.

Mr. HEALEY. All right, but you have done that in that letter, insofar as the recipient of that letter is concerned you have enclosed four reports which you have stated to be, in your best judgment, authentic and correct?

General MOSELEY. Yes; that is true.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the person receiving this letter would have every right to believe those reports because you recommended them as being authentic; you put your stamp of approval on them?

General MOSELEY. He would know that I felt that they were authentic.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you made no effort to check the authenticity of them or to verify the information in those reports before you sent them out?

General MOSELEY. As I say, most of those reports you will find are quoted stuff, the quotes from some authority, don't you see? Very few of those reports are the man's own words.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever, General, heard it alleged that Mr. James True and Mr. Edmondson had been engaged in disseminating anti-Jewish literature for a number of years, have you ever heard that allegation?

General MOSELEY. I don't know how long either of them have been engaged in their present activities.

Mr. WHITLEY. How would you describe the nature of their present activities?

General MOSELEY. But you can read the nature of their circulars and get the purpose of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you approved of the material which they sent out and you accepted it as being authentic?

General MOSELEY. I don't say I approve of it. A man in any job has got to get information from all sorts of sources. These people shipped this stuff to me just like they ship it to Members of Congress, and I read it with interest. When I am writing anybody, if I have something that seems to bear on the subject they are interested in, I see no objection to enclosing it, let him have it.

Mr. DEMPSEY. General, do you see any objection, as you pointed out in your letter, that apparently in your mind the press was coloring the picture and to subscribe to those pamphlets would give them authentic information—you send that to a friend, you say, in a personal letter, but you assume a certain responsibility there?

General MOSELEY. You will find one case where I have done that.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do you know how many people one person, the one person that you sent this letter to, might have done likewise with?

General MOSELEY. I do not.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, with this same letter and with the other material which you sent, Mr. True's and Mr. Edmondson's material, you also enclosed a copy of your speech to Mr. Wilkerson?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Can we establish what speech he referred to there?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; he says the speech that he is going to make in Philadelphia in a few days.

Mr. HEALEY. Do you recognize that as being the speech you enclosed in that letter?

General MOSELEY. If the letter says so; yes.

Mr. HEALEY. The letter doesn't say which one, it says a copy of your speech.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; it says that he is enclosing a copy of the speech he expects to deliver at Philadelphia in a few days.

Mr. HEALEY. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who is Mr. James N. Wilkerson, of Kansas City?

General MOSELEY. I haven't the slightest idea.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have never met him?

General MOSELEY. No; I get letters from these people—

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). In other words, this could hardly be called a personal letter, you didn't know the man, and as he wrote you and asked you some questions you sent him what you considered authentic information as opposed to what he might read in the daily papers?

General MOSELEY. I am sure I have never met the man.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, when did you first meet Mr. George Deatherage, of St. Albans, W. Va.?

General MOSELEY. Some time in October, last fall, I believe.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where was that meeting?

General MOSELEY. I had never heard of the man, but I was in Cincinnati and he came in there and came to my room and talked to me in my room at Cincinnati, in October.

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Counsel, before you get onto that phase of the inquiry, will you tell the committee whether or not you have copies of the four reports that the General enclosed in that letter?

Mr. WHITLEY. No, sir; I don't have those. I have an idea we have them in our files.

Mr. HEALEY. You haven't them here now so that we can identify them for the record?

Mr. WHITLEY. We can get them out, I think we will be able to find them in my files.

General MOSELEY. My letter doesn't say which ones were enclosed.

Mr. HEALEY. I know you haven't pinned yourself down on that, General.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you say that the four that I identified might be the ones?

General MOSELEY. I don't remember, you can put any four in you want.

Mr. HEALEY. Can you tell the committee just which four reports you refer to?

General MOSELEY. I haven't the slightest idea. Could you do that?

Mr. HEALEY. I am not asking myself the question because I wasn't in that position.

General MOSELEY. I haven't the slightest idea. You can include in there any four you want and charge them against me.

Mr. HEALEY. We don't want to do that, we would like to have you enlighten the committee.

General MOSELEY. I don't know.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Now that you have made that statement, are they all as authentic, one as authentic as another, in your opinion?

General MOSELEY. I imagine so.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You think they are all authentic, the information contained in these.

General MOSELEY. Perhaps it was an unfortunate use of the word "authentic." I don't believe I have used it in that connection before, but I was trying to help a friend—

Mr. DEMPSEY. But you did state that you considered that information authentic that was contained in the four reports you sent out?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Now you say we may take any of the reports, it doesn't make any difference which four—so I want to know whether you consider them all authentic or not.

General MOSELEY. I don't know what "all" means in your mind.

Mr. DEMPSEY. The type of the reports that you are receiving from Deatherage, Campbell, Pelley?

General MOSELEY. They are gotten out by researchers and I read them with great caution.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Would Mr. Campbell's report be one of them? Would that be an authentic report in your opinion?

General MOSELEY. I explained previously that we didn't take all of those reports seriously, that is the reason—

Mr. DEMPSEY (interposing). Some of them you did?

General MOSELEY. Yes, as I explained when they checked up with other information that we had.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What about the True reports, are those all authentic in your opinion?

General MOSELEY. No, some of them are expressions of opinion, and where they are expressions of opinion, no, but where he quotes something—

Mr. DEMPSEY (interposing). What about the reports of Mr. Pelley, are those all authentic?

General MOSELEY. No, I should say not.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Can you tell me the name of a single person who sent you those reports and say they are all authentic?

General MOSELEY. I couldn't sit here and guarantee 100 percent any of those reports.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You did in your letter?

General MOSELEY. Yes, I was giving information to a man, and I thought that the quoted information in those reports would answer the question that he put to me. I don't know what question he put to me now. Have you got the letter he wrote me?

Mr. WHITLEY. No, I don't have.

Mr. HEALEY. At any rate, General, the inference you wanted to create in that man's mind was that the four reports that you were enclosing in the letter, were more authentic than the press reports of the world situation; isn't that a fair inference to draw from your letter?

General MOSELEY. Yes; and that often happens, Mr. Chairman. You take in the propaganda in reference to Spain, I have got that in here [referring to statement]. That went on for 2 years. Could you believe what was in the press?

Mr. HEALEY. Well, I asked you a specific question, General, whether or not it was your intention to enlighten that man on the world situation by sending him four reports of the nature, from the sources similar to the sources that were quoted by the counsel for the committee, in order that he might have further enlightenment because, as you expressed it, the press did not give an accurate picture of the world situation; is that right?

General MOSELEY. Mr. Chairman, we don't know the question he asked me. It may not have referred to all of those reports. It only had a bearing on the question that he asked me, whatever that question was.

Mr. HEALEY. Why don't you take the letter—why don't you take the letter that you wrote to that man Wilkerson, read it over, and then tell the committee what was your purpose and intention in sending that man reports that you enclosed there, together with a copy of your own speech?

General MOSELEY. Yes. Mr. Chairman, this Mr. Wilkerson, writing me as he did, under date of the 23d of last March, probably asked me a question on a definite subject. In answering that letter I

enclosed certain reports which bore on the same subject, whatever that subject was.

Mr. HEALEY. You don't know what those reports were?

General MOSELEY. No; I do not.

Mr. HEALEY. We want to be absolutely fair to you.

General MOSELEY. I do not; I can't remember.

Mr. HEALEY. You don't know what source they came from?

General MOSELEY. They may be any of these reports we have been discussing here, but I couldn't remember at this time the four that I placed in there, I don't know the question that he presented to me, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DEMPSEY. But you suggest that he subscribe to these reports if he wants authentic information to be kept advised as to world affairs?

General MOSELEY. I sent those four to him because evidently they contained an answer to the question that he presented to me, and then to get rid of him I probably said, "if you want this information along this line, subscribe to certain magazines that give out that kind of information."

Mr. DEMPSEY. You didn't say "that kind," you said "authentic."

General MOSELEY. That was unfortunate, the use of the word "authentic."

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do you usually try to get rid of your friends or your admirers who write you for information by doing that?

General MOSELEY. That is a very courteous letter, isn't it?

Mr. DEMPSEY. I am using your words. You said you tried to get rid of him by enclosing these reports.

General MOSELEY. I tried to accomplish the purpose of the letter.

Mr. HEALEY. But evidently you had more faith in the reports that you referred to in that letter than you had in the press?

General MOSELEY. I haven't much faith in the national press today, Mr. Chairman. I believe the national press today is largely controlled.

Mr. WHITLEY. Turning to George Deatherage, I believe you stated that you met him, to the best of your knowledge, last fall, in October or November?

General MOSELEY. October, I think.

Mr. WHITLEY. Where was that meeting, General?

General MOSELEY. In Cincinnati.

Mr. WHITLEY. Cincinnati?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you both in Cincinnati attending some kind of conference or meeting?

General MOSELEY. I don't know what reason brought him there, I had never heard of him. I went there to attend a Christian patriotic convention—some such name.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he was present? Do you know whether he was in attendance at this convention or not?

General MOSELEY. Yes; he was at the meeting; I saw him there.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Mr. Pelley present at the meeting?

General MOSELEY. I think not; as far as I know he was not.

Mr. WHITLEY. How many persons were present at the convention?

General MOSELEY. They expected a large number, but they were very much disappointed.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who sponsored that meeting, General?

General MOSELEY. It was the Women's Christian organization—I don't know the name exactly, because I have never had any——

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). Do you recall any of the individuals who were there, or any organizations, or groups, that were represented at that convention?

General MOSELEY. The letter inviting me came from a Mrs. Edwards, and her husband was there; I think he was very much interested in the movement. There was another man, I remember it, because I think I have seen him since, Mr. Fairchild. I remember those two.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you speak at that meeting?

General MOSELEY. I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. And Mr. Deatherage came to your room in the hotel for the purpose of talking to you?

General MOSELEY. What happened was that unknown to me someone telephone to my room, and then Mr. Deatherage came up to see me. I had never seen him before in my life, I didn't know who he was.

Mr. WHITLEY. You had never heard of Mr. Deatherage or his organization?

General MOSELEY. No; this was all new to me.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't know what type of activity he was engaged in?

General MOSELEY. No; not in the slightest, never heard of him.

Mr. WHITLEY. You had never received any literature from him?

General MOSELEY. Not a word. You see at that time I hadn't met any of these leaders of these various organizations.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Mr. Deatherage explain to you why he wanted to meet you or what was the nature of his conversation with you, General?

General MOSELEY. He just wanted to meet me. I don't know of anything else he had to say at that time, because as I recall, when he was in my room, there were a number of other people present.

Mr. WHITLEY. He didn't explain to you at that meeting what type of activity he was engaged in?

General MOSELEY. As far as I know he didn't at that time. He may have, but I don't think he did. I don't think there was enough time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Your recollection is that it was just a casual social conversation?

General MOSELEY. No; he came to this so-called convention, interested in seeing what they were going to do. He had never met me before. Before or after the dinner at which I spoke, he came up to my room and stayed a very few minutes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he make any arrangements or attempt to make any arrangements for a subsequent meeting or conversation, either at Cincinnati or elsewhere?

General MOSELEY. He may have said that he would come to see me at Atlanta, I don't remember, because he did come down to Atlanta to see me afterward.

Mr. WHITLEY. Following that first contact with Mr. George Deatherage, General, explain the extent and nature of your consequent contacts, relations with him?

General MOSELEY. Some time after that meeting, perhaps late in November or December, Mr. Deatherage came down to Atlanta and stayed in Atlanta some time, and I saw him practically every day, for this reason. These contacts, people who were coming to see me at that time, I knew nothing about. He struck me as just a two-fisted, honest patriot, and so I asked him about a number of these individuals, who they were, and whether they were reliable or not, because often I would have a letter to answer and I had to know something about the person before I could answer it. So I found that his judgment on some of these people was very accurate. I asked him to explain to me the nature of the organization which he headed, and when I learned what that organization was, I told Mr. Deatherage, I said, "You understand that I couldn't have anything to do with you in connection with your organization, or be associated with you in that connection." And he understood that perfectly because I made it clear to him on several occasions.

Mr. WHITLEY. Why couldn't you be associated with him, or a member of his organization, General; didn't you agree with the purposes or objectives of that organization?

General MOSELEY. Often in these groups you can agree with the general mission they have in mind, but not in the methods they plan to use.

Mr. WHITLEY. What are those methods, generally?

General MOSELEY. Well, some of these patriots, like Deatherage, he feels very much aggrieved if he runs into some individual who is not as much of a patriot as he is, and he is a hot-headed individual. But you know the nature of his organization; he explained it to me this way; he said that after the Civil War there were organizations much like the American Legion and the Military Order of the World War, one being the enlisted men and the other being the officers, but they were then called, as he explained it, as I remember, the Ku Klux Klan and the Knights of the White Camellia, and he said that that was the officer group, as he explained it. And he said that he was the head of that group.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of the Knights of the White Camellia?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever have any reason to believe, during your association or contacts with Mr. Deatherage, that he was anti-Jewish; have you ever heard him accused of being anti-Jewish, or have you had any reason to believe that he might be disseminating anti-Jewish literature?

General MOSELEY. Only as the Jews were involved in communism.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you know that he was sponsoring an organization known as the American Nationalist Confederation; did he explain that group to you?

General MOSELEY. He explained that to me. What he had in mind, apparently, was to set up, some place in the United States, an organization to coordinate the various patriotic organizations then existing, and he wrote me about it several times, and repeatedly I told him that I couldn't have anything to do with leading such an organization. I went so far as to say that I couldn't be associated with him because it would be an embarrassment to me in view of his position in his own organization. Now, right in that connection——

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). You mean he had been discredited in some way; was that the reason you didn't want to be affiliated with him, general?

Mr. MOSELEY. Well, I think of his organization in the same terms as the K. K. K., and nothing in the world could make me associate myself with the Ku Klux Klan, don't you see? So that I explained fully to him that while I appreciated his patriotism and what he was trying to do, that was all right, but I didn't want to be in any way connected with his organization, and you may have in your file letters that I have written to him wherein I pointed that out to him repeatedly.

Mr. WHITLEY. You couldn't afford to be identified with him, publicly identified with him or his organization?

General MOSELEY. Any more than I want to be identified with the K. K. K.

Mr. WHITLEY. At the same time, General, you did keep in close touch with him and use him more or less as a personal or confidential adviser on certain matters that came up?

General MOSELEY. Only for a very limited period. When I was submerged by this flood of letters from all sorts of people, I found him an honest soul, and I could take a letter to him and say, "Deatherage, who is this?" It would be somebody I had never heard of. And he would tell me all about that person and he would say, "I wouldn't have very much confidence in that particular individual for this reason." I found his estimates very accurate and very correct.

Mr. WHITLEY. At the same time, you couldn't have any public association with him or his organization?

General MOSELEY. No; and that was only for a limited period, after I got back from Cincinnati, as I told you. He came down there then and stayed a month, and tried to impress on me the importance of building up some little organization to coordinate the activities of all these patriotic organizations. You realize that there are a great many organizations existing in the United States, I don't know how many, that are working on some phase of this present emergency, and he thought they ought to be coordinated.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you consider all of these organizations, such as Mr. Deatherage's, and groups that he has contacts with and cooperates with, do you consider those all patriotic organizations? Would you define them as patriotic groups, their activities? Did you ever refer to them in that manner? I want to get your explanation.

General MOSELEY. They all contain inherently within themselves a different degree of patriotism, and they approach the accomplishment of their mission in different ways; and that is why I object to many of them.

Mr. HEALEY. In other words, he wanted you to be the man on horseback; is that true?

General MOSELEY. I don't say that is true; no; he wanted me to take the leadership of his group.

Mr. HEALEY. Not his group, but of all these groups.

General MOSELEY. First it was his group, I think, Mr. Chairman, and then later, as I have explained it, he thought it would be better

to have a little headquarters group to coordinate the activities of these patriotic organizations, and I declined that also.

And let me state right here, Mr. Chairman, to show how conscientious I have been, and careful in keeping free from all these organizations; about 2 months ago an organization—I don't remember the name because there are so many of them—sent me a big engraved life membership, honorary life membership. I returned that immediately so that I could say what I quote in this statement here, something that I always say when I get up before any meeting, that I belong to no organization whatsoever, have no connection with any organization; and that is absolutely true, and that is the reason I wouldn't even take honorary membership in one.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What is this present emergency to which you refer that exists at this time?

General MOSELEY. It strikes me that there is a very serious emergency existing in the United States.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Of what character?

General MOSELEY. I think it is due to our economic situation; it is due also, I think, to the subversive activities throughout the United States. I think also the emergency results from an effort being made from coast to coast today to get us involved in war. Those are all emergencies.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You stated a few moments ago that the press of our country today is controlled; by whom?

General MOSELEY. Largely by the advertisers.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Of course, there are so many advertisers, and they have different things to advertise. I was wondering how they could control that. They are competing, for instance. In that event, which one of them would control?

General MOSELEY. Perhaps you could find out an answer if you tried to get a certain piece in the press. Don't you think it was controlled in the propaganda, in the Spanish war situation? Don't you think the press was controlled in reference to the German situation?

Mr. DEMPSEY. That hadn't occurred to me.

General MOSELEY. Then you and I have been reading different evidence.

Mr. DEMPSEY. But you think it is the advertisers who control the press of the Nation today?

General MOSELEY. In part, the money interests and the advertisers.

Mr. DEMPSEY. The money interests and the advertisers?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

(Discussion off the record).

General MOSELEY. Mr. Chairman, you said I could answer these questions fully. May I quote something to explain the emergency?

Mr. HEALEY. In answer to Mr. Dempsey's question?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I think you have explained the emergency in your opinion.

General MOSELEY. Yes; but if you will let me read this, I will tell you about the emergency—

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). You are not going to read all this?

General MOSELEY. You don't want to know about the emergency—bull; a lot of bull.

Mr. HEALEY. Let's have order, and I don't think——

General MOSELEY (interposing). You don't want the information; you don't want any information in reference to un-American activities, subversive activities; otherwise, you would let me read this, from top to bottom.

Mr. HEALEY. You didn't come here for the purpose of making a speech, did you?

General MOSELEY. No, Mr. Secretary.

Mr. HEALEY. You came here to give this committee whatever information the committee desired. You want to be helpful to the committee, don't you?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. And therefore you want to go along with the committee's ideas of how to elicit this information. Now, you have been a very good witness, so far, and I hope you will continue along that way. The committee is entirely courteous to you and wants to be fair to you, and we want you to take the same attitude toward the committee.

General MOSELEY. I want to do that, but my name is involved.

Mr. HEALEY. All right, then, you are having ample opportunity to defend yourself and will have, and I told you that on many occasions. Now, we think, in the interests of orderly procedure, that you ought to confine, at the present time, your answers to the questions.

General MOSELEY. I wasn't even allowed to answer questions.

Mr. THOMAS. I think you answered it in a very clear way.

General MOSELEY. It was, but it was hard work to get that over.

Mr. THOMAS. Are we going to be able to get this information that the general has about this emergency?

Mr. HEALEY. I think we will probably get around to that all right. Right now we are going forward with the attorney's questions. Will you proceed, Mr. Whitley?

Mr. WHITLEY. General, did Mr. Deatherage, during this period of 3 or 4 weeks that he was conferring with you in Atlanta—and I believe he stated on examination when he was before the committee, that that was the purpose of his trip to Atlanta, to see you and confer with you—did he explain to you his organization, the American Nationalist Confederation, and the purposes of that organization?

General MOSELEY. As I answered before, only very briefly, as I remember.

Mr. WHITLEY. And, insofar as both of his organizations were concerned, the Knights of the White Camellia, and the American Nationalist Confederation, you didn't feel that you could afford to be publicly interested or identified with those groups?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you know that he had adopted as the emblem for his American Nationalist Confederation the swastika?

General MOSELEY. No; I did not. As a matter of fact, I think I remember his saying, in referring once to the bund, that the bund was removing all that foolishness from their arms.

Mr. WHITLEY. The fact remains that he so testified, General, that he did adopt the swastika.

General MOSELEY. I don't know; now you can understand why I couldn't be associated with him.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't know that at the time you declined association?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. But would you say, General, that although you could not afford to be publicly identified with him or his organizations, that in a general way at least you were sympathetic to him and his organizations, and the work that was being done?

General MOSELEY. Not at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. You were not sympathetic?

General MOSELEY. That is why I didn't—as I stated before, many of these organizations are trying to do something that we might say is worthwhile, but the means for accomplishing it—

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). You didn't approve of his methods?

General MOSELEY. No; and he knows that.

Mr. WHITLEY. During this conversation, or this period that he was conferring with you in Atlanta, did he proposition you with reference to your taking the leadership of his organization or some other organization which would consolidate all these independent groups operating throughout the country?

General MOSELEY. He discussed with me that question, yes; of setting up this little organization in some place as a coordinating group.

There is another organization that approached me the same way; you might be interested in that. That is Allen Zoll's organization, up in New York. They approached me repeatedly on the same proposition, a coordination of patriotic groups.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you sympathetic to the idea of this coordination? The setting up of a Nation-wide coordinated effort?

General MOSELEY. No; I felt that as far as myself was concerned, I was going to keep absolutely free from them all, and that I have stuck to 100 percent.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, that is the advice Mr. Campbell gave you, is it not, General?

General MOSELEY. If he did, I don't recall, but he may have given me that advice.

Mr. WHITLEY. He so stated in his correspondence which has been identified.

General MOSELEY. I think you would find that Mr. Deatherage would admit right here saying to me, "Your decision is exactly right to have nothing to do with me."

Mr. WHITLEY. Why did Mr. Deatherage think you might be interested in aiding such an organization, leading such an organization, General?

Mr. HEALEY. Well, of course, Mr. Counsel, he can't know that.

Mr. WHITLEY. I will withdraw the question.

General MOSELEY. I am afraid I will make a speech on that.

Mr. HEALEY. You will have plenty of opportunity of making a speech. I expect you have made a lot of them and probably will in the future.

Mr. WHITLEY. How many speeches have you made, approximately, since you retired from active duty?

General MOSELEY. I don't remember; I could give you the principal ones and there are a great many informal ones.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right, sir.

General MOSELEY. Here they are, the ones I can remember. The first place I went to a gathering that was supposed to be of any size was the one in Cincinnati, already referred to.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was approximately what date?

General MOSELEY. October.

Mr. WHITLEY. 1938?

General MOSELEY. Yes. Then I spoke before the New York Board of Trade.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the date of that?

General MOSELEY. That was in December, I think.

I spoke at Indianapolis before a group there. It was a political group in Indianapolis, and I spoke with the distinct understanding that I didn't come in connection with any political party at all.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What date was that, General, please?

General MOSELEY. I imagine in November. I can get you the date.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Was that the cornfield rally?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. No; that was the latter part of December 1938, Mr. Dempsey.

General MOSELEY. Then I spoke in Boston before the Sentinels of the Republic—that is their organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the date of that speech?

General MOSELEY. That was in December, I think.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe, General, it was March 4, 1929, according to the transcript I have.

General MOSELEY. You are right; yes.

Then there was one in Philadelphia. Then there was one that you may have a record of there——

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). What was the date of the Philadelphia speech, do you recall?

General MOSELEY. No; I don't.

Mr. WHITLEY. March 28, 1939, according to this.

General MOSELEY. It was only one, I have only been to one there.

Mr. WHITLEY. According to the transcript of that speech, it was March 28, 1939, General, for the record.

General MOSELEY. I see. Then I spoke at Decatur, Ga., before a group of the American Legion. I mention that because it was one that was typewritten because it had to go over the radio. Now there were other little informal ones, and perhaps I have missed some.

Mr. WHITLEY. You made a speech in Springfield, Ill., I believe?

General MOSELEY. Oh, yes; that is the last.

Mr. WHITLEY. What was the date of that speech, do you recall? Was it April 26, 1939?

General MOSELEY. About 3 weeks ago; yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Was that a prepared speech, General; the one in Springfield?

General MOSELEY. Yes; I think I must have a copy of it. That was prepared, Mr. Chairman, because they told me we would have the radio, and then the radio was taken away from us and all the halls were taken away from us.

Mr. HEALEY. You have answered my question, it was a prepared speech.

Mr. WHITLEY. You also made a speech at Nashville, Tenn.?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall the date of that speech?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. The early part of this year?

General MOSELEY. Was it, I don't remember.

Mr. WHITLEY. The early part of February 1939.

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, I will show you for identification, transcripts, first your address delivered at Indianapolis, December 29, 1938.

Mr. HEALEY. Under whose auspices was that affair conducted, the affair at Indianapolis?

General MOSELEY. The reason I don't recognize that is that somebody else made that copy.

Mr. WHITLEY. You couldn't identify it without reading the whole thing?

Mr. HEALEY. Can you tell us what occasion that was, who conducted the meeting, who invited you to go there?

General MOSELEY. It was the meeting of the whole Indiana State Republican organization. I don't know the name they called it, it was a meeting, the culmination of their elections in Indiana. They had a number of the elected officers there, and a number of their mayors, and quite a number of men representing small towns.

Mr. DEMPSEY. General, who issued the invitation to you to speak at that meeting?

General MOSELEY. It was a telegram, the first invitation came I think in the form of a telegram, and I think I got that telegram while I was in New York City, and I think the telegram was signed by their publicity man.

Mr. HEALEY. Whose publicity man?

General MOSELEY. The name I cannot remember, he had an office in the Claypool Hotel.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What publicity man?

General MOSELEY. Of this organization.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What organization?

General MOSELEY. I don't know the name of it, but as I say, the purpose of it was a sort of a jollification meeting—

Mr. DEMPSEY (interposing). Did Mr. McWhirter also invite you to attend that meeting?

General MOSELEY. Yes, he did; the banker.

Mr. DEMPSEY. He is the treasurer of the Republican State committee of Indiana?

General MOSELEY. Yes; he wrote me.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Did Mr. Bobbitt also ask you?

General MOSELEY. If he did, I don't recall.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do you know Mr. Bobbitt?

General MOSELEY. I may have met him, but I couldn't recall him. It was a large gathering, and I answered the telegram by saying, when I found in was a political organization, that I would come in connection with any political organization, whether Democratic or Republican, that I would just come as an individual citizen. I have been brought up as an Army officer, perfectly loyal to both parties. I have served in Washington with both, often.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. HEALEY. Now, have you identified that as being a correct copy of the speech you made there? You can take plenty of opportunity to do that, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. I will describe it to you to this extent, that it was taken from Mr. Campbell's files. I believe Mr. Campbell, with your permission, was sending out copies of your speeches, mimeographing them for you.

General MOSELEY. Not that way. Once in a while Mr. Campbell would write me for a copy, and then he would send them out. He would ask me, say, "Can I have this copy of a particular speech?" And he would send them out.

Mr. HEALEY. Right now, General, can you identify that as being an authentic copy of the speech you made at Indianapolis? Take plenty of time.

General MOSELEY. This seems to be authentic.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me, however, that in identifying that as authentic, an authentic copy of his speech, in view of the fact that it has been prepared by somebody else, and the other person might have inserted or deleted, the General should have an opportunity to go through that to determine whether any statements in that are not authentic as delivered in his speech.

Mr. HEALEY. I have just told him to take that opportunity.

General MOSELEY. Do you want me to sit here and read it while you wait?

Mr. HEALEY. I don't want anything to go into the record here, General, which would do you an injustice, which is unfair. If counsel wants to ask that question at this juncture, do you identify that, that copy, and if it isn't a true representation of the speech that you made, then tell the committee.

General MOSELEY. You are probably only interested in certain extracts.

Mr. WHITLEY. I would suggest, possibly, that I let the General have these copies and possibly he will have a chance before the afternoon session to go over them.

Mr. HEALEY. That will be perfectly satisfactory and perfectly fair. I don't want something that you didn't say, and we don't want you to be credited with a speech that you didn't make or any excerpts from one that you didn't make.

General MOSELEY. Would it be satisfactory to the committee, if I find in my records in the hotel that I have copies of these, could I give you the originals?

Mr. HEALEY. That would be much better.

Mr. VOORHIS. General, there are some things in your testimony that I wanted to understand.

You have made reference a number of times to what you have called these patriotic organizations. Now, I wonder if you would define what you mean by a patriotic organization?

General MOSELEY. The organizations which I have referred to, which head up in Mrs. Good's organization in Philadelphia, my idea of patriotic organizations, as I remember them listed. They are old patriotic organizations of the United States.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, in answer to a question from counsel about Mr. Pelley's organization, you made reference to that as one of those organizations which are working to preserve this Republic. Now,

would you include Mr. Pelley's organization as one of those organizations?

General MOSELEY. They all claim that they are patriotic organizations.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes, but——

General MOSELEY (interposing). But, I have explained repeatedly here that some of them, while they have a general mission which is fine, they do certain things that I couldn't accept for myself.

Mr. VOORHIS. What do you think that mission is, what do you mean when you say they have a mission?

General MOSELEY. Well, a patriotic mission.

Mr. VOORHIS. But to do what?

General MOSELEY. Just like these other patriotic groups that are interested in the continuance of our Republic in its present shape, and in giving out any information to the contrary.

Mr. VOORHIS. Interested in preserving our constitutional democracy, you mean?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Of course, that is what I want to do, it is what this committee is interested in.

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Would you be willing to agree that there are two kinds of subversive movements in this country, one on the extreme left and one on the extreme right?

General MOSELEY. Yes; and can I state further——

Mr. VOORHIS (interposing). Yes; I would like to have you.

General MOSELEY. And I have often said this those organizations on the right are going to continue in some form or another, and whatever you call them, just so long as there is the disease of communism in America. If you have got the disease here, you have got the antitoxin there.

Mr. VOORHIS. And may I interpolate, General, that you will have trouble on the left also, just as long as you have the same type of organization on the right, I mean it works both ways, doesn't it?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. And no doubt you are familiar with the statement on the part of Communists, when they say that they are opposed to violence, but somebody else is going to start it, and then they will have to answer it?

General MOSELEY. But who started it first?

Mr. VOORHIS. I have had the same thing——

General MOSELEY (interposing). Who started it first?

Mr. VOORHIS. I have had the same thing brought out by some of the other witnesses that we have heard before this committee, exactly the same point of view expressed, and I want to ask you whether you don't believe that it is the duty of this committee to try to oppose both kinds of propaganda of that sort?

General MOSELEY. Yes, but I saw an analysis of the work of this committee after you had gotten all of your investigation covered, and you had about so many pages [indicating about an inch] against the fellows on the right, and you had so many pages [stretching out arms] against the fellows on the left. Isn't that a fact?

Mr. VOORHIS. That is a fact.

General MOSELEY. Yes; that is a fact. The disease started on the left—the antitoxin is on the right.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, then, you feel that the organization at the extreme right, the Nazi and Fascist organizations are really a good and necessary thing under present circumstances?

General MOSELEY. They are trying to sustain our democracy and the other fellows are trying to destroy it, that is the only difference.

Mr. VOORHIS. And in that category you include Fritz Kuhn, apparently, for with reference to that meeting in New York you said that Mr. Kuhn, you thought, approved the other meeting because it was a patriotic gathering and therefore you thought Mr. Kuhn would approve of it?

General MOSELEY. What meeting was that?

Mr. VOORHIS. That was the one at Mrs. Uzzell's house.

In other words, do you feel that Mr. Kuhn and the German-American Bund are one of these patriotic organizations?

General MOSELEY. I don't claim to know anything about the German-American Bund, but I do believe in the German-American Bund, and the German, as I know him, the German bund has one mission, to see to it that the Communists shall not take over this country.

Mr. VOORHIS. And you feel that the German bund has no program beyond that, no interest in attempting—

General MOSELEY (interposing). Absolutely no.

Mr. VOORHIS. I can show you plenty of quotations from their own literature, and I am sure you are familiar with them yourself.

In other words, then, if the committee followed, or the American people followed your advice, we would all throw ourselves into the hands of the groups on the extreme right in order to protect ourselves from the left, is that correct?

General MOSELEY. Oh, no; it ought to be handled in 5 minutes from the White House.

Mr. DEMPSEY. In what way?

Mr. THOMAS. I would develop that, that is a good point.

Mr. DEMPSEY. In what way?

General MOSELEY. The first thing I would do if I was in the White House, gentlemen, I would issue an order immediately discharging every Communist now in the Government of the United States, and everybody who is giving aid and comfort to a Communist. I would then release the United States Army from the present position which it is in.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What is that position?

General MOSELEY. It can make plans to take Germany and South America and Japan, but they can't do a damn thing to protect themselves from the enemy within our gates. They have been told not to investigate anything.

Mr. DEMPSEY. By whom?

General MOSELEY. I guess it comes right from the White House, he is Commander in Chief of the Army.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Are you going to guess or do you know?

General MOSELEY. I don't know.

Mr. DEMPSEY. But you are guessing it comes from the Commander in Chief of the Army?

General MOSELEY. It comes from right at the top, I don't know from whom. But that is a fact, if you will investigate it. We can't, in the Army, investigate a soul in reference to the enemies within our gates, not a soul. Now, the thing that would save this whole situation would be this, if we could say to Mr. Army, "Mr. Army, we don't want you to interfere with the civil processes of this Government at all, but we are going to let people sleep in perfect security tonight, and I want you to know all about this situation of the enemy within our gates, and I want the American people to know that if any local government fails to protect any individual in his or her life and property, I shall then use that Army under the 1929 law which makes it the duty of the President to protect everybody and life and property."

Mr. DEMPSEY. As I understand, you disapprove of the manner in which the Commander in Chief of the Army of the United States is permitting the Army to function?

General MOSELEY. Oh, no; all I am disapproving is the policy now governing the Army. I don't know where it comes from, I am not saying where it comes from, in reference to knowing all about the situation within the United States.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Haven't you said that it came from the Commander in Chief?

General MOSELEY. You asked me if it did.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You said you guessed that is where it came from.

General MOSELEY. I said that he is the Commander in Chief of the Army. I am not here, gentlemen, to criticize the President. He is the Commander in Chief and he is the President.

Mr. DEMPSEY. But you are criticizing him.

General MOSELEY. I am criticizing the policy now governing the Army with reference to enemies within our gates.

Mr. HEALEY. The committee will now recess until 1:30.

(Whereupon, at 12:40 p. m., a recess was taken until 1:30 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The committee reconvened at 1:40 p. m.)

Mr. HEALEY. General, I think we shall proceed. The other members of the committee will be here directly, and I think we will proceed with the hearing.

Mr. Whitley, will you go along with your questions?

Whereupon, the witness, Gen. G. V. H. Moseley resumed the stand for further questioning, as follows:

Mr. WHITLEY. General, with reference to the matter of identifying various of your speeches, you have brought copies of three of your speeches, the Indianapolis speech of December 29, 1938, your Philadelphia speech of March 28, 1939, and your Springfield speech of April 26, 1939.

Mr. HEALEY. That is Springfield, Ill.?

Mr. WHITLEY. Illinois.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you identify those as being copies?

General MOSELEY. Yes; I just brought them to you.

Mr. HEALEY. They are true copies of your speech?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do not have a copy of your Boston speech?

General MOSELEY. No; but if you will quote parts, I will identify those.

Mr. WHITLEY. You will attempt to identify quotes from the copy I have?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Do you want to offer those speeches now to be incorporated in the record at this point?

Mr. WHITLEY. I don't think it is necessary to incorporate all of them, but certain excerpts. I would like to have them identified for the record.

Mr. HEALEY. All right, they will be identified for the record.

General MOSELEY. Mr. Chairman, I should like to have the complete speech, so that what I say can be taken with the whole structure. I think that is only fair.

Mr. HEALEY. I think that is fair, too; if you put any in, put all in.

Mr. WHITLEY. All right.

Mr. HEALEY. I mean, you don't have to read the whole speech to interrogate—you can interrogate him on any part; but I mean if we are going to put them in the record I think you ought to put them all in so the context will be whole.

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right.

General MOSELEY. Before he asks me a question, may I correct one thing as to a date? You asked me what date I had met Mr. Death-erage. I believe I said sometime in October. It was November 11, because I remember it was—

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). Armistice Day.

General MOSELEY. Yes; Armistice Day.

Then there is another thing I should like to correct: I got an impression that the attorney asked me—or had the impression himself—that in getting literature from all these organizations I may have gotten many copies myself for distribution. That is not correct. I was just like anybody else: I got one copy; that is all. I would like to make that perfectly clear.

Mr. HEALEY. All these corrections will be noted.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, reading from your Springfield speech of December 29, 1938, the following excerpt:

Now a further word. We all have many friends among the Jews. I have many friends among them, and those friendships mean much to me. Thus, I was very happy when I heard in New York City the other day that they intend to take action to disassociate themselves entirely from all communistic activities in the United States.

What a fine idea. I hope they will do it. It is the greatest opportunity that has been offered the Jewish people in all their history. If they will accomplish that, there will be an applause go up from ocean to ocean.

How can they do it? They can stop communism in the United States in just 30 days by doing what? By using what power? The power that they now have so completely over the radio; the power that they have over the public press; the control they have over the "movies"; and, finally, the power they have now at home and internationally, in the money markets of the world. Will they undertake that task? I hope they will. It is a challenge to their whole race today.

Are you inferring, from that statement in the speech, General, that the Jewish race is entirely responsible for communism activities in this country, or elsewhere?

General MOSELEY. Communism is the disease we are complaining about, and my investigations lead me to believe very thoroughly that the Jews are in control of those organizations.

I was just on the Pacific coast, and a man who has investigated this situation for years, one of the outstanding characters that I know, told me this; he said, "In many organizations communistic, the percentage of Jews is often ninety-odd percent. It varies, however." But he said this: "The Jews, realizing the danger of having leadership in all these organizations, sometimes provide for themselves a gentile front," and he explained how that was often done.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was this man, General?

General MOSELEY. Do you wish to know his name?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

General MOSELEY. Is that necessary?

Mr. WHITLEY. I think, as long as you are quoting him as an authority, it would be just as well to have his name in the record.

General MOSELEY. Is that necessary, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. HEALEY. Well, I think that the answer, the question is pertinent now, to this inquiry. You are quoting from him as an authority.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are quoting him as an authority. I think he should be identified.

General MOSELEY. General Van Deman, who retired some years ago; a wonderful character, who in the Army was engaged on our G-2 activities, as we call them now.

Mr. HEALEY. That is intelligence activities?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir. And since his retirement he has labored along that same line at his home in San Diego.

Mr. WHITLEY. How do you spell that name?

General MOSELEY. V-a-n-D-e-m-a-n.

Mr. WHITLEY. General Van Deman?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. General Van Deman has been very closely associated with Mrs. Jewett on the west coast, has he not?

General MOSELEY. I don't think closely associated, any more than——

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). He has been associated with her?

General MOSELEY. He knows her, I assume, because——

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). Is he acquainted with or has he worked with Mrs. Frye on the west coast?

General MOSELEY. Not much.

Mr. HEALEY. What was your answer, "not much"?

General MOSELEY. Not—probably not at all. He knows her, but I don't think he is associated with her at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading further from your Spring—Indianapolis address, General—I can't quote page numbers, because this carbon copy you gave me, the pages are not numbered—you make the following statement:

We must recognize communism under its true status—as possessing 99 percent of the elements of treason.

That is an expression of personal opinion on the subject?

General MOSELEY. No, sir; I take that from the statements made by the leaders of communism, absolutely word for word.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is your interpretation?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEMISEY. You wouldn't say the same thing about somebody who wanted to set up an opposite kind of a dictatorship, or would you say the same thing?

General MOSELEY. If they were; but I don't know anybody that has that mission in mind.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, reading further from your Indianapolis speech:

And then, I listened to the rabbi on my left. He gave me a lecture on internationalism—how we should change the instruction of our children in the schools. And, finally, he pointed to a flag that was on the speakers' stand, and he said: "General, that flag, to me, is only a worthless piece of bunting." I said: "Rabbi! To me, it is a wonderful symbol of all we have accomplished, of the battles that we have fought for our liberties; to me, it symbolizes both our victories of peace and war," adding, "If you tell me that's nothing but a worthless piece of bunting, I'll tell you that perhaps the cross is only two worthless sticks nailed together." He said: "Oh, no; that's a little different." But that was at the same speakers' table in your United States of America.

Where did that happen, General, the incident referred to?

General MOSELEY. Atlanta.

Mr. WHITLEY. At Atlanta?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And the incident, would you care to identify the individual who made that statement?

General MOSELEY. I don't think that is fair to call the name of the rabbi, but I might tell you this—

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). But, General, you are using him as a symbol to, as I get the context there, to attach any statements he might make or hold them against the entire race as symbolizing the attitude of the entire race.

General MOSELEY. I have no personal objections to giving that man's name, but I think it is a little bit unfair to him. A very prominent Jew came to me afterward and asked me about that, and I gave him the exact words, what he said to me. Of course, I wrote them down as I have them there sometime afterward. And he said, "Well, I will go back again and question the rabbi about that."

I said, "You do so, and if I have in any way misquoted him, come back and see me again."

He has never come back.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, are you quoting that particular incident as illustrating the attitude of an entire group or race or religion?

General MOSELEY. I am just as much for the patriotic Jew as I am for the patriotic anybody else; but I am just as much, too, against organized Jewry controlling this country as the control to be vested in organized individuals of any other race, including the Nazis.

Mr. HEALEY. General, I think the purpose of his question was to ascertain whether you used that illustration on that occasion to reflect the attitude of a whole racial group in this country toward our flag.

General MOSELEY. I can answer in this way: When he gave me the little talk about internationalism he was representing the Jewish point of view 100 percent, in my opinion.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Chairman, I am having to relocate portions that I had marked in these speeches in the copies that I had, and the copies that I have that the general gave me from his files are not set up in the same way, so there will be a little delay.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, you can read your own and he can testify whether or not he made the statement. You can recall a statement, can't you, General?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. You think that is fair for the counsel to do that?

General MOSELEY. That is all right.

Mr. WHITLEY. Just to speed up the operation.

Mr. HEALEY. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. I can check them up afterward; I have got them marked on my copies.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, reading from your Philadelphia speech of March 28, 1939, you state as follows:

The war now proposed is for the purpose of establishing Jewish hegemony throughout the world. We must recognize that fact. The Communists have forced us to state it frankly.

That is in keeping with your explanation of a moment ago, I believe?

General MOSELEY. Absolutely; and it is in keeping with the basic definition of communism.

Mr. WHITLEY. (Reading from the same speech:)

What a beautiful picture it will be! Your sons and mine (I have three) fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Communists of Russia and being paid with money borrowed, probably, from the Jews.

That represents your opinion?

General MOSELEY. Absolutely. It has been illustrated for the last 2,000 years of history. Sometimes both sides borrow money from the Jews.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you are presenting those conclusions or those expressions in public speeches?

General MOSELEY. That is my opinion.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You wouldn't say they borrowed money only from the Jews?

General MOSELEY. Oh, no.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I mean, they borrow money from other people, too?

General MOSELEY. I suppose so.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Aren't you sure of it?

General MOSELEY. Yes—what?

Mr. DEMPSEY. Aren't you sure of it?

General MOSELEY. What is that?

Mr. DEMPSEY. Aren't you sure that they borrow money from other people too?

General MOSELEY. I don't know about that. In prosecuting our own war the last time we borrowed money largely from our own people, I know.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Our own people subscribed for Liberty Loan bonds.

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Citizens subscribed to the financing of the war by purchasing Liberty Loan bonds, and people from all racial-extractions, all racial groups in our country, many noncitizens, many

aliens, helped to finance the war by purchasing Liberty bonds—you know that as a matter of fact?

General MOSELEY. Yes. I know also, Mr. Chairman, too, in getting us into that war the arrangement between Mr. Balfour and the Jews in reference to propaganda in this country leading up to the war, and the promise that if they got us into that war then the British would carry out their promise to give them the home for Zionists in Palestine.

Mr. HEALEY. You know that?

General MOSELEY. I can give you the data here.

Mr. HEALEY. Would you state that as a fact?

General MOSELEY. I believe so, if I can give credence—

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). Say "yes" or "no."

General MOSELEY. Yes; that is my opinion; yes, based on research.

Mr. WHITLEY. Your own research, General, or someone else's?

General MOSELEY. On research—no; not my own research.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Deatherage—does he hold the same viewpoint?

General MOSELEY. I haven't the slightest idea what his opinion is.

Mr. WHITELEY. You haven't heard him express—

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITELEY. Reading further from your Philadelphia speech, General:

We must bear in mind, also, that a World War is part of the world plan of the Communists, and, as stated, in effect, by the Jewish speaker already referred to, they believe it has the support of the man in the White House.

General MOSELEY. I was quoting that from a Jewish speaker who spoke in Atlanta. Similar speeches were made all over the United States. I have quotations from them here. And that speaker said—and the others spoke in the same vein—that "the purpose of this meeting, in effect, is to unite the power of Jews from coast to coast, in an effort to force the present administration to compel Mr. Hitler to reinstate the refugees in Germany, even at the cost of war," and that speaker added this: "We have a very sympathetic friend in the White House, and the charming First Lady."

Mr. DEMPSEY. How does that jibe, General, with the present attempt—which is a matter of great controversy—that is being made now, to admit a certain number of people, children, from Germany into this country? I mean, that doesn't look to me like it was an attempt to force Germany to take back refugees; it looks to me like exactly the opposite kind of a move.

General MOSELEY. Oh, no. I don't think the Jews—

Mr. DEMPSEY (interposing). The direction you are going across the ocean.

General MOSELEY. Oh, no. I don't think the Jews expect to get the Congress of the United States to make any definite changes in the immigration laws. They are closed, I hope for all time.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Well, but the charge was made here that this was a plan in which, as I understood it, the President has a part, to compel Germany to take back the refugees.

General MOSELEY. Of course, I think the present administration has been forewarned.

Mr. HEALEY. Now General—will you pardon me? General, the excerpt that was read to you, by counsel, from your speech, which

you recognize as being a part of your speech, was based on information which was not your own——

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. But it was information that you got from somebody else's speech.

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. And then you incorporated that same thought into your speech.

General MOSELEY. Yes .

Mr. HEALEY. Without making any research or any attempt to establish the authenticity.

General MOSELEY. Oh, yes, I did. That came to me from a very reliable person who was in the audience. Also, I tried to verify that at other places. And I also have a quotation from another speaker; perhaps it might be well to put that right in.

Mr. HEALEY. But just on this one particular thing—you can refer to that later; you can refer to anything that you want to in answering my question—but just to stay with that for a moment: Now you say that that came to you from a person who was in the audience?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Someone who had heard this speech?

General MOSELEY. Absolutely.

Mr. HEALEY. And they repeated that to you?

General MOSELEY. They wrote it down.

Mr. HEALEY. Wrote it down and gave it to you: and without any effort on your part to verify the correctness of the information, you incorporated it into the speech?

General MOSELEY. Not immediately. That checks up with a lot of things that I——

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). All right, what did you do, after that information was given to you by this person who was in the audience that had written down the statement, what did you do with reference to verifying the truth or falsity of that statement?

General MOSELEY. I just kept en courante with the present situation, in reference to whether or not we were going to go into war. There was a lot of stuff published one way or another like that in the press.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, were you satisfied, then, from whatever you did to check up on the veracity of that statement, were you satisfied that that was an expression of the truth?

General MOSELEY. I wouldn't come here with anything less than the truth.

Mr. HEALEY. All right, you were satisfied, and then you made a speech to a large public assembly in which you voiced the same sentiment.

General MOSELEY. Yes; referring to the source.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, can you give us any information as to how you checked up the veracity of that statement, what sources you went to, to establish the authenticity of such a statement?

General MOSELEY. May I ask, are you going to let me read——

Mr. HEALEY. Yes; and you can check up anything you want; if you have anything to refresh your recollection, go ahead and do it.

General MOSELEY. Well, Mr. Chairman, if you are going to let me read this, I will have the answer there.

Mr. HEALEY. No, no; it isn't necessary to read all that to answer that question. I asked you what you had done after this person handed you a copy of the statement made in a speech by someone else, which voiced the same sentiment as contained in your speech—what you did, if anything, to establish the authenticity of that statement.

General MOSELEY. I was just interested to see, Mr. Chairman, if that checked up with information to the same effect from other sources.

Mr. HEALEY. What sources?

General MOSELEY. For instance—

Mr. HEALEY. All right, go ahead.

General MOSELEY. There was a refugee—I mean a daughter of a refugee, in the Middle West, possibly about the same time, who made this statement, she said, speaking at a gathering—the right of assembly has not been denied them.

Mr. HEALEY. You don't want to deny it to anyone, do you?

General MOSELEY. No; but I would like to see Christians have it.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, they have it.

General MOSELEY. Where? Where?

Mr. HEALEY. I don't know where it's ever been suppressed.

General MOSELEY. No; not by order, but you try—they suppressed it in our meeting in Springfield—

Mr. HEALEY. All right, let's get back to that again.

General MOSELEY. This woman said this, she said: "I have no hesitancy in calling upon American mothers for the blood of their sons provided we can lick that government which we hate." I also have—

Mr. HEALEY. What government was she referring to?

General MOSELEY. The German Government.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you hear her make that statement?

General MOSELEY. No; but that was quoted in the same way, and it was printed.

Mr. HEALEY. And whom was she representing? Was that her own statement, a statement of her own opinion?

General MOSELEY. I don't know. I don't remember.

Mr. HEALEY. As an individual?

General MOSELEY. I don't remember, but let me—I will read now from a circular that was distributed which had this in it—

Mr. DEMPSEY. General, just a minute. Do you know that the statement you are about to read now is the truth?

General MOSELEY. I believe it to be.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I don't care what you believe; do you know that it is? If you don't, I would suggest that before any statement that you are going to read here, if it is not such that you can vouch for it as being the truth, I think the statement should be submitted to counsel before it goes into the record.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, I don't get the point. Is the question that you are asking, Mr. Dempsey, whether the General knows himself definitely that this circular was printed and distributed, or are you asking him if he knows whether the content of the circular was the truth or not?

Mr. DEMPSEY. I am asking him if the content of the circular was true.

Mr. General MOSELEY. But the chairman has asked me if I can verify this statement by anything else, and so—

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). No—yes, I asked you what sources you checked it up with, sources—of course, I expect that they were sources that were authentic, sources that established the truth of such a statement.

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Now one source that you refer to now is this statement contained in a circular which you are going to read, is that right?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. That is one of the sources.

General MOSELEY. And the quoted remark I just gave you.

Mr. HEALEY. Who put out this thing? Who issued that?

General MOSELEY. This was by the chairman of the Committee of Jewish Resettlement. It is signed Max I. F-e-i-n-t-a-g.

Mr. HEALEY. You read that circular before.

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. And you believe that that source verifies the statement which you later made in a public speech?

General MOSELEY. Well, Mr. Chairman, it says on this, "Original copy held by the American Rangers, Beverly Hills, Calif."

Mr. VOORHIS. Is it a signed statement?

General MOSELEY. It isn't signed. This is a copy, you see.

Mr. HEALEY. It is a copy of a circular apparently distributed by the American Rangers?

General MOSELEY. That is where the original is deposited.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you seen the original?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are accepting that statement in that circular as being true and correct?

General MOSELEY. Yes; I believe so.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. Has it ever occurred to you, General, that a lot of this information that goes out in circular form and is distributed by some of the notorious anti-Jewish organizations is not correct?

General MOSELEY. I believe that might be the case in some of these cheap circulars that you see on the street, but I don't believe it is the case in serious-minded patriots ever.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. How do you arrive at that conclusion that this particular group is made up of serious-minded patriots; because their ideas coincide with yours?

General MOSELEY. No; because I was brought up in the Army, and I don't suspect my brother, and very seldom do I find my brother lies to me.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

General MOSELEY. Generally they are very frank with me.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is this the same type of authentic information, and did you take the same degree of caution to make certain it was authentic that you exercised in connection with the four reports that you mailed to Mr. Wilkerson in Kansas City—you described them as authentic information; the four reports that were referred to this morning, which you mailed to Mr. Wilkerson in Kansas City and described as being absolutely authentic—is this material here the same

type of material, and did you use the same efforts to determine it was authentic?

General MOSELEY. I should say this would be a little bit better, because this seems to be a copy of an original document.

Mr. WHITLEY. It would be a copy?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you don't know whether it is a copy or not?

General MOSELEY. I believe it is.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

General MOSELEY. You see, I am not a historian. I am not a historian, and I don't know about all these basic records.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you do accept the material or the information in these circulars, such as Mr. True's circulars and Mr. Edmondson's, as being absolutely correct and——

General MOSELEY (interposing). Not absolutely; I can see that they might make a mistake in judgment.

Mr. WHITLEY. You recirculate it, though, and——

General MOSELEY (interposing). Oh, I never recirculated any of their stuff. As I told you, I only got one copy, and I sometimes recirculated that one copy.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes. Well, to that extent at least you have recirculated——

General MOSELEY (interposing). Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing). And described it as being authentic, when you hadn't done a thing in the world to check it to see if it was authentic, had you? You just took it at its face value, even though the source was an organization that was notoriously anti-Jewish, and then you passed it on as being authentic?

General MOSELEY. But, as I told you this morning, most of those, that material, was quotations, don't you see, that I ever used—quotations from authorities some place else.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have seen, I presume, General, the alleged statement attributed to Benjamin Franklin with reference to the Jews, and which was widely circulated in this country in circular form—have you seen that?

General MOSELEY. No. No; I have not.

Mr. WHITLEY. You haven't?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. And which gave as its source, or stated that the original document was on file in the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia.

General MOSELEY. I have; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have seen that?

General MOSELEY. I think I have seen that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever see the repudiation of that statement issued by the Franklin Institute?

General MOSELEY. No; but I have never quoted Franklin.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you accept that statement, though, that was sent out in circular form with references to the original in the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia——

General MOSELEY (interposing). Oh, my dear friend——

Mr. WHITLEY. And it continued to circulate until the Franklin Institute repudiated it.

General MOSELEY. I have heard, my dear friend, in answer to that, that many of these statements attributed to Benjamin Franklin about the Jew are not true.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have heard that?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir; I have heard that.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is because that has publicly been denied by the alleged source—that is, the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia?

General MOSELEY. I would be very glad to go into both sides any time, I have heard, and I have never quoted Benjamin Franklin.

Mr. WHITLEY. I just wanted to develop that particular line of questioning because of your apparent readiness to support your statements by circulars that are sent out by organizations that allegedly over a period of years have been anti-Jewish.

General MOSELEY. Yes; that is true, but let me tell you something: In these many months never has anybody wrote—written me to say that what I said was untrue. They may have attacked my policy, but they have never said that anything I said was untrue.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

General MOSELEY. Do you want to hear this now?

Mr. HEALEY. Well, if you haven't the original copy, and you don't know that the original copy as a matter of fact exists, then certainly I don't think this committee should spend its time in receiving circulars that merely purport to come from a source but which we have absolutely no knowledge or no evidence at all that are based on that source; and you have no—you can't say to this committee that that particular circular is in the hands of this organization you refer to, the Rangers or whatever the name of the organization is—isn't that right?

General MOSELEY. That is true.

Mr. HEALEY. You have never seen it there, you have never seen the original?

General MOSELEY. No; I have never seen the original.

Mr. HEALEY. But you are willing to accept a copy of it?

General MOSELEY. Because I find that these patriotic organizations are 99 percent reliable.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, then you admit that even in 1 percent of the times they may be unreliable?

General MOSELEY. Well, why can't the ninety and nine Christian people in this country have a show, then?

Mr. HEALEY. It isn't that at all, sir; it doesn't come down to that. Is this the organization that you refer to, the American Ranger? [Handing a pamphlet to the witness.]

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that it?

General MOSELEY. I don't know. I am not——

Mr. HEALEY. Is that the same organization?

Mr. WHITLEY. Beverly Hills, Calif.?

General MOSELEY. Wait until I see it. It has the same address. That is all I know. I get no literature that I know——

Mr. HEALEY. You don't think that is a very patriotic pamphlet? Will you just look at the cover of that for a moment? Does that strike you as being a patriotic thing to issue?

General MOSELEY. I have not seen it, as far as I know.

Mr. HEALEY. Just from the cover of it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Does that strike you—

General MOSELEY. No; I don't think that is a fair way to—

Mr. HEALEY. You don't think it is patriotic to circulate such a pamphlet to American citizens?

Mr. WHITLEY. Does that strike you as being anti-Jewish literature?

General MOSELEY. I should say it was.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the same organization you are planning to quote as a basis for your statements?

General MOSELEY. Of course, gentlemen, if you go into that, you ought to give me a chance to bring some other pictures on the other side. They are just as bad.

Mr. HEALEY. We are going to spend a long time with you, General, and you will have opportunity here to go into many things.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, continuing, another quotation from your Philadelphia speech of March 28:

The non-Christian members of that minority group have seldom been conspicuous on the field of battle.

What minority group are you referring to?

General MOSELEY. The Jews.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

Should war come, few of them will be seen at the front, but, rather, their success has been in initiating wars and in financing them with profit to themselves.

Did you make that statement, General?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. That is a true statement from your experience?

General MOSELEY. Yes. I think that is historically correct, too.

Mr. THOMAS. General, did you see service in the World War?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir; I was over in France for over 2 years.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, as a result of that service you must know that the latter statement about the minority—meaning the Jewish people—not being at the front and not being or having been as brave as the Christians—that is what you inferred, practically—is not the case. It certainly wasn't the case in the World War.

Mr. HEALEY. What is your answer to that question?

General MOSELEY. Just what is your question, now?

Mr. THOMAS. Well, I will make my question more brief. As a result of your experience in the World War, you cannot say that the Jews were not just as brave and had just as much experience at the front as the Christians, can you?

General MOSELEY. In the regiments that I was associated with, there were very few Jews, and so I didn't see that; but I know from the records that there are Jews who did wonderfully well.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you ever come in contact with the Seventy-seventh Division from New York City?

General MOSELEY. No; not directly.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, for your information, I was in the Three Hundred and Sixth Infantry of the Seventy-seventh Division; I had a platoon. A large number of those boys were Jewish. As I recall, there were two D. S. C.'s given to men in that platoon, and both of them went to Jewish boys.

General MOSELEY. Well, that is fine.

Mr. THOMAS. And I think you will find it just as true of other regiments as of that one and of other divisions as of that one. I think that statement on your part is not correct.

Mr. HEALEY. Don't you think that statement is a little unfair, the statement you made in your speech with reference to the patriotism of the Jewish boys during times of war?

General MOSELEY. A member of the committee mentions one case. I was just talking about the whole historical background, that is all.

Mr. HEALEY. And you also include in that the World War?

General MOSELEY. Yes. That is only one small part of world history.

Mr. HEALEY. That the Jewish boys were less patriotic and were fewer in number—that is, according to their racial group—than members of other racial groups; is that what you wanted to compare in that speech?

General MOSELEY. I was not referring to the World War, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, then, you were referring to all time and all wars, weren't you?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. When you made that speech.

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. And you wanted to compare to your audience the fact that the people of the Jewish faith were less patriotic and gave less service at the front—

General MOSELEY. Their talents ran along other lines.

Mr. HEALEY (continuing). Numerically, according to their numbers, than other people?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, isn't it so that the Army records prove distinctly that the Jewish boys, the proportionate numbers of Jews at the front, was as plentiful as any others in proportion to the numbers? I think the Army records show that.

Mr. HEALEY. If you asked me that, that would be my impression.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, haven't you had access to the Army records on these things? That is, the number according to race, and so forth; they must have them classified.

General MOSELEY. I think they have them classified; yes; and we could get that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you check up before you made this statement?

General MOSELEY. But I wasn't referring to the World War.

Mr. HEALEY. You were referring to all wars?

General MOSELEY. I was referring to history—the lessons of history.

Mr. HEALEY. Now, was that statement, as a matter of fact, made on historical data or was it reflecting a state of mind, a state of animus which you possessed toward—

General MOSELEY (interposing). Not at all. I don't possess that state of animus. I have no feelings against any individuals as I sit here now. As a matter of fact, speaking of just in the World War, you remember Milton J. Forman. I knew him for a lifetime. He was a Jew. I helped him from the time he was colonel of that cavalry regiment; I helped him when he transferred it to the Field Artillery; I helped him all through the war.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Well, General, if it is true you have no animus, why in this statement that was just read did you say that was true of all wars, past and future, except the World War—I mean, because in answer to Mr. Thomas' question it seems to me you have very definitely said you didn't feel it was true with regard to that war.

Mr. MOSELEY. I never made any inquiry. I was talking about history.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Well, the World War is part of it.

General MOSELEY. A very small part—a part we should never have enacted.

Mr. HEALEY. You think that statement is justified by historical data?

General MOSELEY. I do.

Mr. THOMAS. General, of what wars in history in which America participated do you believe that to be true?

General MOSELEY. I was not talking about just our own American history. I was talking about the general situation of history, back and back.

Mr. THOMAS. You weren't referring, then, to any wars—American wars—in which the Jewish people—

General MOSELEY (interposing). No.

Mr. THOMAS. You weren't referring to any American war?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. HEALEY. General, do you think a statement of that kind at the present time promotes patriotism in this country?

General MOSELEY. The situation that we are in right now necessitates, I think, that we face the facts. I have forgotten the reference.

Mr. HEALEY. Do you want to read that again? Because I think it is important.

General MOSELEY. What precedes that?

Mr. WHITLEY. It was with reference to the situation we are in at the present time.

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. So apparently your statement is referring to or applying to America and the American situation.

General MOSELEY. I was not in any way, though, referring to the World War.

Mr. THOMAS. No; but I asked you what other wars in which America played some part were you referring to, and you answered—

General MOSELEY. I was referring to the general historical situation, for instance, in reference to the French Army.

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, yes; but you were referring to America there, isn't that true, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. WHITLEY. The whole speech is with reference to the situation in this country. Now he doesn't say—

General MOSELEY (interposing). Yes; but it is with reference to our going into war.

Mr. HEALEY. Let's see what the quotation is.

Mr. WHITLEY (reading):

The non-Christian members of that minority group have seldom been conspicuous on the field of battle. Should war come, few of them will be seen at the front, but, rather, their success has been in initiating wars and in financing them with profit to themselves.

General MOSELEY. I said that, Mr. Chairman, in connection with the subject that we discussed previously, of the effort being made by the Jews to get us embroiled in a war.

Mr. HEALEY. Don't you think that such a statement would be bound to influence your audience against people of that minority race that you referred to?

General MOSELEY. I don't think so.

Mr. VOORHIS. What would be the purpose of the speech?

General MOSELEY. I have always believed that we have—that it is our duty to keep out of any war right now, and I have felt that for many years.

Mr. VOORHIS. General, in making the speech you must have had some motive; was it to influence people, was it to enlighten them with information that you possessed?

General MOSELEY. Generally I discussed two subjects, one the battle for international peace; second, the battle to clear up the situation in regard to the enemies within our gates.

Mr. VOORHIS. Who do you refer to as "the enemies"?

General MOSELEY. These subversive organizations from coast to coast.

Mr. VOORHIS. Any particular ones?

General MOSELEY. Communism, principally.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, that is the main one in your opinion?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. What do you think about the Nazi organizations?

General MOSELEY. We discussed that this morning. I agree with you.

Mr. VOORHIS. Fascist organizations.

General MOSELEY. Yes; we are going to have those "Rightist" organizations just as long as you have communism.

Mr. VOORHIS. I don't know what you mean by "rightist."

Mr. HEALEY. I promised to let Mr. Mason ask a question; he's been waiting very patiently.

Mr. MASON. General, I am interested in your statement that history demonstrates that fact that was in your speech. What is your background, historical background? That is, what basis in history have you for making that statement? You have been a student of history?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. MASON. Is it from your own studies of history that you developed that?

General MOSELEY. My own studies of history.

Mr. MASON. Well, I have had historical background, and I have taught history in schools many years, and from my knowledge of history I would say that history disproves that statement.

General MOSELEY. All right, let us stand then in disagreement.

Mr. MASON. So then you have a different historical viewpoint, you might say; and you will find authorities in history who disagree on these things and each can develop his own particular side of the question, and from my standpoint and what I know of history—and I have taught it for 20 years or more—I would say that history disproves that statement; and even in the German Army in the World War the percentage of Jewish boys at the front fighting for Germany in the World War was as large as the percentage of other racial groups in proportion to their numbers.

General MOSELEY. But, of course, they had a system of universal service, and they had to turn out whether they wanted to turn out or not. I think we ought to just end this in disagreement.

Mr. HEALEY. Just one question. Now, won't you agree that in making a statement like that that you indicted a whole race, that you accused them of cowardice and lack of patriotism, and that your remarks were bound to inculcate in your audience a feeling of prejudice against that race?

General MOSELEY. Oh, no.

Mr. HEALEY. You won't agree to that?

General MOSELEY. I won't agree to that.

Mr. VOORHIS. General, this morning in answer to a question I asked you, you said that you believed that the only purpose of the German-American Bund was that it was a patriotic organization seeking to protect America, as I remember it.

General MOSELEY. No; to counteract communism. It is an anti-toxin, I said.

Mr. VOORHIS. But that it was not trying to promote any program of nazi-ism or fascism in this country, or not trying to lead America in the direction that Germany went or anything like that at all—is that right?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. How did you feel about the meeting they had in Madison Square Garden? I don't know, but when they have a meeting where the head of another government receives tremendous ovations and the head of my own Government is hissed and booed, somehow it does something to me, and I don't think I would care a whoop who that President was or what party he belonged to or anything else, if he is the President of my country.

Well, was that an expression of this patriotic fervor on the part of the bund trying to protect the United States?

General MOSELEY. Were you there?

Mr. VOORHIS. No, sir. There were plenty of people who were there though.

General MOSELEY. I heard a report about that meeting, and they said it was a very impressive meeting. They had the American flag up there; they had a picture of George Washington; and it was a very impressive patriotic meeting.

What happened—let me tell you. In the press for days ahead there was an advertisement that I have got in my record some place, for all the Communists in that vicinity to assemble around that meeting, and they assembled there, beginning at 6 o'clock, in an effort to make trouble.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, General, I asked you about the reception that the name of Hitler got and the reception that the name of the President of the United States got at that meeting, and what your feeling was about it.

General MOSELEY. I don't know what you are talking about. The only report I got on that, it was a very impressive patriotic meeting.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, you feel that that meeting of the bund in New York was a good thing, is that right?

General MOSELEY. I don't see why they shouldn't be allowed to meet. The Communists meet all over the United States.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think they should be allowed to meet. I agree with you thoroughly that they should be allowed to meet.

General MOSELEY. Well, let me tell you—

Mr. VOORHIS (interposing). And they were allowed to meet, and without any question.

General MOSELEY. O. K. then. The other day—

Mr. VOORHIS (interposing). But you haven't answered my question at all. Who made the report to you, General, about that meeting?

General MOSELEY. A number of people that were there. And let me tell you something: You speak about the right of assembly, you have got that question up, haven't you? Yes; here it is: Here was a meeting that was called just the other day—this came in my mail since I have been here—at Carnegie Hall, to be held on May 24. Were they allowed to have it? Here is a ticket that a patriot bought to go to that meeting. Boake Carter was one of the speakers here, and so forth.

They went to the meeting, about 8 o'clock or whatever the time was, and the place was closed. The people who were sponsoring this meeting couldn't get any other hall. The right of assembly had been denied them. And so about 600 of them, I believe—the policeman said, "Some of them are meeting over here in a hotel; that is the best they can do"—I think the Great Northern Hotel, perhaps. And they went over there, but the other thousand or two couldn't get in. Do you think that is fair?

Mr. VOORHIS. What was the meeting, General?

General MOSELEY. Here it is.

Mr. VOORHIS. Why were they denied the hall, I mean?

General MOSELEY. They have been denied halls all over this United States.

Mr. VOORHIS. Who has, and who denies them? Who is denied the halls, and who does the denying?

Mr. MOSELEY. Well, the communistic organizations are sufficiently powerful to go to the owners of all these halls and get them to deny them for the use of a particular patriotic group.

Mr. VOORHIS. What group?

General MOSELEY. This is—here it is—this meeting is under the sponsorship of the American Federation Against Communism. American Patriots, the Christian Front, and the American Nationalist Party. I don't know anything about those organizations, but I do know this: That unless the right of assembly and free speech has gone in this country, they have a right just as the bund has a right to meet.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, I agree with you.

General MOSELEY. O. K., then, get them to carry it out.

Mr. HEALEY. I will uphold your view on that sir; and, as a matter of fact, the bund met in New York City.

General MOSELEY. And a few days afterward there was a big Communist meeting in the same place. Did the bund try to interfere with them? Not at all.

Mr. VOORHIS. General, I would just like to point out, you have never yet answered my question about the reception that the name of Hitler and the name of the President got in that meeting. I am perfectly willing it should go unanswered if you prefer.

Mr. HEALEY. What was your question?

Mr. VOORHIS. My question was whether the general felt that the contrast in the reception received by the name of the German Fuehrer, Mr. Hitler, and the boos and hisses that greeted the name of the President of the United States, whether he felt that that was an expression of what he called a patriotic organization.

General MOSELEY. I don't understand that anything like that occurred in that meeting.

Mr. HEALEY. If it did occur, if his information is correct, then do you think it was a good patriotic demonstration?

General MOSELEY. I think our President ought to have the No. 1 applause in the United States.

Mr. VOORHIS. No matter whether he is somebody that we agree with or that you agree with or not, is that correct?

General MOSELEY. I agree with you. It is the position. I agree to that.

Mr. HEALEY. All right, will you continue?

Mr. WHITLEY. General, reading further from your Philadelphia speech, you offer in that speech the following quotation, which you attribute to William Z. Foster, the chairman of the Communist Party of the United States.

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY (reading) :

We Communists are unscrupulous in our choice of weapons, we allow no consideration of legality, religion, patriotism, honor, duty, and so forth, to stand in our way to the adoption of effective weapons. We propose to develop, and are developing, regardless of the capitalists' conception of legality, fairness, rights, and so forth, a greater power, and then wrest from them by force the industries.

That is offered as a statement from Mr. Foster. Do you have the source of that, or the record with reference to that statement?

General MOSELEY. I think that statement first appeared in the Daily Worker. That is the first place I think I saw it. It has appeared many places. But that is not very different from the statement made by Mr. Tugwell, printed in our Congressional Record; he said almost the same thing.

Mr. VOORHIS. Don't blame this committee for what someone else said.

General MOSELEY. Oh, well, here, now—you can't make exceptions. You can't tell me to kiss one of them and hit the other one. They all look alike to me.

I have no use for any of them.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, reading further from your Philadelphia address:

If we wish further positive evidence of the leaning of the present administration toward communism, we have it in the appointment of Felix Frankfurter. How strange it seems to you and to me, patriotic Americans, who love our country dearly, to realize that a nominee for the Supreme Court of the United States must be called before an investigating committee and asked to affirm or deny that charges that he is a Communist. The nomination of a "red" to be a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission is further evidence of the attitude of the administration. The nominee had no qualifications for the place. He had been repudiated by the people of his his own State. But, probably, his appeal to the administration was based upon the fact that he was a "red" through and through.

That was a part of your Philadelphia speech, General. Do you want to comment on that in any way?

General MOSELEY. That is up to you.

Mr. WHITLEY. I was just reading that into the record as a portion of that speech.

General MOSELEY. No; that is all right.

Mr. VOORHIS. General, you did that state that, and you did believe that, that was your belief?

General MOSELEY. Oh, yes; absolutely.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, one further quotation from your Philadelphia speech:

How about our own forces? The Army of the United States is in better shape today than at any time in its history. We could all rest in complete security at home under the protection of that Army, if we knew that in an emergency it would receive proper orders from the White House. We do know, however, that if the administration went too far to the left and asked our Military Establishment to execute orders which violated all American tradition, that Army would demur.

Would you like to enlarge upon that—that is a statement that you made in your Philadelphia speech?

General MOSELEY. Absolutely. I believe it.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you are suggesting there that the Army would do a good job provided it got the right orders from the White House?

General MOSELEY. Oh, yes; we could all sleep from coast to coast, comfortably.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you are suggesting there that since there is very serious doubt that the Army would get such orders, we should be alarmed?

General MOSELEY. In my mind there is.

Mr. VOORHIS. General, do I understand that you feel that the Army is not getting the proper orders? Is that what you—

General MOSELEY (interposing). We discussed that this morning—remember?

Mr. VOORHIS. But your answer to Mr. Whitley, that is practically what you say, that if given proper orders we could sleep comfortably.

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. You are assuming we are not sleeping comfortably because they are not getting proper orders.

General MOSELEY. One of the most important things to be established in this country today is security.

Mr. VOORHIS. And you feel we don't have that?

General MOSELEY. And we haven't got it; and I can tell you that I wouldn't believe some of the things unless I had actually seen them.

Mr. VOORHIS. And if the Army got the correct or proper orders in your opinion we could have that security?

General MOSELEY. I would like to have the American people feel that the Army is going to be used in case of an emergency and that it will get the right orders.

Mr. VOORHIS. And they are not getting the right orders now, in your opinion?

General MOSELEY. They are not permitted now, Mr. Congressman, to investigate communism and these subversive activities within our shores.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well now, General, let me ask you about that. There has been much said by you on that score. I understood that the Reserve officers had a division that investigated subversive activities, un-American activities, and that was stopped. Such men as Mr. Campbell was one of the officers doing it. Do you consider him a proper person, with his beliefs and feeling, to be investigating subversive activities?

General MOSELEY. He belongs to the Reserve, Mr. Congressman, and I don't believe they should do it, but I believe the Regular Army, who are professional, should do it. I think the Regular Army should at every moment of the day be in absolute close touch with the situation in America, so that if they got orders to act they will know exactly what that situation is, don't you see? That is what I feel. Now, they have been cautioned——

Mr. VOORHIS (interposing). I just wanted to get your thought.

General MOSELEY. They have been cautioned "Don't do this," "Don't go there." I agree with you that the Army, Regular Army, should not interfere with the civil activities of this Government, yes, but they should be ready so that when there comes a call for them to act they can act just like that [snapping fingers].

Remember that the Communists have said in connection with some of these strikes that every strike is a rehearsal. They said that out in Michigan. And young Mr. James Roosevelt took lunch with me one day down in Atlanta, and I showed him this order, which quotes a law of 1929, outlining the President's authority and duty in reference to that very situation, when your life or your property is in any way endangered. At the same time, however, the Attorney General laid on the President's desk, as I understand——

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). Well, now, you don't want to testify to that unless you know it.

General MOSELEY. Well, I am answering his question.

Mr. HEALEY. All right, do you know he laid an opinion there?

General MOSELEY. What?

Mr. HEALEY. Do you know that he laid an opinion on the President's desk?

General MOSELEY. I think that is what young James said—an opinion that the President had no authority to ask——

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). This is hearsay now, my friend, unless you know that he did.

Mr. THOMAS. Did the President's son make that statement to you?

General MOSELEY. As I recall it, we were sitting there at lunch.

Mr. THOMAS. You do recall that he did make the statement to you?

General MOSELEY. He answered it by this——

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). Just try to recall just what he said.

General MOSELEY. I can't attempt to repeat the exact words, after that lapse of time.

Mr. THOMAS. What was the purport of his remark?

General MOSELEY. Well, he did say this, as I recall: That it may be necessary to employ the Army in an emergency of this kind, or something of—some general statement. That is all; he said very little.

Mr. MASON. But about the Attorney General's opinion rendered to the President, what did he say about that?

General MOSELEY. I don't think he said a thing about that. I said something about that.

Mr. THOMAS. General, while you had contact with the Army in your investigation of subversive activities, did you ever have any contact with the F. B. I.?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. THOMAS. Ever make any report to the F. B. I.?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you ever hear of a report—investigation and report—that the F. B. I. made in connection with the bund?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. THOMAS. You never heard of that?

General MOSELEY. I heard they made a report of the bund, but—

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). Did you ever hear of any investigation and report they ever made in regard to communistic activities?

General MOSELEY. Yes; I understand they have got a complete file on that.

Mr. THOMAS. You understand they have a complete file on communism?

General MOSELEY. I have heard that stated, that they have quite a complete file of their investigations of communistic activities. I just heard that in hearsay.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you ever hear of any investigation they made of Communist members employed in our Federal Government today?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. THOMAS. Because I happen to have a letter from the head of the F. B. I. definitely stating that no investigation had ever been made along those lines.

General MOSELEY. I don't know, sir. I know very little about the F. B. I., only as I read about them in the press.

Mr. HEALEY. Are you through?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Proceed.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, reading from copy of your address delivered at Springfield, Ill., on April 26, 1939:

They had many difficulties, as you know, in making the arrangements for this little gathering. I think the experience will no doubt strengthen us and show us how far-reaching certain activities are. But thank God that freedom of speech and the right of assembly won out in this historic city of Springfield, Ill.! Probably all our names will be taken down and listed for liquidation. But no, the tide is turning definitely in America from coast to coast, and if there is going to be any liquidation, it may be of a very different order. You and I are being put through a very severe test today. The question is, can millions of patriotic Christian Americans be cowed and submerged by a small minority, or will we stand up and fight and rescue the Republic of the United States of America? That should be our slogan—Rescue the Republic!

What is the minority you refer to there, General?

General MOSELEY. The Communists. That is the Springfield speech?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right.

General MOSELEY. Do you want anything further about that?

Mr. WHITLEY. And you state in that quotation I just read, General, that, "Probably all our names will be taken down and listed for liquidation." Then you go on to say that the tide is turning from coast—

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). What do you mean by "liquidation," General?

General MOSELEY. Bumping us off, some way or other.

Mr. WHITELEY. And you predict that the liquidation will be of a very different order, you mean—

General MOSELEY. You must remember that since this emergency has come up greater and greater every month throughout the United States, hundreds of small, little patriotic organizations have been organized, all over this country. They are springing up every minute.

Mr. VOORHIS. General, could you give us the name of some of them?

General MOSELEY. No; I can't.

Mr. VOORHIS. Not a single one?

Mr. MOSELEY. No. When I walked out of this hall, several people who I don't know bumped into me and said something about organizations being formed here and there. I don't know what they are; I don't know the names of these people. They are being organized all over the United States, patriotic organizations in the interest of this Republic.

Now let me tell you something—you are speaking about Springfield, aren't you?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right.

General MOSELEY. They couldn't get a hall down there. Those lads wanted to have a meeting; was the right of assembly accorded them? No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You did have a hall, didn't you?

General MOSELEY. They had a little bit of a banquet room in a hotel. They couldn't get any hall. The opposition came from miles around. They not only did that, they contacted the press, because the press came to see me—wouldn't let any mention of this thing hardly be in the press. They had paid for 30 minutes radio—

Mr. WHITLEY. Who is "the opposition" you are referring to?

General MOSELEY. The Communists. It just happened to be their representatives in this campaign that I am describing now were all Jews. They came from Ohio; they came personally and by telephone from Chicago; they came from Peoria.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know of any of those that came from Chicago, or is this—

General MOSELEY. No, they telephoned from Chicago—some of them I think came also. But they had paid for—those patriots had paid for 30 minutes radio time, and the manager of the radio station came to see me and he said, "General, unless you modify your remarks there in reference to the refugees and one other or two things"—"on other thing there," I believe he said, "you can't give those remarks over the radio." So that was taken away from us, and they returned the money.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is usual radio procedure, isn't it, the radio station censors—

General MOSELEY. I see Mr. Dies of this committee couldn't get permission to—

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing). Speakers before they put their addresses or talks on the air?

General MOSELEY. Mr. Dies wasn't allowed to speak in Chicago for the same reason.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, you refer to "all of these patriotic organizations" that have sprung up over the country. You have consistently throughout the day referred to all of these organizations as "patriotic organizations." You apparently have no very intimate knowledge of their activities, because you can't identify——

General MOSELEY (interposing). I call them "patriotic" if they stand for this Republic and want to see it continue.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did it ever occur to you that a lot of these organizations might be nothing more than rackets to get in a little money selling literature to people who want to believe the things that are in that literature?

General MOSELEY. I say that in my statement here; I make that statement.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you don't except those when you refer to "patriotic organizations"; you refer to all of them as such.

General MOSELEY. No; I say in my statement here that I found some of them to be rackets pure and simple.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, you haven't stated that in your oral testimony. You have just referred to all of them as "patriotic organizations."

Continuing from your Springfield speech——

Mr. VOORHIS (interposing). Where did you obtain the information that Mr. Dies had been denied time on the radio?

General MOSELEY. Not time on the radio—to meet at the stadium in Chicago. That was in the public press.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, he was not denied time on the radio, nor was he denied permission to speak in the stadium, as I understand—they did ask for an advance copy of the speech, which is customary.

General MOSELEY. Yes, and he probably knew they were going to cut out the heart of it and he gave up his time.

Mr. VOORHIS. I happen to know—I am not familiar with it, but the secretary tells me that he was not denied an opportunity to speak.

General MOSELEY. Of course you could get up there and read the Bible, probably.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, that would be all right, wouldn't it?

General MOSELEY. Yes, but it doesn't bear on this particular subject of communism, that is the issue.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, reading further from your Springfield speech:

I stand definitely for patriotic leadership—patriotic, Christian leadership——

General MOSELEY (interposing). Christian, yes.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

and I want everybody in this audience who agrees with me to stand up.

Reading further——

General MOSELEY (interposing). Can I answer that?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes, any explanation you want to make.

General MOSELEY. I have an idea this is still a Christian country, don't you see, and the question was brought up in Boston, they made a complaint against me, the Jews did, because I made a plea for

patriotic, Christian leadership. So I referred them to the Holy Trinity case, which said some years ago that after all we are a Christian Nation. I was brought up to feel that we were and are.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have any reason to believe that we are not, at the present time?

General MOSELEY. There is an objection to the use of the word "Christian," and that is all they objected to, the use of the word "Christian," and they want to take out of my mouth the word "Christ" and "Christian" and they can't do it?

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you have a letter or anything definite that that was the objection?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I mean did they——

General MOSELEY. That was the only thing they objected to.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that your——

General MOSELEY. That was the only thing they objected to.

Mr. WHITLEY. That one word?

General MOSELEY. "Christian."

Mr. WHITLEY. Did they so state?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did anybody so state?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you have a letter or anything to that effect, or resolution, or is that your interpretation of the protest against your——

General MOSELEY (interposing). I have all the evidence back——

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). You don't have it with you?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Continuing your Springfield speech:

Mr. Hitler will make his answer to Mr. Roosevelt day after tomorrow. That answer will mean much to the peace of the world, but certainly it should not involve us in war, unless the man in the White House has some ulterior reason for leading this Nation into war.

What do you think that ulterior reason suggested there might be, General?

General MOSELEY. On several occasions, during the last year or two—during the last year, I have had letters to the effect that the writers believed—I don't know who they were; don't remember now—that the President might get us involved in war to carry him over to 1940. That has been stated—been stated in the public press.

Mr. HEALEY. People wrote those letters to you?

General MOSELEY. What?

Mr. HEALEY. People wrote letters of that nature to you?

General MOSELEY. I remember having one of that nature from a man of the press. I don't remember who he was.

Mr. HEALEY. But at any rate, then, was your opinion based on information contained in those letters?

General MOSELEY. Oh, I have watched this war situation very carefully.

Mr. HEALEY. That isn't my question, sir. Was your opinion formed as a result of receiving those letters?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, you sort of followed up the question of counsel in such a way that—with such an answer that I am led to infer, unless you explain it, that that is the reason that you advance for the man in the White House getting us into war. That seems to me to be a pretty flimsy reason for a man who is a major general and has gone all up through the stages of Army service, to accuse the President of the United States of trying to get us into war, merely on the basis of some information you receive from letter writers.

General MOSELEY. Oh, no.

Mr. HEALEY. That is the inference you left.

General MOSELEY. I testified here earlier of an effort to get us into war, and my remark was coupled with the statement that the speaker said that they had encouragement at the White House.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, this represents your own opinion?

General MOSELEY. That is my own opinion.

Mr. WHITLEY. Your own opinion, which is that the President might involve this country in war for some ulterior motive.

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. That is your view?

General MOSELEY. Mine.

Mr. HEALEY. That is your own view; no one else's—your own personal view, for which you accept full accountability; is that correct?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. General, did you read the newspaper accounts of Ambassador Bullitt's speech in France the other day?

General MOSELEY. No. I have been traveling for 2 or 3 weeks.

Mr. THOMAS. You didn't read that speech?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. HEALEY. Will you proceed, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading further from your Springfield speech, General:

Are there any other influences at work in an endeavor to commit us to war? I know of only one, and that is the influence of the Jews from coast to coast. Speakers have covered the United States, addressing the assembled Jews, stating that it was their endeavor to compel this administration to force Hitler to reinstate the Jews in Germany to their former status, even at the cost of war. The speaker who appeared in Atlanta stated that they received much encouragement in their plan from the man in the White House.

General, did you hear any of those speeches that were made from coast to coast?

General MOSELEY. No. I told you before that a reliable person in the audience gave me that, and you don't care to accept this statement—

Mr. HEALEY. Now, General, let's not get into that. You can answer that. You can give a fair answer that will be fair to yourself and fair to the committee without going off on some other tangent. The question of the counsel was—what was the question? Repeat your question.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you want me to read this?

General MOSELEY. No; just the question.

Mr. WHITLEY. The question on that portion of your speech which I asked, General, was whether you knew of your own knowledge that speakers were covering the United States from coast to coast in an effort to get this country into war.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, now, just answer that, of your own knowledge; you don't need any memorandum——

General MOSELEY. That was on my—as a result of my own investigation.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. Did you hear any of those speeches?

General MOSELEY. I did not.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, what investigation do you refer to? If you didn't hear any of the speeches yourself, you didn't hear of a solitary speech of that nature made by any person of Jewish blood, then where did you get the information?

General MOSELEY. I got the information from somebody who was in the audience.

Mr. HEALEY. In what audience?

General MOSELEY. In the audience where the Jews were assembled.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that on one occasion, or all over the United States?

General MOSELEY. On that particular occasion.

Mr. WHITLEY. Now, you say here they are doing that all over the United States, from coast to coast?

General MOSELEY. That is a fact. The speaker said that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Oh, the speaker in the audience on this occasion?

General MOSELEY. The speaker said—he was describing their plan, just as outlined in this circular here that you don't care to accept.

Mr. WHITLEY. That person who was present there was not Mr. Deatherage, was it?

General MOSELEY. Oh, no.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, you just are taking hearsay information from a person who sat in an audience to base a statement which you later make in a speech, and give all of the semblance of authenticity, that these people are advocating this thing all over the United States.

General MOSELEY. What better evidence could I have? That was verified from reports from many other directions.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, can you quote us any other verification?

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, of your own knowledge, General, without assistance—of your own knowledge.

General MOSELEY. What is the question now you want?

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Healey asked you if you had information from other sources.

General MOSELEY. I quoted the source of the woman making a speech in the Middle West, calling upon the mothers for the blood of their sons, and so forth. I quoted that this morning. That is another.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you know that of your own knowledge?

General MOSELEY. No——

Mr. HEALEY. Didn't hear her say that?

General MOSELEY. I wasn't there. I can't be all over the United States.

Mr. HEALEY. That was something you had on hearsay evidence, too?

General MOSELEY. No; that was printed. That was printed in a report.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you read the report?

General MOSELEY. Yes; I did.

Mr. HEALEY. Where did that report come from?

General MOSELEY. I don't remember. There is a mass of literature on this subject.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was it one of Mr. True's reports?

General MOSELEY. I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Deatherage?

General MOSELEY. I don't know—not Deatherage's, I don't think.

Mr. WHITLEY. If it came in a report, you accepted it on face value as being 100 percent correct?

General MOSELEY. Would depend on where it came from. As you said, some of these patriotic organizations are rackets.

Mr. WHITLEY. Will you describe them both as "patriotic" and as "rackets"? You make no distinction? In other words, if it is a racket, you still call it a patriotic organization?

General MOSELEY. Oh, no. I said the reason I had nothing to do with certain organizations was that I realized they were rackets, pure and simple.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. You just now said that "some of these patriotic organizations are rackets." You mean the alleged patriotic organizations, I presume, General?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, reading further from your Springfield speech:

The problem of the Jew in America must be studied and solved without further delay. We cannot expect to escape the experience of every other nation of the world which has been faced with that very same problem. Jewish refugees from abroad are entering this country in large numbers, lawfully and unlawfully, from those parts of the world where anti-Jewish sentiment is growing. The same feeling is growing rapidly in America from coast to coast. The problem should be recognized and solved before further tragedy overtakes the Jews who live in the United States of America.

General MOSELEY. I think that is only in friendliness to them.

Mr. WHITLEY (reading):

Once upon a time we adopted the policy of keeping out of this country certain Asiatics. We have not been very successful in culling out the undesirables coming to us from across the Atlantic. We must find some solution for that problem. Over 2,000 years of recorded history show clearly that the traits which have made the Jew unwelcome in every place he has been domiciled cannot be bred out.

General, you state up here with reference to Jewish refugees entering this country "lawfully and unlawfully"—do you have any knowledge—that is, any information of your own knowledge—that refugees are entering this country unlawfully?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You do have? Have you turned that over to the immigration authorities?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. For proper action?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. This evidence that you have that refugees are entering unlawfully—

General MOSELEY. I have no evidence other than this: the shipping companies—of course they have the number that are shipped on every boat, whether they come to America, whether they go to Canada, or whether they go to a Caribbean port—and they are run in from there. They have also been run in in considerable numbers from Havana.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is this from reports and hearsay?

General MOSELEY. No; that is just from conversations with the various shipping companies, that is all.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you pass that on as a definite, positive fact that they are being brought in unlawfully.

General MOSELEY. Yes; that is a fact.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you report that to any proper authority who would have jurisdiction over such a situation?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't?

General MOSELEY. No; because—

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). You just made it in a speech.

General MOSELEY. Because I understood that was being winked at.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. HEALEY. Was that based on hearsay too—the latter statement based on hearsay?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In the last sentence of that comment in this speech. General—

Over 2,000 years of recorded history show clearly that the traits which have made the Jew unwelcome every place he has been domiciled cannot be bred out—are you inferring that he is unwelcome here and that something should be done about it; is that the inference?

General MOSELEY. I just mean by that that we cannot hope to escape that problem finally here.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. You don't think that that statement indicates any anti-Jewish feeling or sentiment on your part?

General MOSELEY. No; I believe in watching our breed in America very carefully. Just now we are having a lot of difficulties with the unemployed and one thing and another.

Mr. WHITLEY. In this Springfield speech you repeat the rabbi story, which we have gone into earlier, so we won't touch on that again.

Mr. HEALEY. Do you make some point of repeating that? Is that along the line of other instances of trying to inculcate with your audience some hatred for Jewish people?

General MOSELEY. I was not.

Mr. HEALEY. Or feeling of animus against the Jewish people?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. HEALEY. But you have repeated that rabbi story, I see now, in two speeches that you made in different sections of the country.

General MOSELEY. The only reason I repeated that story, they often refer to the fact as how patriotic they are.

Mr. HEALEY. And you don't believe they are patriotic?

General MOSELEY. I don't—I believe the Jew is an internationalist first; he is a patriot at home second.

Mr. HEALEY. You indict the whole race with that—

General MOSELEY. No; I think the leaders are that, surely.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading further from the Springfield speech:

I was in a western city when Sears, Roebuck Co. had just discharged 200 people and employed refugees. Do you wonder, then, that there is a growing resentment on the part of our own flesh and blood against the refugees? That feeling is as tense as tense can be, and it only takes the slightest spark to set it off.

General MOSELEY. What is that?

Mr. WHITLEY (reading):

That feeling is as tense as tense can be, and it only takes the slightest spark to set it off.

General MOSELEY. I don't think it was stated in those words in the original.

Mr. WHITLEY. Let's go back and see, General—the Springfield speech, that is the copy I had.

Mr. HEALEY. You didn't say that?

General MOSELEY. I don't know. I don't remember those——

Mr. WHITLEY. As I explained awhile ago, I was reading from my copy, because I had it marked.

General MOSELEY. I don't remember any statement—I commented on that same subject, but the word “spark” I don't remember.

Mr. MASON. While counsel is looking that up in your own record, General, this story of the rabbi statement being repeated in various speeches, it seems to me we ought to have the name of that rabbi in our records, so that we can check on that story with that rabbi. It seems to me it is only fair to him and fair to the committee that we should know that rabbi's name.

General MOSELEY. Oh, I don't think that is fair, Mr. Congressman, because why do we want to involve him?

Mr. MASON. Well, General, if he made that statement, as you believe that he did, and you have repeatedly used that statement, then it seems to me in fairness to him and the fairness to the Nation, if not to this committee, that we ought to have that name so we can check with him and get him to deny it—and get him before this committee and either accept the statement or deny it, and we can't do that unless we have his name.

General MOSELEY. That is the reason, Mr. Congressman, that I, in talking with this man who came to see me in reference to that statement, I said “If I have said anything there that is not 100 per cent correct, you come back and see me again.”

Mr. MASON. But in spite of that, General, I say that we ought to have that name, and we ought to have that rabbi before this committee, because——

General MOSELEY (interposing). I don't think that is quite fair, because——

Mr. MASON (interposing). It certainly is fair to the Jewish people. If a rabbi of—if a rabbi goes around making statements of that kind, it is only fair to the patriotic Jewish people of the Nation that they know who he is.

General MOSELEY. Well, then, let me furnish at the same time some statements in that same connection from others of the same race.

Mr. MASON. Oh, yes. Anyone who is quoted here and used as that story will be by the newspapers, we should have the name, and we should give that man an opportunity to either affirm or deny it, in fairness to the Jewish people.

General MOSELEY. Well, but there are many stories that could be quoted of the same kind from other rabbis.

Mr. MASON. But they are not quoted and not a part of our records, and this is quoted and is a part of our records. Therefore, it is our job to check on that and make that rabbi either affirm or deny it.

Mr. HEALEY. And this story was told you personally: this is something you know of your own knowledge?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. Is that right? Well, I think the committee ought to have the name of that man, if the committee wants it.

General MOSELEY. If I am compelled to give the name, it is Rabbi Marx, of Atlanta.

Mr. HEALEY. Can you identify him any further—his first name?

General MOSELEY. I am not positive about the first name. He is well known there.

Mr. VOORHIS. Does he spell it M-a-r-x?

General MOSELEY. Sir?

Mr. VOORHIS. How does he spell his name?

General MOSELEY. M-a-r-x.

Mr. THOMAS. General, were there any witnesses whose names you could supply that heard him make that statement?

General MOSELEY. No, sir. I was sitting between two men at the speakers' table at this dinner. There was a man on my right here, naturally, and the rabbi was on my left. I first talked to this man, and then I turned, and the rabbi had various things to say, and gave me this talk on internationalism, and then followed it with that statement.

Mr. THOMAS. General, what was the date of that dinner?

General MOSELEY. I can find it, because it was the annual dinner of the chamber of commerce of Atlanta, I am sure.

Mr. THOMAS. And was that the dinner this year?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. 1939, General, or 1938?

General MOSELEY. About the first of the year—whether it is over one side or not, I don't—

Mr. HEALEY. Have you got that yet, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. WHITLEY. I haven't found it.

General, does this copy you gave me represent the exact speech that you delivered? Did you depart from your manuscript?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't depart any from your manuscript?

General MOSELEY. No: that was taken right from the notes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was that taken down stenographically at the meeting, or was it your notes prepared prior to the meeting?

General MOSELEY. No: that was taken down by a recorder at the meeting.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was? Well, that is the copy I have here, supposed to have been likewise recorded. Well, do you remember, General, making the statement about Sears, Roebuck? I don't find that statement at all in your copy—anything about it?

General MOSELEY. I didn't make any statement of that kind, as I recall, about Sears, Roebuck at the meeting, when I spoke. I think that came up at a dinner that we had of a small group just before the meeting, in which that question was discussed, and that report had been given to me when I was in Philadelphia.

Mr. VOORHIS. What was the western city?

General MOSELEY. Sir?

Mr. VOORHIS. What city in the West did Sears, Roebuck dismiss the 200 men from, or 200 employees?

General MOSELEY. I think it referred to Philadelphia.

Mr. VOORHIS. I thought that the statement said the West.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, apropos your remark here—we are trying to check it here—about Sears, Roebuck & Co. has there been any suit filed in connection with that statement or any suit threatened?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has Sears, Roebuck threatened to file suit as a result of that statement?

General MOSELEY. Not that I know of.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, your recollection is that you did make such a statement about Sears, Roebuck; you don't know whether it was this particular time or not?

General MOSELEY. But I think it was only in a small group before that—before the meeting. I don't think it was at the big meeting.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. Well, it is not really important. The fact remains that you did make such a statement; you made some statement, a statement about Sears, Roebuck discharging employees and taking on refugees?

General MOSELEY. If I made it, it was only in reporting a report that came to me, don't you see, and I am quite sure that that was at a little group at dinner before the meeting, don't you see?

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

Mr. HEALEY. That is part of a system that has been promulgated by many of these patriotic organizations you have referred to, isn't it, the story of repeating that people have been discharged from firms throughout the country to make room for refugee employees?

General MOSELEY. Not that I know of.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you ever hear that repeated by any of these patrioteers you have referred to before?

General MOSELEY. I don't think so. That has been a matter of discussion in the press. I have seen it discussed in the press often.

Mr. HEALEY. But you have never made any actual attempt yourself to discover the truth or falsity of it?

General MOSELEY. No; and that is the reason I have been very careful always to have my data, and I am quite sure that wasn't made in an open meeting.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, we will check that. I have another stenographic transcript upstairs that is authenticated by the notary that took it. If we can get two of them to check, why we will accept that as being the proper one.

General MOSELEY. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, referring to your Boston speech, made at a meeting sponsored by the Sentinels of the Republic in Boston, at the Parker House, March 4, 1939, you didn't have a copy of this speech, but I will ask you if you recall this statement:

If we wish further positive evidence of the leaning of the present administration toward communism, we have it in the appointment of Felix Frankfurter. The nomination of a red to be a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission is further evidence of the attitude of the administration. The nominee had no qualifications for the place. He had been repudiated by the people of his own State; but probably his appeal to the administration was based upon the fact that he was a red through and through.

I read that statement to you out of another speech.

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you recall making that in your Boston speech also?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. I think you have already commented on that. I just wanted to get it identified.

Reading further from your Boston speech:

How about our own forces? The Army of the United States is in better shape today than at any time during its history. We could rest in complete security at home under the protection of that Army if we knew that in an emergency it would receive proper orders from the White House. We do know, however, that if the administration went too far to the left and asked our Military Establishment to execute orders which violated all American tradition, that Army would demur and would probably take charge of the situation from coast to coast. It is your salvation today. Do you know that today the Army is not permitted to investigate the enemies living and operating within our gates; that it can make no plans to combat that enemy? The Communists, on the other hand, have definite plans to take over our principal cities. They say openly that every strike is a rehearsal.

Do you recall making that statement in your Boston speech?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is similar to a statement made in one of your other speeches and which you have already explained.

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Unless you have some further comment to make, why I won't ask you any specific questions on that.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to ask a question right there in regard to the speeches.

Mr. HEALEY. Go right ahead.

Mr. THOMAS. General, the counsel asked you a question this morning relative to a statement that William Z. Foster made. William Z. Foster said, according to your quotation which you read, "We Communists are unscrupulous in our choice of weapons; we allow no consideration of legality, religion, patriotism, honor, duty," and so forth—there was some little talk this morning in regard to that statement. I want to say to the committee that this committee has in its files the original copy of the Daily Worker which included that statement. I just want to say that in case there was any misunderstanding—or also want to say it in order to clear up the matter.

Mr. HEALEY. I don't think there was any case of any misunderstanding, Mr. Thomas. That statement was just made, and nobody interrogated any further.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, what fee did you receive in the nature of an honorarium in connection with the speeches or the public addresses which you have made? Did you receive any compensation for your speeches?

General MOSELEY. Once in a great while. Generally it was limited only to an expense account, and often not a thing. I answer that in my statement about expenses.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, what is your retirement pay, your pay as a retired officer in the Army?

General MOSELEY. \$6,000 a year, but the amount that is available is less than that, because I carry quite a bit of insurance that has to come out.

Mr. HEALEY. The United States Government gives you an annual pension of \$6,000 a year?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, I believe in your testimony this morning with reference to your association with Mr. Campbell you indicated that that association which started prior to your resignation—

General MOSELEY (interposing). Retirement.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing). Had been continued down to the present time, had been rather casual and infrequent: I believe that was the tenor of your statement.

General MOSELEY. Before I retired I think he only came about once a year or several months, as I recall.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. That is, you only saw him occasionally. Did you keep in close contact with him through the medium of correspondence?

General MOSELEY. Yes; I often wrote him.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see; and in conjunction with the reports he sent and other matters in which you and he might be interested.

General MOSELEY. You see, he didn't send me any of these reports until after I retired.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; I understood that, but you did indicate—or rather I got the impression from your testimony, that your relations with him had been not very close or extremely intimate.

General MOSELEY. Oh, yes; I know him well, and I often wrote him.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you have not kept in very close touch with him?

General MOSELEY. I wouldn't say very close touch, but he was a friend of mine. I often wrote him. If there was any occasion for me to write him, I would write him.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe you also indicated in your testimony this morning that you had never heard of Mr. Deatherage until the meeting in Cincinnati.

General MOSELEY. November 11.

Mr. WHITLEY. November 11 last year, and that subsequently he followed that up by a visit of several weeks with you in Atlanta?

General MOSELEY. I think he was 3 or 4 weeks; about 4 weeks.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, he was there twice. He was there first for a day or two, and then he came back and spent a considerable time?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that he made various propositions with reference—or suggestions with reference—to you heading a national organization to take in all of these small groups; that you were not sympathetic to the idea, and further that you would not identify yourself with him or either of his organizations because you didn't approve of them?

General MOSELEY. Yes. In one or two cases it didn't apply, I don't believe, to Deatherage, but it did apply to one New York office. I at first thought it was a perfectly proper thing for me to do, and later upon investigation I found it was not, and so I declined the thing absolutely. I investigated it very carefully.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, reading from letter dated December 1, 1938, addressed to you by Mr. Campbell, which letter he has previ-

ously identified—this is a carbon copy taken from his files—he states as follows:

The encouragement given by you while I was chairman of the Reserve Officers Subversive Activities Committee, your recent speeches, and your record places you in my mind as the most outstanding real American today, and because of this, I am glad to be called your friend.

Since the official abolition of that committee, we have secured some extremely valuable information, information which subsequent evidence has proved to be correct.

While you were on active duty, I did not send these reports to you for obvious reasons, but now that you are retired and feel as many thousands of us do, I would like for you to have some, and I am, therefore, enclosing copies of some recent reports which I think will be of interest to you.

Apparently that was the first of the reports he sent.

General MOSELEY. That refers, as I stated, I believe, to his first time he sent me any of those so-called secret reports.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right. He states further on in that letter:

There are two things happening today which, if the information becomes available, will be of sufficient import for my conveying it to you personally, and I will be happy to run down to Atlanta for that purpose.

Do you recall whether he came down to Atlanta about that time to convey this very confidential information to you personally?

General MOSELEY. No; I do not.

Mr. HEALEY. By the way, did Campbell ever solicit you for any funds?

General MOSELEY. For any funds?

Mr. HEALEY. Yes.

General MOSELEY. Not a cent, not a cent. He knows I am busted. I wish somebody would help and pay my bills about the first of every month.

Mr. HEALEY. You think that is the only reason he did not ask you for anything?

General MOSELEY. I stated, Mr. Chairman, I thought he was a good patriot, and I felt that he was paying a lot of these expenses himself. I refer to my finances—

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). Did you know of his source of livelihood?

General MOSELEY. No; only since I have seen it stated in the discussion from the press.

Mr. HEALEY. During the time you were meeting him and conferring with him and considering with him, you didn't know what his source of livelihood was?

General MOSELEY. I did not.

Mr. HEALEY. You didn't know what his occupation was?

General MOSELEY. Yes; I was under the impression that he was combining this work with his engineering work, don't you see, because he gave me the impression that his engineering work took him certain places, don't you see?

Mr. HEALEY. But you never inquired about the details?

General MOSELEY. No. I—

Mr. HEALEY. About any jobs he had, in the engineering field, or anything of that sort?

General MOSELEY. No. I never was in his city. I never visited him in his home town, so I don't know anything about it.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, I show you for identification letter dated December 7, 1938, Atlanta, Ga., addressed to Capt. J. E. Campbell, Owensboro, Ky., signed George Van Horn Moseley. Is that your letter?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. This letter is your reply to the letter from Mr. Campbell which I just read, or from which I read excerpts?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. In your reply you state as follows:

It was difficult for me to do much while I was on the active list, for our instructions from Washington were very definite in keeping us away from all inquiries into subversive activities. Now I am perfectly free to tackle this problem. I am deeply impressed with the seriousness of it all, but at the same time I am greatly encouraged by the reaction throughout patriotic America. I have the feeling that a movement is now beginning which will result in driving all our enemies into the Atlantic and the Pacific.

To whom are you referring there, "our enemies," General?

General MOSELEY. Communists, and remember that——

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). You didn't say "Communists," you say "all our enemies."

General MOSELEY. Remember, that is figurative.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, it would be more accurate if you had "driving Communists into the Atlantic and the Pacific"?

General MOSELEY. Remember, these are personal letters between friends.

Mr. WHITLEY. On the back of this letter, General, you have written in longhand:

I have gotten some very good information from a George Deatherage. It all proves up very well. Please give me a brief report on him if you can.

G. V. H. M.

General MOSELEY. I testified this morning that at this time I was new to all these activities, and I had to ask questions, and I told you this morning I asked Deatherage and found that the information he gave me then proved up very well as to these people who were in charge of these various organizations.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

General MOSELEY. And it still proves up very well today.

Mr. HEALEY. He told you some of them were racketeers?

General MOSELEY. I think that is my—that was my——

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). He told you that at that time, didn't Deatherage tell you some of these people were racketeers?

General MOSELEY. Probably he did. I think, though, that that term was mine.

Mr. HEALEY. That term was mine, he used—oh, that term is yours?

General MOSELEY. That term is mine, don't you see? I think I was the one that referred to them as racketeers.

Mr. HEALEY. But did Deatherage inform you that some of these people who were trying to talk with you at that time were racketeers?

General MOSELEY. Were rackets pure and simple, yes; and I called them racketeers.

Mr. HEALEY. That they were making a racket out of the movements?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Living on them, it was a meal ticket for them?

General MOSELEY. Yes. It has been so for years.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe, General, in your testimony this morning with reference to Mr. Campbell, you stated that you did not consider him anti-Jewish or antiracial, is that correct?

General MOSELEY. That is my impression.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe you also stated or indicated you didn't consider him, from your knowledge of him, to have Fascist or Nazi sympathies or leanings.

General MOSELEY. I felt that he was just a good patriot going along the middle of the line.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading from copy of letter dated December 9, 1938, Owensboro, Ky., addressed to you by Mr. Campbell, which letter Mr. Campbell has previously identified—this is in reply to your letter to Mr. Campbell of December 7, which I just read:

I can appreciate the difficulty you were under while on the active list, relative to subversive activities. Isn't it a travesty on American ideas of fair play when we stand by passively and meekly permit the publicity mediums of this country to maintain a steadied silence on the murder of Christians in Russia, Hungary, and Spain and then, to see our intelligence challenged by the loud wailing and ranting about tears being shed in Germany?

Do you agree with Mr. Campbell's comment or observation there, General?

General MOSELEY. Yes, I do; and I don't remember any evidence where we shed a single tear when some 30,000,000 Christians were slaughtered in Russia. Did we do a thing then? Have we done anything since about it? No! Trotzky lives down here in Mexico. He on his own order killed some 3,000,000 Christians. Did we do anything about it? No! We are weeping a lot of tears, though, now because some refugees are being persecuted, we think.

Mr. HEALEY. You are opposed to all kinds of persecution?

General MOSELEY. Huh?

Mr. HEALEY. You are opposed to all kinds of persecution, aren't you?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Continuing from this same letter:

The feeling which you have about a movement to drive our enemies into the Atlantic and the Pacific is one that has been long an ideal of some of us, and I feel with the work that has been accomplished, we must now take definite steps to combat those subversive forces in our good country by the proper coordination of intelligence and genuinely American movements in order to assure the maximum degree of success in our mission—

“our mission” referring to your suggestion that “we drive these enemies into the Atlantic and into the Pacific”?

General MOSELEY. No; but read what he says again.

Mr. HEALEY. About the coordination.

Mr. WHITLEY. “Take definite steps to combat”—

General MOSELEY (interposing). No—to the intelligent coordination activities of what?

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

by the proper coordination of intelligence and genuinely American movements in order to assure the maximum degree of success in our mission.

Do you agree with the mission?

General MOSELEY. His idea was just to unite the efforts of all patriotic groups. You must remember, that is a figure of speech, “to drive them into the Atlantic and the Pacific”; that simply means

we are going to get rid of communism. You mustn't take that as the words might signify—I mean that is not physically; that is to just get rid of communism from one coast to the other, that is all.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is just worded a little militantly there?

General MOSELEY. Yes; that is my style.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

The gentleman to which you referred, Mr. George Deatherage, is head of the Knights of the White Camellia. We checked information from him and found it to be in most instances subsequently correct. Only one or two discrepancies were found on some data sent from the Pacific coast, which I had checked through our friend out there who was your successor here in the Fifth. More about this when I see you.

In other words, he is recommending Mr. Deatherage very highly to you, General?

General MOSELEY. Yes; but you must remember also, as that letter shows, I was very careful. These patriots have to be investigated before you have very much to do with them, don't you see, and I was always very careful.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are describing them all as "patriots," but you wouldn't describe them all as honest or dependable?

General MOSELEY. No; they are not, any more than any other run of men.

Mr. WHITLEY. But whether they are dishonest or not, you would still describe them as patriots?

General MOSELEY. That is rather a broad inference.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, you have indicated that in your description throughout the questioning, General.

General MOSELEY. If they are doing anything which is basically good from the standpoint of the whole Nation, you can call them good patriots perhaps, but the methods is the trouble. They often advocate methods with which I would not agree.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, Mr. Campbell in his statements here with reference to Mr. Deatherage, he doesn't tell you that he worked with Mr. Deatherage for about a year; he doesn't tell you, as he told this committee when he was testifying before the committee, that he considered Mr. Deatherage to be violently anti-Jewish and very Fascist in his sympathies, he didn't tell you that in this letter?

General MOSELEY. Not in that letter, did he?

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he subsequently relay that information or that opinion to you?

General MOSELEY. Not that I know of. Of course, Campbell would talk to me very frankly about a case of that kind. I was trying to get the evidence so that I wouldn't deal with any improper people or especially get involved with anything that was unlawful.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, speaking of rackets, Mr. Campbell has been making a living out of the dissemination of these reports for approximately 2 years now, and prior to that time he apparently made his living, judging from his past record, in the same way as a result of his activities on behalf of the Reserve officers?

General MOSELEY. I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. He's been financed for about 2 years now rather nicely by Mr. Gilbert. But you didn't put him in the category as one of the racketeer individuals or groups?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. HEALEY. Are you surprised to know he was being financed through the method counsel has just outlined to you?

General MOSELEY. I don't—I am surprised if there is anything wrong about Campbell. I felt that he was a very good patriotic citizen; and, as I stated this morning, I felt, too, from the first impressions I had of him, that he was financing his activities largely himself.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, General, you have had a pretty good idea of a great many of these organizations—I mean you have rather accepted them as being patriotic, accepted their literature as being authentic?

General MOSELEY. Yes; but I have examined them, too—the individuals concerned; that is the reason I haven't joined any of them.

Mr. THOMAS. May I interrupt, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. HEALEY. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. General, how long is your statement there; how many pages—the statement that you have been wanting to read?

General MOSELEY. It is quite long. It is 35 pages.

Mr. THOMAS. How long will it take you to read it, do you think?

General MOSELEY. About an hour and a half or an hour and three-quarters.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, it is half-past 3 now. The general says it would take an hour and half or an hour and three-quarters to read it. I think the committee should determine what we are going to do about this.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, apparently we are not going to be able to conclude our examination of the general today. We will have to have another session tomorrow morning.

Mr. WHITLEY. I have this whole file to go over [indicating].

Mr. HEALEY. You have that whole file to go over, and I don't think that we should interrupt counsel in developing the matter at this time for any other purpose. So we will run along now, if it is agreeable to the committee, for another half hour or so, and then convene again tomorrow morning.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I would like to ask the general——

Mr. HEALEY. Let's settle that before—is that agreeable to the committee?

Mr. MASON. That is agreeable.

Mr. HEALEY. To go on for a half hour now.

Mr. THOMAS. That part is agreeable, but I was wondering whether it is the committee's wish to have the statement read tomorrow or not.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, the committee will decide that. I think we can confer after, for a few moments after we have concluded this afternoon's session.

Mr. VOORHIS. General, do you have more than one copy of your statement with you?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. What I had in mind was this: If your statement could be submitted to our attorney, with only this purpose in mind; the committee has made a rule not to permit statements to be read or put in the record that might reflect upon some person without we have proof of the statement contained in the report that does reflect upon the person.

General MOSELEY. But I understood you were going to permit me to make a statement. I am responsible for what is in this statement; nobody else—and——

Mr. VOORHIS (interposing). This committee is responsible.

General MOSELEY. And then further, gentlemen, I have been charged over the country with certain things, and I want to answer them, fully, some of the things have been brought out.

Mr. HEALEY. General, let me ask you this—this committee wants to give you every opportunity possible to answer any evidence that has been brought out at this hearing that in any way reflects on you, sir, but we are rather inclined to think that you ought to confine that statement to matters of your own knowledge and your own opinions, and not put in a whole lot of extraneous matters based merely on hearsay, and the authenticity of which you cannot personally vouch for the truth of to the committee.

General MOSELEY. Certain charges have been made against me in the press; I want to answer them right here.

Mr. HEALEY. But you understand your statement should be confined to matters of your own knowledge, facts that you know of, and your own opinions.

Mr. THOMAS. Those two words, remember, General—"knowledge" and "opinion."

General MOSELEY. Yes. I still want to make this statement.

Mr. DEMPSEY. General, does that statement contain names of people that you feel are engaged in subversive activity.

General MOSELEY. Are you trying to protect somebody?

Mr. DEMPSEY. No, sir.

General MOSELEY. Who are you trying to protect?

Mr. HEALEY. Wait—that isn't proper. That is not a proper attitude. The committee are trying to be fair with you, sir. Now we want to give you the opportunity to make a statement, provided you are willing to buttress that statement with facts of your own knowledge and your own belief, but not to simply drag into that statement a lot of extraneous matters, matters that may reflect upon the integrity of people of which you have no knowledge of your own.

General MOSELEY. But this statement is largely quotations from authorities, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MASON. Now, General, if that statement contains facts that you are quite sure of, and also opinions that you definitely hold——

General MOSELEY (interposing). Yes.

Mr. MASON (continuing). Then I think it is pertinent and should go in. If it contains, however, hearsay things that are not based upon facts that you know, and not your own personal opinions, then I don't think it has any place in the record.

General MOSELEY. Don't you want to hear about un-American activities and subversive activities? I have got a lot of it here, of valuable stuff.

Mr. HEALEY. This committee will be engaged for a long while and have been engaged for a long while in going into every phase of un-American activities.

General MOSELEY. You haven't done very much at the top. I want to——

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). You can criticize if you want to. That is your right, sir. It is the intention of this committee to make a very exhaustive examination and study and investigation of these activities in every phase of them.

General MOSELEY. Then may I ask how did my letter to Mr. Strauss get out?

Mr. HEALEY. I don't know that, sir. I don't know anything—

General MOSELEY (interposing). And why wasn't it printed in full?

Mr. HEALEY. I don't know, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is a part of the record.

Mr. HEALEY. I am not responsible for that, and I didn't know—

General MOSELEY. The letter to me was printed broadcast, but my answer that went to Mr. Strauss, no; just a little paragraph.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, you will find that that is probably incorporated in the record. Of course, we can't control the press in what their activities are.

General MOSELEY. I have been notified that the New York Times, though, had a complete copy of the answer; they didn't print it.

Mr. HEALEY. That is not the fault of this committee. We are not directing the activities of the New York Times.

General MOSELEY. I have been talking about a controlled press and the lack of freedom, and the passing of freedom of speech.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Let me ask you this, General: What information did Mr. Deatherage give you that you found to be correct, having to do with subversive activity?

General MOSELEY. I referred to his analysis of the various individuals that were involved that I asked him about.

Mr. THOMAS. I think we ought to settle the question of the statement.

Mr. HEALEY. But Mr. Thomas, we have gone into that, and I understand that it is the decision of the committee to permit the General to make a statement provided that he will guarantee to the committee—

General MOSELEY. I will be entirely responsible for the statement.

Mr. HEALEY (continuing). That the statement is going to be confined to matters of his own personal knowledge and his own personal opinions which he holds, and will not be based on hearsay reports that he has just received from one source and another and which he hasn't checked.

Mr. THOMAS. His opinions may be based on that?

Mr. HEALEY. That is all right; the committee will hear his opinions, but we certainly don't want to get into a lot of hearsay and extraneous matter which may reflect on persons who are not here and do not have the opportunity to defend themselves.

General MOSELEY. But you can call them later, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HEALEY. That is all right. You can confine yourself—if you feel that there has been any—that the evidence has developed any reflection upon you, this committee is giving you every opportunity, sir, while you are here, to make a statement; but we feel that you ought to confine that statement to facts, facts that you know of, and of your own knowledge.

Mr. THOMAS. General, on that basis do you want to make your statement tomorrow?

General MOSELEY. I do.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, we have agreed then, the statement is going to be made tomorrow morning.

Mr. HEALEY. On that basis.

Mr. DEMPSEY. We haven't agreed anything of that kind. We are going to conclude this investigation before the statement goes in.

Mr. THOMAS. We have just decided it. We haven't agreed?

Mr. HEALEY. Yes; we have agreed.

Mr. THOMAS. We have agreed.

Mr. DEMPSEY. General, you made reference to a communistic plot; what is that plot?

General MOSELEY. The communistic plot——

Mr. DEMPSEY. What does it contemplate?

General MOSELEY. I think it comes from the basic definition of communism.

Mr. DEMPSEY. No; but the plot, what is the plot?

General MOSELEY. I think the plot is to change our fundamental form of government and turn over to a form of regimentation and collectivism, much along the line of Russia.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You believe that there is such a plot going on at this time in this country?

General MOSELEY. Definitely. All the evidence shows that.

Mr. VOORHIS. General, everybody knows that there is a Communist movement, and everybody knows—at least I believe most people do—what its real purposes are.

General MOSELEY. And you admit——

Mr. VOORHIS (interposing). The danger, to my mind, however, is not derived so much from a comparatively small group of people who are actively at work, either on the extreme right or the extreme left, to overthrow the Government and substitute a dictatorship of one kind or another, but the danger arises that those groups will succeed in getting large numbers of people to believe that the only solution to their problems is by following that leadership. Do you agree with that?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. You don't?

General MOSELEY. In the first place, I don't agree with your start; it isn't a small group. The leftist groups now claim over 6,000,000.

Mr. VOORHIS. Members of the Communist Party?

General MOSELEY. Yes. The radicals claim in their recent statement that they control about one-third of the electorate, and Mr. Earl Browder, a friend of this administration, recently announced that they must stick with the New Deal and that that one-third would put them over again in 1940. Here is the little book on the subject: it is the primer almost of the New Deal, *The Democratic Front*, by Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, United States of America.

Mr. VOORHIS. General, anybody, of course, can make a statement that he is for somebody else and thus damn that somebody else, perhaps. That doesn't necessarily mean—or do you mean, that you think that every New Dealer is a part of this Communist movement?

General MOSELEY. No; it don't work both ways always.

Mr. VOORHIS. I just wanted to find out how far——

General MOSELEY (interposing). What did this fellow say in 1936? He said, "Stick by the New Deal; that is our hope. We will take it on from there."

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, I can't help what he said.

General MOSELEY. That is what he said.

Mr. VOORHIS. Neither can anybody else help what he said.

General MOSELEY. No; but they accepted his assistance, they accepted his assistance; they have never disavowed——

Mr. VOORHIS (interposing). Yes, they have.

General MOSELEY. Never. They never have disavowed Tugwell's statement, either, on communism.

Mr. HEALEY. General, have you read this article by Stanley High in the current Saturday Evening Post?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. Do you know Fritz Kuhn?

General MOSELEY. I didn't know him originally, but I have since met him.

Mr. HEALEY. Do you know James True, of the America First, Inc.?

General MOSELEY. I saw him once.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, you have talked with him? You have talked with him, have you?

General MOSELEY. Yes, I saw him once, in passing through——

Mr. HEALEY. Did you discuss with him the coordination of all of these various organizations?

General MOSELEY. No, I did not. He just asked me to drop in his office sometime, when I went through Washington.

Mr. HEALEY. And you met him?

General MOSELEY. I waited months before I did.

Mr. HEALEY. And you went into his office and accepted that invitation?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Had some discussion with him along these lines, along the lines of his activities, didn't you?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Now, do you know the Imperial Wizard, Hiram W. Evans, of the Ku Klux Klan?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. HEALEY. Never talked with him?

General MOSELEY. And he is right in my own city. I wouldn't have anything to do with him.

Mr. HEALEY. Do you know George W. Christians?

General MOSELEY. Yes; I have seen him once.

Mr. HEALEY. He is the man who looks something like Hitler, who grows the small moustache and wears his hair——

General MOSELEY (interposing). I have seen him once; I don't really know him.

Mr. HEALEY. Have you talked with him?

General MOSELEY. Yes; I saw him once.

Mr. HEALEY. And you testified you knew Mr. William Dudley Pelley, leader of the Silver Shirts.

General MOSELEY. No; I testified I never had seen Mr. Pelley.

Mr. HEALEY. Pardon me. Have you had any communications with him?

General MOSELEY. I think once.

Mr. HEALEY. And that was rather as to activities along the line that Pelley—

General MOSELEY. No; I think it was just an acknowledgement of something that I had asked for. I think the attorney asked me if I had ever bought any of his books, I think—

Mr. HEALEY. You know George Deatherage of the Knights of the White Camellia, of course?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Do you know Gerald Winrod, of Kansas?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. HEALEY. You don't know him?

General MOSELEY. Mr. Winrod at one time asked me, through somebody else—I don't know who it was—to publish one or two of my speeches, and I asked that he not do it.

Mr. HEALEY. Do you know Robert E. Edmonson?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. HEALEY. You don't know him; you never had any conversations with him, did you?

General MOSELEY. No; never have seen him.

Mr. HEALEY. Now you were supposed to have had an interview with the writer of this article, weren't you?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you have that interview?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir. Not by my prearrangement. He came to Atlanta, and all I knew was he asked for an appointment to see me. I didn't know who he was.

Mr. HEALEY. That is Mr. High?

General MOSELEY. Mr. Stanley High.

Mr. HEALEY. Now I am going to read you a portion of the statement of his in the Saturday Evening Post.

General MOSELEY. Not my statement.

Mr. HEALEY. The statement accredited to you, and you can—

General MOSELEY (interposing). It isn't quoted.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, now:

The General describes it as a plan for "martial law without dictatorship."

Did you say that to him—"martial law without dictatorship"?

General MOSELEY. Let me answer that whole thing.

Mr. HEALEY. All right. I will read further.

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY (reading):

It would work something like this—step No. 1: The election of a President sympathetic to the idea. Step No. 2: The President, on the day of his inauguration, summons to the White House the Governors of all the States. Having seated the 48 of them in the spacious East Room, he suggests, as forcibly as may be necessary, that he expects them to remain there until each one signs a previously prepared request asking for the establishment of martial law in his particular State.

Now, quote, this is supposed to be your quotation:

"With those requests in hand," said the general, "the President"—step No. 3 (still continuing the quotation)—

will call out the Army and the National Guard and tell them that he wants the United States thoroughly cleaned of "reds" and "red" sympathizers. From that point, if he's a wise man, he'll let the boys go to it.

End of quotation.

Now, did you make that statement to the author of this article?

General MOSELEY. I would like to answer that with this statement:

This gentleman came to see me without any advance notice. I didn't know what he was going to talk about. He was in my room at where I have a little office at the hotel for possibly an hour and a half. He asked for no written statement from me; he made no notes as far as I can remember. He was interested in the present emergency in the United States and discussed that with me. The thing I initially pointed out to him is something that I often state, and that is how powerful is our Government under its present basic law and institutions to handle any emergencies whatsoever in the United States without setting up any dictatorship, but just using present-day law.

And then he said, "Well, supposing it does develop into a serious situation, what could be done?"

I explained to him then the great power of martial law, and I said, "That doesn't mean that you are going to have a lot of soldiers, but it simply means that you have the power of removal of civil officials when there is any difficulty with those particular civil officials down the line." I was referring to States or anything of that kind.

All that was discussed and pointed out, and as far as I know he didn't make a single note.

I discussed with him, too, this: How freedom of speech in America, I thought, ought to be restored, fully—freedom of assembly, freedom of the press—and then—

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). Do you think that could be done under martial law, General?

General MOSELEY. No; I wasn't speaking of having that done under martial law. I said that ought to be done any way.

I also discussed the subject that we have discussed previously, giving freedom to the Army to study the question of any dangers within our gates, so if the Commander in Chief was confronted with an emergency they could meet it very, very quickly.

Those things were discussed without any reference to me at all. And I tried to point out the necessity in any such emergency of law and order and to have all these things done lawfully.

We have the strongest form of government in the world, for either peace or war, and so that we have all the authority necessary to handle any situation.

I may have referred to this law that I have referred to before—that is, the law of '29, which gives the President a great deal more power than Cleveland had back when I was a youngster in Chicago.

Mr. HEALEY. You wanted to go further than that, didn't you? You wanted to go further, give the President the power to get the 48 Governors in a room and tell the 48 Governors to invoke martial law in their respective States.

General MOSELEY. No; he brought up the question, said, "But supposing there is a national emergency from coast to coast?"

Then I said he could get the Governors to request martial law and handle the situation on a Federal basis.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you put it as strongly as it is stated in the article—they were to be taken in a room and kept there until they agreed to invoke martial law?

General MOSELEY. I said this, Mr. Chairman: I said at the time of inauguration the Governors are generally all here, as you know, and I said he could call them up there and get them to request that martial law be ordered.

Now then, I think we discussed the question, went on from that. He asked me something about the immigration situation. And so far as I know, that is all there was in our meeting.

Mr. HEALEY. I am just going to refer a little further:

"General Moseley is not too sure that his plan will be accepted. There's a vast amount of educational work to be done. But he did say that if the patriotism of native-born Americans was too lily-livered for such an undertaking, he would join up with the German-American Bund. 'The bund,' he said, 'will see to it that America is not taken over by the "reds".'"

General MOSELEY. No; he's misquoted me there. He's misquoted me there entirely. I made no such statement whatsoever in reference—

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). You didn't say you would join up with the German-American Bund?

General MOSELEY. Never. I have never joined up with anything or never contemplated joining up with a bund or any other organization. All I was trying to point out to him was how we could accomplish lawfully all the emergencies now confronting us.

Mr. VOORHIS. General, this morning you said the German bund has only one mission, to keep Communists from taking this country.

General MOSELEY. Yes, that is true. I believe that. I believe that is true. And I tell you another thing I believe that is true: If I was caught in a city in any emergency, I certainly wouldn't stay with the Communist organization in asking for protection.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, now, General—

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Chairman, may I finish?

Mr. HEALEY. Go ahead.

Mr. VOORHIS. General, as I understand it, in the discussion you just had with the chairman, in connection with that article, there was something in there about if a civil official somewhere down the line needed to be removed that he could be removed, is that right?

General MOSELEY. Oh, yes; under martial law. That is the power of martial law. It is not in the number of the soldiers, it is in the power of removal.

Mr. VOORHIS. Suppose, though, that a man has been elected by democratic process of the people, would you still remove him?

General MOSELEY. That doesn't make any difference under martial law, you can still remove him. That is the power of martial law.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is right. Now, then, one other question. You spoke about getting rid of the Communists, I believe you said, and Communist sympathizers, and I was trying awhile ago to find out just who all you would include in that, because, after all, that would be pretty important—if it is one-third of the American people, that is a pretty big group.

Mr. THOMAS. I hope the gentleman doesn't think that one-third of the American people—

General MOSELEY (interposing). No; I gave the figure in their leftist propaganda, of 6,000,000. That is generally accepted now; you hear that.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, that is a claim, General. But there are a good many people who feel that if only we could solve the economic problem, if we could get our people back to work, that all these extreme movements would have to hold their meetings in telephone booths—in other words, they would evaporate. Isn't that the job we have got to do? Isn't that much more important than making plans to set up martial law and kick people out of office and—

General MOSELEY. I only suggested that when he asked me how a serious emergency could be met lawfully. And my answer to your other question is this, that I think one of the greatest steps in meeting the present unemployment situation is to gather up from coast to coast the people who are here now unlawfully, often aliens, and ship them. Now, there is another 6,000,000.

Mr. VOORHIS. No, sir; not nearly that many.

General MOSELEY. That is what they say, there are about 6,000,000 of them.

Mr. VOORHIS. Not nearly that many.

General MOSELEY. Well, I don't know. You know more about it than I do.

Mr. HEALEY. General, you said in your testimony this morning that after Deatherage had been with you for a time, that you concluded that you could not go along with his movement because, in your judgment, his activities were merely along the line of a revival of the Ku Klux Klan; is that right?

General MOSELEY. I didn't like anything about his—

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). Well, you said something about that.

General MOSELEY. I think perhaps I did.

Mr. HEALEY. That it was really a revival of the Klan. Well, Deatherage approached you with the idea of heading up all of these organizations?

General MOSELEY. Just a little coordinating group.

Mr. HEALEY. Of being the leader; I think he used the words when he was here that they were desirous of seeking a "man on horseback," someone to lead this group and make it a nationalist proposition throughout the country.

General MOSELEY. I stated before, Mr. Chairman, that several other similar groups have suggested the same thing. They say that there are a lot of patriotic organizations over the United States; why not set up a little general staff some place to coordinate their efforts? Now, you will find this organization in New York has the same idea. I declined that, too.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, now, from your knowledge of these men that are engaged in these activities, such as Winrod and Pelley and True, and men of that type, there would be some little difficulty in persuading one man ought to lead the whole thing?

General MOSELEY. Oh, yes; but some of those are radical groups that you are speaking of now. I was talking about the coordination of patriotic groups.

Mr. HEALEY. You don't think that those fellows would come into line with any such idea, do you?

General MOSELEY. I don't know. They have never approached me on the subject.

Mr. HEALEY. That would be depriving them of heading the movement that they are heading up.

General MOSELEY. Yes. I don't know what their ambitions are.

Mr. HEALEY. Probably some of them would lose a livelihood if that happened.

General MOSELEY. I don't know. I don't know what their ambitions are.

Mr. HEALEY. I think that is all. Any further questions?

Mr. THOMAS. General, you mentioned this morning about a meeting that you had had with James Roosevelt. When was that meeting?

General MOSELEY. I don't remember the date, except that it was about the time when the situation in the Michigan strikes was rather critical; it was about that time.

Mr. THOMAS. That would be in the latter part of last year.

General MOSELEY. It was no formal—and it was no formal meeting. What happened was, he wanted to fly on through Atlanta, and asked me if I could give him another plane, which I did, and he was to be there about lunchtime, and so I asked him. He came out to my house for lunch, and we sat down there at luncheon together, very informally—didn't have anybody else there, just the two of us, because the time of his arrival was uncertain.

Mr. THOMAS. And the only purpose of the meeting was—

General MOSELEY (interposing). There was no purpose to the meeting. He was only just transferring from one plane to another and had lunch with me, and it was a personal thing. I am sorry that it was brought in, but the question had to be answered.

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Whitley, you haven't any matters that you want to finish up now and can't—

Mr. WHITLEY. Just one very brief question.

Mr. HEALEY. All right.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, you stated a moment ago, in response to the chairman's question, you were not acquainted with Mr. Edmonson, I believe.

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are not acquainted with him?

General MOSELEY. No; I have never seen him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Mr. Robert E. Edmonson, on March 29, 1939, publish a pamphlet entitled "Hail Moseley"? Have you heard of that?

General MOSELEY. Yes; unfortunately, he did.

Mr. WHITLEY. "Unfortunately, he did." Hail Moseley was the title of that pamphlet?

Mr. VOORHIS. You are sorry he did that?

General MOSELEY. Pardon?

Mr. VOORHIS. Were you sorry he did that?

General MOSELEY. I was.

Mr. VOORHIS. Just the same as some other people might be sorry that Mr. Browder wrote that pamphlet.

General MOSELEY. Yes; but they will accept all the votes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have copies of that pamphlet, Hail Moseley, published by Mr. Edmonson?

General MOSELEY. I may have a copy. As far as I know, he only sent me one copy. I didn't get any copies of it.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is in pamphlet form, though, is it not?

General MOSELEY. I don't think so. I think it was a sheet, wasn't it? No; it was a single sheet, I think.

Mr. WHITLEY. But Mr. Edmonson's material, of course, he has been circulating it wholesale throughout the country for many years?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever heard him described as being violently anti-Jewish in his literature that he distributes?

General MOSELEY. I know I have heard, answering your question, that he was tried, or brought up for trial, but the case was squashed, on account of——

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). You have heard that he is violently anti-Jewish in his——

General MOSELEY (interposing). I have heard that.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have heard that. Did you consider him to be so?

General MOSELEY. I never talked with him.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have seen his literature, I presume?

General MOSELEY. Yes, but I should say from just a casual acquaintance with his literature that he tries to just simply give you quotations in his literature; very little of it, as I recall, is his own wording, it is generally quotations.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you, General, ever repudiate this article that he prepared about you, entitled "Hail, Moseley"?

General MOSELEY. No. If I had to repudiate stuff like this, and the various things that are printed, like today's paper they tell me they have smeared me all over, I would spend my time doing that.

Mr. WHITLEY. But this was prepared as a personal presentation of you, representation of you. Did you contact Mr. Edmonson and protest this article?

General MOSELEY. Probably Mr. Edmonson felt that he was doing me a great favor when he did that, don't you see, and I don't go around kicking people that are trying to be friendly, in the pants.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you agree with him, if he thought he was doing you a favor?

General MOSELEY. I don't know what he thought.

Mr. WHITLEY. I mean, would you agree with him if he did have such a thought in mind?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't consider it a favor?

General MOSELEY. No, I think that was a great embarrassment.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you didn't attempt to repudiate it either publicly or privately to him?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is all I have.

Mr. HEALEY. I think we can adjourn until 10:30.

Now, General, you have counsel with you, you brought your own personal counsel, and you can confer with him about your statement, confining it to matters of your own personal knowledge and of facts.

General MOSELEY. Or opinion.

Mr. HEALEY. Or opinion that you entertained.

(Whereupon, at 4:10 p. m., Wednesday, May 31, 1939, the hearing was adjourned until 10:30 a. m., Thursday, June 1, 1939.)

(This is the Indianapolis speech as given and taken down by recorder at the luncheon, December 29, 1938.)

Maj. Gen. GEORGE VAN HORN MOSELEY. Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, patriots all, I thank you very much for including me in this luncheon today. It is a distinct honor, which I deeply appreciate. However, at the outset I want to commend you for your courage, because in associating with me as you are right now, you may be blacklisted by the radical press; you may be threatened by agents of the administration, itself.

Recently I made a talk before the New York Board of Trade, and what I said there was fairly well treated and commented upon in the radical press. But what that radical press did not like was that a lot of high-class bankers and industrialists should have cheered my patriotic remarks. And so, day after day, in New York City, as they discovered the list of men who were there, they printed them, from time to time, under a caption: "Here's Another Group of Those Men Who Cheered This Soldier."

Remember it is a difficult time for a patriot in America. He is threatened at every cross road. Fortunately, however, the time has turned, and his enemies are on the run. Eventually, they will be completely eliminated or will be forced into hiding.

Let me repeat at the outset something I always must say, and that is: I come here as a very humble citizen. I have no ghost writer. What I say is my own responsibility. I represent no organization. I represent neither political party. Naturally, I am very much impressed with the result of the last election [laughter] which made us realize that the American people have awakened; that they recognize the danger and are going to battle.

The President, if you notice, nowadays seldom uses the term "Democrat," or "Democratic Party." Instead, he uses the word, "Liberal." The term "Liberal," the world over, throughout all history, has been a polite blanket for assembling under its folds all the radicals, all the Communists, all the C. I. O.'s. Thus, we have in America three parties—not two: One is the Liberal Party (let its advocates remain under that blanket, if they wish); then, the conservative Democratic Party, and third, the Republican Party.

I want to salute here and now those conservative Democrats who, supported by similar right-thinking Republicans, in the last 3 or 4 years have saved this Nation from ruin. [Applause.] If we can combine those two elements in the public life of this Nation, we can sweep the country clean in 1940. [Applause.]

I have always felt that the wonderful man of the North, whom I often meet and talk with, should be in the same party as the corresponding man of the South, and should not be divided by the mere fetish of a name. Indianapolis is a great center. Your tentacles of influence radiate in all directions. Too many of the people living in the seacoast towns called New York and Washington, do not realize that a great Nation exists beyond the limits of those towns, extending from ocean to ocean.

The pioneers who came here—and who fought their way through Kentucky and finally settled here—each carried in his hands a rifle, an old musket that protected him as he went from place to place, and which, eventually protected him in his home; for when he built that first home, he placed that rifle over the mantelpiece. And, remember, today the right to carry arms must not be abridged. [Applause.] In taking the rifle or the weapon away from the Communists, the C. I. O.'s and the murderers, we must not abridge that right of the patriotic American to bear arms. Remember that, in all history, before an internal enemy attempts to destroy his victim, he first disarms him by the operation of law.

Unfortunately, the great majority of our good citizens tire of the responsibility of government. In the past, they have taken entirely too little interest in the affairs of the Nation and of their localities. But, remember—as has been well exemplified in the last few years—the devil is always on duty. Remember that when we fail to put a good man in, he puts in one of his representatives. Throughout all history the plan to organize a pure democracy has always failed. Therefore, the founders of our great country, remembering that, gave us, not a democracy, but a Republic. [Applause.]

The Constitution of the United States guarantees to each State a Republican form of government.

The difficulties of a democracy are well portrayed in a remark made by Nicholas Murray Butler, when he wrote this (It is good.): "Jealousy of power honestly gained and justly exercised, envy of attainment or of possession, are

characteristics of the mob, not of the people; of a democracy which is false, not a democracy which is true. False democracy shouts, 'Every man down to the level of the average!' True democracy cries, 'All men up to the heights of their fullest capacity for service and achievement!' (That is what we aim at in our Republic). The two sides are everlastingly at war. The future of this Nation, as the future of the whole world, is bound up with the hope of a true democracy which builds itself on liberty."

Until the millenium comes, then, let us stick to our Republic.

The thing that we need now—the thing that you have given us in this State—is good leadership. If we, in these emergencies which now confront us, do not have good leadership we are sunk.

The trouble is that too many of our people, listening to everyday propaganda, do not know the real facts. In going about in America, I have only one little simple plank in my platform, and that is "To tell the truth." An effort to tell the truth is needed throughout this country, because when the people are properly advised they can be depended upon to act properly.

Do you know that in the Army today, although we are permitted to make plans to protect this country against any and all foreign enemies that may come, we are not permitted to investigate those dangers, often more serious, right within our own gates?

I am very much impressed with the fine impulse which brings us together today. We are all worried over the uncertain course our ship of state is taking. We are all asking ourselves, "Is this bungling going to lead us into war, while communism is left free to destroy us at home?" That is the question. France should be a lesson to us today. Her fine Army—probably the finest army in the world—actually may be useless to the nation, disorganized as it is today, at home. If in French history we remember back to the days of 1870 and 1871, we realize that those fine French battalions of that time were not defeated. It was the superstructure of government that failed.

Recently the President, in commenting on the international situation, is reported to have said this—listen: I'll try to quote him exactly: "The whole European situation is in such a mess that the best thing we can do is to leave it to its own mercy and to direct our attention upon America."

What a very fine idea; and why did not some great brain truster think of that long ago? In other words, let us mind our own business for a while and clear up the mess at home. [Applause.] With Japan absorbed in her efforts to neutralize the Russian forces in the Far East and in fighting China; with Europe so equally divided in its balance of power—where is there an ounce of military or naval strength available to threaten us today?

When I was a youngster in the Philippine Islands, I once had the experience of going into a big cockpit, and, instead of seeing two cocks fight each other, I saw what they called a combat royal. All the cocks were put in the pit together, and there was a terrible melee as they fought each other. But there was one wise old rooster who stayed on the side lines and watched the battle, because he had had previous experience. [Laughter.] And once in a while he would look down to see that his spurs were properly adjusted. Finally, when the battle was about over and one rooster, all worn out, attempted to mount the pile of corpses in the center of the ring and crow, the wise old rooster of which I speak took one lurch at the poor, wounded survivor, and it was all over. [Laughter.]

That is what I want to see Uncle Sam do today. Let the foreign nations arm as much as they want to, but let them expend their strength on each other—as they surely will if we will but leave them alone—and then, let us come in at the end and decide the fate of this funny old world. [Applause.]

Today there are three great interests which we must have. First, in the problems of the Far East; second, in the problems of Europe; and, third, in the problems of pan-America and at home.

Bear in mind, too, that the one thing that is preventing the spread of communism in the Far East by the Russian Government is a long line of the breasts of Japanese soldiers, who are holding those communistic waves back. [Applause.]

Some seem to worry about the so-called yellow peril. The great builder of this universe fixed that for all time, when he created a Jap very differently than a Chinaman. That difference can never be bridged. It can never be bred out. And never, in my opinion—and I have lived there—will Chinese manpower march to war on a world conquest under Japanese leadership.

We have the same situation on the other side of the world between the people inhabiting the British Isles and the people of France. Never will the Englishman, with his great fleet, combine with the Frenchman, with his fine army, on a plan for world conquest. I have worked with both of them, and I know that, although they might agree to such a plan, before they had it under operation for 10 days they would not be speaking to each other, and the plan would have to be dropped.

We all abhor the brutal treatment accorded the refugees in central Europe, in Germany, but we do not alleviate their suffering by entering into a name-calling contest with the German leaders. I have three sons, and I do not want them led to war to sustain a Cabinet officer in his choice vocabulary. [Applause.] Although I hold no brief for Mr. Hitler, I have been on duty with the German Army and know the Germans, and I would much prefer to have him release a barrage of good names properly describing that same Cabinet officer. [Laughter and applause.]

Let us come now to pan-America for a moment. The South American war scare seems to have petered out. The trial balloon which the administration first sent up proposed about \$7,000,000,000 for national defense. Then the wind was led out a little, and the next statement was \$5,000,000,000. Now I understand it is about \$2,000,000,000. But what is the name of the nation that has the largest interests in Argentina—the nation which has the largest foreign trade there, the nation that has always objected to anything like a pan-American league—the nation that, I believe, surcharged the atmosphere against us at Lima, an atmosphere that has fortunately been penetrated? In case you do not know the name of that nation, I'll tell you. It is Great Britain. Their foreign policy never changes. Remember that they would ditch us at the first cross road, if it served their selfish purpose to do so. I have dealt with them on international conferences. Our case in South America will be stronger if we make the peace with Japan that I have suggested and, thus, have our entire augmented fleet available for duty in the Atlantic.

And now, we come for a moment to the United States—our special interest. Just what is our greatest weakness in our national defense? Is it in the Army? Is it in the air? Is it in the Navy? No; it is not. It is in American manpower, with its disease, its crime, its graft, its communism, and, here and there, its un-American political leadership. Most certainly I am for national defense. I have worked on it all my life. I have been a member of the general staff five different times. But I want to see it developed continuously and logically, like a body traveling along the upper arm of a parabola, and not like a body traveling up and down along the zigzag course like the graph of the stock market during the present administration. [Laughter.]

Recently, my friend, General Malin Craig, submitted his annual report to his government, stating the needs of the Army and the additions that he wanted. All his recommendations were fine and reasonable. He asked for certain additions to the air force, which are needed; certain antiaircraft material; certain larger amounts of ammunition in reserve; a number of items of special equipment. And then he made the wise request for funds to be used in what we call educational orders.

What does that mean? It means simply this: In the event of mobilization tomorrow, there are a number of items of technical equipment, ammunition, and guns which cannot come into production until months after the declaration of war. Under the new educational-order bill, which we have advocated for many years, the Government can, by agreement with a manufacturer, give him a negotiated contract. Under that contract he will manufacture a few of those special items that he has agreed to manufacture in quantity in the event of war. Thus, he has a rehearsal of his task, and then, in the event of mobilization, he can go into production promptly. Remember, the War Department has been working on that for years. This administration cannot take credit for it. It is an old, old story. But, in the event of mobilization tomorrow, here is the most serious question. Let me explain it to you.

Nine out of ten of the lads who will fill our ranks are walking the streets of the Nation today. What is their physical condition? We were astounded at the outbreak of the World War when we found that one lad out of five was unfit for military service. The proportion is no better today. Let me state some of the salient facts. Here they are: We have some 12,000,000 syphilitics. Fortunately, we finally have gotten that disease out in the open. Formerly no one could mention it in any society, not even a doctor. We tried to smother it up in the closet while it was eating out our very souls. This administration

is doing a lot to cure that disease. We have something like 500,000 insane. As a matter of fact, in Georgia, where I am now living, one must have a lot of political pull to get into an insane asylum! [Laughter.] In addition to that, in the United States we have 900,000 harmless insane walking the streets of the Nation. Somebody asked me the other day when I stated that figure: "What are they all doing?" I said I thought they were all employed in the present administration. [Laughter and applause.]

A year ago the figures show that we killed by what I call the American bomb—sometimes called the automobile—40,000, less 300, on the streets of the Nation! In killing that number, at the same time we injured far over a million! Many of the injured are still in the hospital, crippled for life, and about 250,000 of them each year are so injured that they could not pass physical examination for service.

And then we must add to that 4,300,000 of our people who earn their livelihood by crime alone.

Then, too, the disease of graft is rampant from the top of this Nation to the bottom. It not only weakens our Treasury to the extent of about \$15,000,000,000 a year but it undermines and weakens our moral fiber.

The most serious disease of all, however, is the next one: Communism, itself. Our people are generally waking up to the dangers of this disease which surround us. They are realizing that it is organized throughout our land to destroy us. We plan to do, and we are doing, just this: We are bringing it into the open, just as we brought syphilis into the open. Exposed to the light of day, it can be cured, and it will be cured. This disease has spread by leaps and bounds since 1932. Remember the date—1932. [Laughter.] At that time, W. Z. Foster, then candidate for President of the United States, wrote this benevolent statement:

"We Communists are unscrupulous in our choice of weapons. We allow no consideration of legality, religion, patriotism, honor, duty, and so forth (I don't know what that 'and so forth' can possibly mean) to stand in our way to the adoption of effective weapons. We propose to develop, and are developing, regardless of the capitalists' conception of legality, fairness, rights, and so forth (there it is again) a greater power, and then wrest from them by force the industries."

Last fall, Earl Browder, America's No. 1 Communist today, urged all his followers to vote solidly for the New Deal candidate. His official Communist organ, the Daily Worker, stated this (something that was never repudiated by the administration—in fact, the administration accepted their votes, accepted their support, and accepted their money):

"Let us make sure that the President's program is enacted as it stands. It is a fine beginning. Let us pass it and then go on from there."

They were confident that the quickest way to bring about communism or the chaotic conditions precedent to communism was to continue the New Deal. Thus they scrapped their own candidates, their own program, and alined themselves behind the administration.

Isn't it queer that with the Communist state of Russia, almost directly across the borders from Germany, that none of those Communists among the refugees have expressed any desire to go over the border and live in Russia under that benevolent government. [Laughter.] Isn't it queer, too, that as far as we know, the Russian Government has not sent out any invitations asking any of these refugees to come over. The fact is, they don't want a one of them, and they are not going to take a one of them.

Now, a further word: We all have many friends among the Jews. I have many friends among them, and those friendships mean much to me. Thus I was very happy when I heard in New York City the other day that they intend to take action to disassociate themselves entirely from all communistic activities in the United States.

What a fine idea. I hope they will do it. It is the greatest opportunity that has been offered the Jewish people in all their history. If they will accomplish that, there will be an applause go up from ocean to ocean.

How can they do it? They can stop communism in the United States in just 30 days by doing what? By using what power? The power that they now have so completely over the radio; the power that they have over the public press; the control they have over the "movies"; and, finally, the power they have now at home and internationally, in the money markets of the world. Will they undertake that task? I hope they will. It is a challenge to their whole race today.

Much is heard about the Dies Committee. You and I want that work completed 100 percent. However, we are not interested in the poor little duped Communist who runs up and down our alley. We do not want evidence of that kind. What we want to know is: Who are the men in control of this movement, nationally and internationally? What are their names? Who are the brains of this thing? Where are the sinews of war coming from? The money?

That information can be had if they will go after it. And then, we want something more, too. We want to know about the international control. It is a definite thing, politically, economically, and financially. We want to include that in the investigation of the Dies Committee. All that information is available in the United States, and the people of this good country are entitled to have it. If this committee does not give it to them, it will come out under the changed conditions which are taking place from one end of this land to the other. [Applause.]

In formulating any plan for America today, we should realize something which I know to be a fact, that the great majority of our people are fine patriotic citizens. Too often, however, they have not taken proper interest in their Government. Informed of the truth, however, they will act and act properly. Too often the political leader cannot give them the whole truth, because in his election, or perhaps in his reelection, he must appeal to the weaker side of the voter.

There are certain things, though, that must be in our program, and I expect to see them there.

First, law and order, and an administration in Washington that both capital and labor can look up to with complete confidence and respect. [Applause.]

I asked a very prominent Democrat who was at lunch at my house some few months ago at the time we were having a tragic time in one section of this United States: "Time was when you Democrats used to brag about Cleveland, but you don't brag about him any more; why in hell don't you emulate him?"

I saw my first strike in the great city of Chicago when I was a youngster, a member of a little military company, just before I went to the military academy. That city was threatened with destruction, under a communistic governor of that day. He refused to use troops. There was no law at that time which made it the duty of the President to bring in troops in such a State emergency. A very strong law to that effect is now on the books, and it was in the hands of the President during the recent troubles in Ohio. But Cleveland brought in regular troops, under the one mission of protecting the mail. And there was no difficulty about the mail. But in protecting the mail he saved the city of Chicago. We need today a leader holding the same kind of ideas as far as law and order are concerned.

We must recognize communism under its true status, as possessing 99 percent of the elements of treason. Read its code and see if I am not right. Discharge from the service of the United States anyone who has ever taken the communistic oath or belonged to that party.

Six years ago, in Washington, a very intelligent Communist made this statement: "While we have no people in the No. 1 places in the Government as yet, it is very gratifying to go around the great departments in Washington and see our understudies everywhere."

That must be changed! They must all be run out! A program must be adopted of: America for Americans [applause] believing in and practicing Americanism!

The other day I attended a large dinner in a very important city. I sat at the speakers' table. On my right was a man appointed to an important place in the Washington Administration. On my left was a prominent rabbi. I first talked to the man on my right, whom I had met before, and he described how he had gone to Washington anxious to labor for his Nation, wanting to do everything he could. But immediately, he was contacted by Leftists and Communists. After several years, they made his position so uncomfortable that he resigned. He did not need the job; he was only anxious to work for his Government loyally. I had heard something of his experience before.

And then, I listened to the rabbi on my left. He gave me a lecture on internationalism—how we should change the instruction of our children in the schools. And, finally, he pointed to a flag that was on the speakers' stand, and he said: "General, that flag, to me, is only a worthless piece of bunting." I said: "Rabbi! To me, it is a wonderful symbol of all we have accomplished,

of the battles that we have fought for our liberties; to me, it symbolizes both our victories of peace and war," adding, "If you tell me that's nothing but a worthless piece of bunting, I'll tell you that perhaps the cross is only two worthless sticks nailed together." He said: "Oh, no; that's a little different." But that was at the same speakers' table in your United States of America!

Reestablish our Bill of Rights, especially the freedom of the press.

Recently, in Atlanta we had a convention of the Southern Industrial Conference. One of the speakers of that conference was a fine American—God bless him—Stahlman, the president of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, and publisher of the Nashville Banner. He emphasized the bulwarks of democracy as a guaranty of free speech, a free press, the right of assembly, freedom of learning, and freedom of conscience. He also warned that the South would not submit "to censorship by legislative enactment, executive fiat, the jingle of tainted money, or bullets from the dark." And he illustrated it all by cases.

We want the freedom of the press restored. If you are interested in the problem, you will find some interesting things, upon investigation, which reveal why that press today is not free.

Fight the battles with votes, as we did last fall, but be prepared to protect our rights with force in case it becomes necessary. An example of that which is very healthful in American life is the action of the farmers at Hershey, Pa., when they finally got out their pitchforks and ran the rascals out! [Applause.]

Restore Christianity and Christian principles throughout our national life and our home life. Recently, there was a case in the Middle West, where a certain Christian organization had entered an advertisement with a large newspaper. It was accepted by the publisher. Finally, the telephone rang, and a representative of the paper said: "If you do not take the word 'Christian' out of your advertisement, we will have to return your money, because we cannot publish it as it stands."

Return our ship of state to the course envisioned by George Washington himself, and not as re-routed by F. D. R. [Laughter and applause.]

The strength of this Nation lies in hundreds and hundreds of small towns. The other day I went to such a small town of about 6,000 and spoke to the men of the luncheon clubs of that community. They took me around the town in the morning. There was no labor union, no C. I. O., no unemployment. I met the one policeman, and I said: "Any prisoners?" "No," he said, "we haven't had one for about 3 months." I met the clerk of the court, and he said: "I work at other things; I'm only clerk at the court part time." There was a wonderful community, living a life just as if it had been laid out by George Washington, himself; a perfect example of one of our little democratic towns. Is there anything wrong with that system or the fundamental law that governs that town? No. But, if you transform that same town and take it up to Chicago, for example—I was born in Evanston, so I know something about Chicago as it has been—you then must add graft, rotten leadership here and there, disease, syphilis, and all those things expanded over a large community. Then somebody gets up in the community and says: "It is all wrong. We must change our fundamental law." Our fundamental law is all right. It is only man himself, who is vile here and there in this United States!

The other day Boake Carter made a very good suggestion in his column: "That we boost the things that we have—our wonderful Government basically; all we have accomplished; our fundamental law; our achievements." And, certainly, if we do that, no one will pass by Americanism and buy Communism under its directors who would sell us out and destroy us, one and all.

And, finally, gentlemen, remember that there is not a single red, not a single pink, in the Army nor in the Navy! [Applause.] They stand clean. They stand supreme. Given the right orders from the Commander in Chief, they can meet every emergency. They can protect us individually as citizens in our local communities. They can protect us nationally as a Government. Will the right orders come down under the present administration?

Remember too, that the men of that Army and Navy are Christian soldiers. They march better to the tune of "Onward, Christian Soldiers" than to any other march.

I thank you.

[Applause.]

ADDRESS OF GENERAL GEORGE VAN HORN MOSELEY BEFORE THE NATIONAL DEFENSE MEETING, BELLVUE STRATFORD HOTEL, PHILADELPHIA, 8 P. M., TUESDAY, MARCH 28, 1939

I thank you for the invitation to meet with you tonight. Certainly Philadelphia, with its wonderful historical background and its record for present-day achievement, is the most appropriate location in the United States for the headquarters of a committee on national defense, or for the headquarters of a patriotic organization of any kind. But, as you well know, we patriots today must do much more than look back down the family tree, dig up an old soldier, and then meet once a year and crow about him. On the contrary, we are faced with the most serious problem of our national life. Never before has our future hung by so narrow and so weak a thread. We must stand up and fight for our rights today—especially we must fight the battle for peace at a time when the champions of war are powerful—yes, and encouraged in the very highest places of our Government.

Please bear in mind that in addressing you tonight, I have only one plank in my platform, and that is a sincere desire to tell the truth and present the facts as I find them. I find that the American people act properly if they have the facts. But how often are those facts withheld, tainted propaganda being supplied instead. I belong to no organization; I represent no political party; and I am alone responsible for my remarks. I am just 100 percent against all those who are attempting today to destroy America, whether they call themselves New Dealers, Brain Trusters, Communists, C. I. O.'s, or what not. I should like to revive the courage of many citizens who, apparently, have been cowed. I should like to put to shame a great many individuals and many States that have been bought by political dollars. I want it understood that I stand for patriotic Christian leadership in America. In pleading for Christian leadership, I am only voicing our fundamental American principles and the language of the Supreme Court, which said, in the *Holy Trinity* case:

"These, and many other matters which might be noticed, add to the volume of unofficial declarations to the mass of organic utterances that this is a Christian nation."

Now, to return to the battle for peace, let me tell you one thing in the most serious words at my command. If we lose this battle for peace, the United States of America that you and I understand and love will pass out of history. Once we butted in and fought a war to make the world safe for democracy. We did not accomplish our mission. The war now proposed is for the purpose of establishing Jewish Hegemony throughout the world. We must recognize that fact. The Communists have forced us to state it frankly.

Recently, a speaker came to Atlanta and addressed the assembled Jews. I understand that other speakers are covering the Nation with the same message. What was the gist of his remarks? He stated, in effect, that the influence of the Jews throughout the United States was being organized to force the present administration to compel Hitler to reinstate the refugees in Germany to their former status, even at the cost of war. The speaker added that they were much encouraged in their efforts by the President himself, and the charming First Lady.

In contemplating war today, we must remember that war costs money and that as a Nation, we are already "busted." Our former allies have not as yet paid us for what they owe us on the last war. Where, then, is the money coming from? History will have to repeat itself, and we will have to re-establish the Jew in power, and borrow the money from him. A partner of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., it must be remembered, financed the Russian Revolution, and he was mighty proud of his achievement. Trotsky, under whose orders 3,000,000 Christian Russians were murdered, is now our neighbor in Mexico. From time to time, he visits his representatives in this country, I understand. We will also have to ask that benevolent Government of Russia to come to our aid in the fight, as an ally. How perfectly ridiculous it sounds today when someone refers to the present Russian Government as a "democracy." Of course, the Communists do say that communism is twentieth century Americanism, or sometimes they put it: "Communism is twentieth century democracy." What a beautiful picture it will be. Your sons and mine (I have three) fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Communists of Russia and being paid with money borrowed, probably, from the Jews.

But, there are signs that the worm may turn. From a reliable source I learn that Stalin has initiated a Jewish purge of his own in Russia. He has declined to accept a single refugee. Certainly it would be far more appropriate

for Russia to align herself with the dictators and thus relieve us of the embarrassment of referring to her as a democracy.

While I hold no brief for Hitler, it would be well for us to remember that we did not accept the Versailles Treaty, the purpose of which was to build a steel ring around Germany—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. Czechoslovakia was formed purposely as a dagger point into the very heart of Germany itself. Years later our allies overseas, wrangling among themselves, did not have the character nor the guts to stop Germany when she first broke through that ring and occupied the demilitarized zone. Whether we like Hitler or not, at least we must admit the accuracy with which he has judged world opinion and the real fighting character of some of the former enemies of Germany.

Why is the world so surprised at Hitler's action? His plans to reshape middle Europe have been stated openly and repeatedly. Not so very long ago, Mr. Hans Luther, the German Ambassador in Washington, was at my home. He stated frankly how Hitler desired peace, but that Germany must have elbow room in Europe for her development, and that the powers must not interfere with Hitler as he reshaped middle Europe to the advantage of the German people. That message went out to the nations possessed of colonies in many places in the world. Some of them were possessed originally by shooting down the native inhabitants armed only with bows and arrows.

The President of the United States, speaking in San Diego in 1935, said:

"In the face of this apprehension the American people can have but one concern and speak but one sentiment; despite what happens in continents overseas, the United States of America shall and must remain, as long ago the Father of our Country prayed that it might remain, unentangled and free.

"This country seeks no conquest. We have no imperial designs. From day to day, and year to year, we are establishing more perfect assurance of peace with our neighbors. We rejoice especially in the prosperity, the stability, and the independence of all the American republics. We not only earnestly desire peace, but we are moved by a stern determination to avoid those perils that will endanger our peace with the world."

Why not keep that promise?

But, the present administration has not made much of a record in keeping promises, and, further, some emergency must be kept constantly before our people in an effort to carry Mr. Roosevelt over 1940, no matter what the cost may be to the American people; no matter how much blood may be spilled in the effort.

We must bear in mind, also, that a World War is part of the world plan of the Communists, and, as stated in effect by the Jewish speaker already referred to, they believe it has the support of the man in the White House.

Now what are we going to do about it? Before we can be assured of peace, we must first lick communism throughout the United States. You may ask why I do not mention fascism and nazi-ism; for the simple fact that, in my opinion, they are only antitoxins, and they will disappear when the disease of communism has been cured up throughout America. The Fascist and the Nazis in America have only one mission, as I understand them, and that is to see to it that the Communists shall not take possession of this Nation. In fact, the finest type of Americanism can breed under their protection as they neutralize the efforts of the Communists.

How, then, can we lick communism? First, by exterminating from the life of this Nation all traces of the New Deal, the principal backers of communism. But that is not all. We must go to battle against the Communists themselves. Before one can battle intelligently, he must estimate the situation thoroughly, and that estimate includes an analysis of the enemy's forces and a similar analysis of our own. With that information, a plan can be adopted and an attack made with every hope of success.

Prior to 1932 subversive influences in this Nation were never serious. Those groups were small. When they made trouble here and there there was always a Cleveland, a Theodore Roosevelt, or a Coolidge to handle them properly and drastically. But the breed of such men with character and guts seems to be petering out, and there has been a tremendous growth during the last 6 years of the present administration, in the number, in the strength, and in the influence of Communist organizations throughout the United States, following the plan outlined by Foster, Communist candidate for President in 1932, when he stated:

"We Communists are unscrupulous in our choice of weapons; we allow no consideration of legality, religion, patriotism, honor, duty, and so forth to

stand in our way to the adoption of effective weapons. We propose to develop, and are developing, regardless of the capitalists' conception of legality, fairness, rights, and so on, a greater power and then wrest from them by force the industries."

How is that going to be accomplished? I answer by quoting from a statement made by Russian-born Jewish Editor Olgin, of the largest Communist daily in America, as that statement appeared in the Congressional Record:

"We Communists say there is but one way to abolish the capitalistic state (referring to the United States of America), and that is to smash it by force; this means civil war."

But how their influence has grown since the coming of the New Deal in 1932. About a year after the New Deal took charge, a noted international Communist with headquarters in Washington stated, in effect:

"It is very gratifying to go around the departments in Washington now, for, while we have no No. 1 places as yet, we have understudies everywhere."

But the greatest danger is in our apathy and in our failure to realize the danger of the present national situation at home. We do not realize that the strength of the Communist Party in America today is greater than that of the party which took over Russia, then a nation of 160,000,000 people, inaugurating the most tyrannical Government in the history of the world. We must have a clear picture in our minds of the strength of communism. There are many Communists, but only a certain selected and qualified few are allowed to become members of the party. Thus, in Russia, where the party is large, only about 1 percent of the population—that is, about 1,800,000—are actually allowed to be members of the party; that is, the directing personnel. In America, the number of members is approximately 80,000, but in what they term their "united front" they have over 6,000,000 Communists and Communist sympathizers. They say (quoting from the report of President Green of the American Federation of Labor to the Congress):

When Moscow orders "forward, march," Communists in the United States execute that command like so many disciplined troops.

So much then for the enemy within our gates.

How about our own forces? The Army of the United States is in better shape today than at any time in its history. We could all rest in complete security at home under the protection of that Army, if we knew that in an emergency it would receive proper orders from the White House. We do know, however, that if the administration went too far to the left and asked our Military Establishment to execute orders which violated all American tradition, that Army would demur. It is your salvation today. Do you know that today it is not permitted to investigate the enemies living and operating within our gates; that it can make no plans to combat those enemies? Our Army can be depended upon never to interfere with the civil agencies of our Government, or attempt to usurp any of their functions, but it should be fully informed at all times of the enemies within our gates and be prepared to act in conformity with the comprehensive plan when legally called upon to do so, or when civil agencies break down or fail.

The Communists, on the other hand, have definite plans to take over our principal cities. They say openly that every strike is a rehearsal.

As the result of the combined influence of the Liberals and Communists, the following bills for our protection have been defeated:

A bill to make plotting for the destruction of our Government a most serious offense.

A bill to protect the Army from boring from within.

A bill to facilitate the deportation of alien criminals.

A bill to protect the mails. (Today the Communists send all their orders of destruction through the mail.)

How important we have become as a Nation.

As to the general condition existing at home, let me quote, first a statement from a friendly neighbor, and then an estimate by a Democratic Senator. I would not be so unfair as to quote a Republican. Recently, in an editorial, the Toronto Globe and Empire held the New Deal to be the most colossal spendthrift in history and without results. It reviewed the welching on promises, the squandering of money in partisan propaganda, and the elevation of "many a political accident to high office, including the Supreme Court." The editorial covered New Deal promotion of class hatred, exploitation of human misery, the promotion of communism, and the sob appeal, and concluded:

"We believe the richest country the world has known is headed for New Deal catastrophe if a halt be not called at once, that its people, and there are none

finer, are being brought down to shameful misery by the most colossal stupidity that political insanity has yet devised for its own self-perpetuating ends.

And what did Senator Harry F. Byrd, of Virginia, say?

"As one who for 3 years has been investigating our Federal expenditures, as chairman of the Select Committee on Investigation of Executive Agencies of the Government, I assert that we have at Washington today the most costly, the most wasteful, and most bureaucratic form of government this Republic has ever known or any other nation has been afflicted with. * * * We are facing a perilous situation, and what can be done about it? Can we expect any leadership from the present administration for economy and retrenchment? As one who has fought for 5 years for prudent spending at Washington, I say 'no.'"

Senator Pat Harrison spoke very recently in the same vein.

Coming now to a plan, there are two important elements to be considered: First, security at home; and second, international peace. Security at home includes law and order. It includes the elimination of fear on the part of each and every individual, so that our problems may be solved in an atmosphere of confidence and calm. Your city fathers must have a definite plan for the protection of Philadelphia, with only Americans on guard at all critical points, such as your waterworks, your electric-light plant, and in all those facilities which are necessary to enable your police and fire departments to function. It is still lawful for us to protect our homes and loved ones; to protect our property. Thank God, we still have our constitutional right to bear arms. It is also the lawful duty of your city officials to be prepared at all times to protect your city and the citizens therein, regardless as to the opinions on law and order of the man sitting in the White House at the moment or in your Governor's chair. If the required number of police officers are not available, the plan should include the deputizing of citizens to be called legally in an emergency. They should have rehearsals in the performance of their duties. Remember, it is the first 20 minutes that count.

The next great domestic problem is unemployment, and little can be accomplished in its solution until we realize what the high cost of hate means to government, to industry, and to labor. Unemployment is mounting as the number of strikes increases. John Lewis may be able to demonstrate to the Nation how he can flaunt the law and compel a new wage scale as the result of a strike, but all that avails little unless jobs are available and can be offered the unemployed. He sums up his own accomplishment in his radio address of last March when he stated:

"Thirteen million Americans are now unemployed. Their numbers are steadily increasing as the Nation drifts with terrifying and deadly sureness to * * * economic collapse and human tragedy. * * * America is moving in economic reverse."

The principle of collective bargaining by labor has come to stay, but there must be fair play on all three sides—Government, industry, and labor. There must be law and order during the discussion of differences, and work should not be interrupted. Little can be accomplished until all labor organizations are compelled to incorporate under Federal law so that they may be held responsible for their acts, just as industry is so held. That will dignify labor from top to bottom, and it will also protect the worker himself from unnecessary and unjust strikes so often forced upon him.

In a recent Gallup poll on the question of requiring all labor unions to be licensed by the Federal Government, 75 percent voted "yes." Evidently our people are definitely for it.

The next element in our plan must be decentralization. We must remember that as successful industry expands it is decentralized more and more. We have departed from that great principle in our Government. We must return to it promptly, doing away with the great bureaucracy in Washington, where the problems of the local communities cannot be properly understood and solved. Thus, business must be decentralized to business, farming to the farmer, government to the States, where it belongs. The greatest danger of monopoly is in Washington bureaucracy.

In solving the problem of international peace, we should bear in mind the high cost of hate as that hate is being engendered internationally today by the present administration in Washington. Time does not permit me to discuss the far eastern question nor the situation in Europe. We should remember, however, that our campaign of hate is costing us more and more every day in the loss of trade. It is building up for us potential enemies. We should remember that our trade with Japan and China is greater than all our South American trade put

together. In thinking of the open door in the Far East, we might well bear in mind that we recently had an unsuccessful conference in Lima, Peru, where we attempted to slam the door of South American trade in the face of all the world. We might well remember, also, that our trade in the Far East invariably increases as the nation behind the open door is put in order. As far as the Philippine Islands are concerned, we must bear in mind that the policy governing those islands has passed out of our hands. Repeatedly we promised them their independence. They decided to take it. We will be compelled to keep that promise unless the people of those islands ask to reopen the question. The plan to fortify Guam is about as sensible as it would be to talk about arming a fly wiggling in the meshes of a spider's web. All we have accomplished so far in that discussion is to extend our campaign of hate.

For many months the American press has fed us the worst kind of propaganda in reference to Spain. Now that the curtain has been lifted, we know how vile was the so-called Loyalist Government. The sooner the remnants of that Government are driven into the sea, the better. The stench of it will rise to the heavens for generations.

For us the time to stop war is today, before war begins. Let us bear in mind the frightfully untrue picture of Europe painted for us by propaganda in the years just prior to our entrance into the World War. We are faced with a similar situation today.

Remember that friendship and trade are companion pieces internationally just as they are locally. Remember, also, that the byproducts of hate are loss of trade, potential enemies, and war.

The first step to be taken in preventing war is definitely to crush the influence of an international group of Communists, united in America from coast to coast, in a determined effort to compel the present administration in Washington to force Mr. Hitler to reinstate the German refugees to their former status in Germany, even at the cost of war.

The non-Christian members of that minority group have seldom been conspicuous on the field of battle. Should war come, few of them will be seen at the front, but, rather, their success has been in initiating wars and in financing them with profit to themselves.

Let all patriotic, Christian Americans unite and stand up and fight for peace. It is within our grasp and can be had with honor.

ADDRESS OF GEN. GEORGE VAN HORN MOSELEY ON NATIONAL DEFENSE AND PEACE,
SPRINGFIELD, ILL., APRIL 26, 1939

Thank God that freedom of speech and the right of assembly won out in this historic city of Springfield, Ill. Probably all our names will be taken down and listed for liquidation. But no, the tide is turning definitely in America from coast to coast, and if there is going to be any liquidation, it may be of a very different order. You and I are being put through a very severe test today. The question is, Can millions of patriotic Christian Americans be cowed and submerged by a small minority, or will we stand up and fight and rescue the Republic of the United States of America? That should be our slogan, Rescue the Republic!

As we meet here tonight the question that is uppermost in our minds is world peace. Mr. Hitler will make his answer to Mr. Roosevelt day after tomorrow. That answer will mean much to the peace of the world, but certainly it should not involve us in war, unless the man in the White House has some ulterior reason for leading this Nation into war. I have the distinct feeling that our President is going to have a very unpleasant experience as a peace maker. He will be scorned by Hitler and Mussolini, deserted and left high and dry, probably, by the British.

At the outset let me ask this audience if you consider the President of the United States qualified to be a fair arbiter and judge between a divided world today, when he and his close-in associates have repeatedly expressed their hatred for the leaders of one of these world groups? The President suggests the council table, but the last world council table gave Germany the Versailles Treaty, an instrument condemned generally today by all the world, no matter on which side one may have fought in the World War. Further, at this present moment, England and France are striving again to build a steel ring around

Germany in Europe, although they deny it. I hold no brief for Mr. Hitler, for Mr. Mussolini, nor for the Mikado, but when we talk about the council table, we must stick to facts, and where witnesses are prejudiced by personal interest or hatred, that fact must be stated. We must also recall that at the Versailles council table promises to Italy were forgotten.

You have asked me to address you on the subject of national defense. From an American point of view, national defense should enable us to live in security at home and in a state of honorable peace with all the world. We are listed as one of the "have" nations, and we wish to retain all we have—possessions which we stole, captured, or purchased from the Indians, from England, Spain, France, Mexico, and, finally, from Russia. We are not now in the market for any additional territory, but too often we attempt to penetrate foreign territory far beyond our borders with our suggestions and advice as to how the other fellow should run his affairs. We air our views on matters which are none of our business. The result is that at this present moment we are in a rather unsavory international position. Cooperating with us in our second effort to make the world safe for democracy is the Communist Government of Russia and some others of similar tyrannical form.

Mr. Average Citizen thinks of national defense in terms of our Army and our Navy. When he reads that those two arms are in good shape, he rests in peace and dismisses the subject of national defense from his mind. But national defense does not depend so much on guns and ammunition as it does upon manpower, and a nation torn asunder with internal difficulties soon becomes an easy prey to the invader. Such a nation may even fall a victim to the enemies within its gates. That is just our position in the world today. In fact, conditions existing in the United States today are almost an exact replica of those existing in France just prior to the French Revolution. Too often, political leaders talk long and loud about the shortcomings of nations beyond the seas, but they are unwilling to stand up here in the United States and fight against the enemies which are destroying our Republic from within. It is true that there are a few leaders who realize the dangers and who are going to battle for us, but they are all too few.

Let us see. Why should there be a war scare throughout the land today? With Japan absorbed in conquering China and neutralizing the far eastern forces of Russia; with the balance of power so nearly equal in Europe; where is there an ounce of military or naval strength free to threaten us? Let us agree that we do not like Mr. Hitler, Mr. Mussolini, nor the Mikado. We must admit, however, that the success of the National Socialists in Germany saved that country from communism. Mussolini's success in Italy saved that nation from anarchy; and whether you agree with Mr. Mussolini or not, what he has accomplished for Italy is recognized on all sides. Further, Japan defeated the Communists throughout China. The oncoming waves of communism were held back by a wall formed of the breasts of Japanese soldiers, whether we like them or not. Picture where England and France would be today if communism had succeeded in Germany, in Italy, and in the Far East. The British Empire would be torn asunder, and France would be ruled today by the Communist, Blum. That was the definite aim of the French Communists. What would have become of us in such a world?

We can say of ourselves that we have no continuing foreign policy; but we do like to quote George Washington's Farewell Address and then disobey it almost in the same breath. However, we do still preach and sometimes practice the Monroe doctrine. But in referring to that doctrine, we forget that it is a double-barreled policy, and, generally, we refer to only one part of it, omitting the corollary. Well do we remember that part when President Monroe said:

"* * * that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers."

But, we forget that he also added a companion piece to that policy, that we should mind our own business in reference to European affairs, using these words:

"Our policy in regard to Europe * * * remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its Powers * * * In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense."

Why, then, are we injecting ourselves into the wars of Europe today? What influences are pushing us on? If Germany, Italy, and Japan should declare war upon us simultaneously, they could not endanger either our Atlantic or our Pacific coast. There is far more danger of those coasts being attacked from the rear by forces under the leadership of such individuals as Harry Bridges, Earl Browder, or John Lewis. How impotent we are as a Nation to allow the alien Communist, Harry Bridges, to terrorize the Pacific coast and all but ruin the God-given harbor of San Francisco!

If we are not in danger from attack by a foreign enemy, are we floating a war scare to carry the President through 1940, or are we simply backing up the British? Let us see if the British are entitled to our support today. The answer I give you is from a very recent statement of Senator William E. Borah, member of the Foreign Relations Committee, when he said:

"No better friend since Hitler became the master of Germany has Hitler had than the British democracy. Apparently regarding arbitrary, centralized government in Europe as the best guarantee of stability, it has built up Hitler's strength and favored his cause in every crucial situation. * * *

"When Japan seized Manchuria and our Government asked that Great Britain join in a protest, the British Government sent one of her ablest men to Geneva and, in the face of two treaties, defended the lawless act of Japan. It was argued that British interests would be better protected by Japan. This seizure of Manchuria and its success laid the foundation for the present war against China. * * *

"When Hitler was preparing for the taking over of Austria a representative of the British Government let Berlin know that it might be well for Europe if Austria passed into stronger hands * * *"

As to the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, Senator Borah had this to say: " * * * After the deed had been done and the two republics (England and France) had sent the ultimatum of September 19, near midnight, to Czechoslovakia, calling for a decision within a few hours, Mr. Chamberlain made his settlement with Hitler and exhibited it to the world saying, in effect, that you can trust this man. I take up my place alongside of him. I ask no modification of his philosophy of government. In doing so he gave greater power and greater prestige to Hitler throughout Europe than he perhaps himself ever hoped to enjoy * * *."

We must remember that the British at heart have no use for Uncle Sam; they never have had any real love for us. While they might be glad to find us strong when they need our support, they will also revel in our embarrassment or weakness during periods when they feel that their position in the world is impregnable.

If we are to solve our difficulties, you and I must picture the United States of America, not as a Nation of boundless fertile fields, rich mines, and almost inexhaustible natural resources, but, rather, as a Nation of over 126,000,000 of people. We will stand or fall according to the virility, the character, the dependability, and the breeding of our race. Just now, we are breeding our race down, and we are well on our way to our doom unless a halt is sounded by leaders worthy of the name; otherwise, we will go through the experience of Spain. The only escape from such a horrible experience is for us to demonstrate today that as a Nation we have the character to turn about, swim upstream, breed the race up, and make good our days of riotous living, replacing every dollar that has been spent on an I O U basis with a dollar that has been honestly earned.

One of two conditions will obtain as we look to the future. Either we will succumb to communism, a political organization wherein every individual is pulled down to the level of the average, working under the lash of the dictatorship of the mob, or, we will restore our Republic, wherein every individual is encouraged to develop his or her greatest capacity for service—a Government in which each and every individual will find a suitable place according to his or her talents and endowments and willingness to work.

The Army and Navy are in fine shape today. But remember that in the final analysis, those two organizations can be no stronger than the manpower of the Nation from which they are recruited. They cannot forever remain dependable, adhering to the high standards that govern them today, if the Nation at home continues to be honeycombed with graft in places high and low; with crime; with labor strikes adding daily to unemployment and to misery.

Our war Army must be built on the conditions in being throughout our country at the moment. Just what kind of a foundation is available today upon which to build? Let me quote again from Senator Borah:

"First, what are the conditions in these days of peace, the conditions which will confront us, if war comes, for upon these conditions we will have to build for war. We now have a national debt, including obligations underwritten, of \$45,000,000,000, Budget of something over ten billion, a deficit somewhere around three and one-half billion. We have a tax burden so heavy that it is breaking the spirit and paralyzing the energy of millions of our people. Do these things have anything to do with preparedness for war? Do they have any bearing upon the stability or perpetuity of this Government? We also have 11,000,000 unemployed and we have the squalor and the misery, the sorrow and the discouragement, which come with such unemployment. We have one-third of our industrious, law-abiding citizens, it is estimated, men and women anxious to win back prosperity and a decent way of living, to rear in respect and happiness their children, living on the bare necessities of life or upon charity. Do these things have anything to do with the question of whether we should enter a war? Do not these conditions show we are wholly unprepared for war, regardless of the extent of our armaments? Do they not show that we are indeed a sick Nation and that in this condition of affairs is to be found the real danger to our democracy? Are not these things which make for confusion and demoralization, socially and politically, the very things which are sapping the foundation of this Republic? Do they not create the soil from which spring the isms and systems which constitute the real menace to democracy? * * *

In Washington a bill is being considered to allow into the United States 20,000 refugee babies. Shall we add those babies to the terrible picture portrayed by Senator Borah? Shall we feed them with food taken from our own undernourished population? Let's feed our own first. Let's look ahead. In 50 years those 20,000 babies probably will breed not less than 100,000, to be added to our refugee problem of that day. The time to control the American breed of human beings is today. Let us not add to the difficulties of that problem.

Further, as we investigate this war scare, do we find any soldiers rattling the saber and crying out for war? No, not a one. If the standards throughout the civil life of our Nation were on a par with those existing in our Army today, we would be the strongest Nation in the world; yes, the strongest in all history. In my mail I receive numerous letters from parents asking what they can do to help in this campaign to avoid war. There is little they can do until 1940, but then they can accomplish a lot with their votes. Recently, the daughter of an alien refugee, speaking in this country, had this to say, which will be of interest to all mothers who have sons of draft age:

"I have no hesitancy in calling for the blood of the sons of American mothers, just so I can get even with that government (Germany) which I despise."

That quotation is taken from the Congressional Record.

Are there any other influences at work in an endeavor to commit us to war? I know of only one, and that is the influence of the Jews from coast to coast. Speakers have covered the United States, addressing the assembled Jews, stating that it was their endeavor to compel this Administration to force Hitler to reinstate the Jews in Germany to their former status, even at the cost of war. The speaker who appeared in Atlanta stated that they received much encouragement in their plan from the man in the White House. The recent parade in New York City on March 25, officially called an anti-Hitler parade, was in fact a pro-war parade. That was its real purpose. It was a further insult to Mr. Hitler by the Nation whose President now volunteers to sit as judge on the subject of the rights and wrongs in the European situation. This parade took 2 hours and 15 minutes to pass a given point, and an investigation showed that over 60 percent of the marchers were Jews, but that it was practically 100 percent composed of Communists throughout.

The problem of the Jew in America must be studied and solved without further delay. We cannot expect to escape the experience of every other nation of the world which has been faced with that very same problem. Jewish refugees from abroad are entering this country in large numbers, lawfully and unlawfully, from those parts of the world where anti-Semitism is growing. That same feeling is growing rapidly in America from coast to coast. The problem should be recognized and solved before further tragedy overtakes the Jews who live in the United States of America.

Once upon a time we adopted the policy of keeping out certain Asiatics. We have not been so successful in culling out undesirables coming to us from across the Atlantic. We must find some such solution for that problem. Over 2,000

years of recorded history shows very clearly that those traits which have made the Jew unwelcome every place he has been domiciled cannot be bred out.

Studies of our manpower which have been made over a long period of time show very conclusively that from every point of view we are breeding the race down. That condition must be corrected. As human beings we are subject to all the laws of breeding that affect the animal kingdom. We are violating those laws because it is not good politics to stand up in the meeting and face the facts; to provide corrective measures by adopting a system for selective breeding, sterilization, the elimination of the unfit, and the elimination of those types which are inimical to the general welfare of the Nation. If we do not adopt such a course we can know definitely today that in due time we will be licked by some nation or group of nations that have looked to their manpower and bred it up.

In years past, I have often said that the time would come in America when the fit could no longer stand the financial strain of caring for the unfit. Recently, I saw that situation actually arrive in the State of Georgia, where due to lack of appropriations it is reported that many of the schools must be closed; over 2,000 insane must be turned over to the counties or thrown out on the streets of the State; and State hospital facilities curtailed. An investigation of the public school situation made last fall showed that 5,000 of the Atlanta public-school children are undernourished. Concurrently in Georgia many refugees are arriving lawfully and unlawfully. They are being provided for and employed, while our own sons and daughters stand by idle, and often hungry. Shall we add 20,000 refugee babies to this problem?

Do you wonder, then, that there is a growing resentment on the part of our own flesh and blood against the refugees? But, Georgia is not the only State at a very low ebb politically. Recently, Gov. John W. Bricker, of Ohio, said of conditions generally:

"The constant burden of Government as well as patent evidences of dishonesty of public officials, have brought about a sense of distrust of the individual citizen of the Government official and the institutions of Government itself. When we add to this distrust the sense of fear that we detect on every side, economic fear, political fear, we have a dangerous situation which challenges us to the very best service we can give."

During the sit-down strikes in Ohio, when neither the State nor Federal Governments would take positive action, and the law was openly flaunted before jeering mobs, the late Senator J. Hamilton Lewis said:

"America is on the eve of a period similar to that which preceded the Civil War. Where Government is to survive it must assert itself as Government, or it will wither away and die."

National defense, like charity, begins at home. It is first reflected in the discipline of the home; then it should be evidenced in the honesty, integrity, and efficiency of our local governments. Finally when we reach the top, it is an easy task to build an impregnable system of national defense on such a solid foundation. No potential enemy would dare disturb such a nation. That foundation does not exist in our Republic today. The program to accomplish it must include: First, arouse our people from the profound apathy into which they have drifted; second, give them the facts, the truth; third, draw up a plan of action which will include the decentralization of Government according to the original plan; economy and efficiency with the elimination of graft, which costs us today a billion dollars a year; a sound money system; a just coordinated tax system from local counties up to and including the Federal Government; the incorporation of all labor unions under Federal law; and, all important, a system whereby our American race may be bred up to new standards, not only to maintain the highest standards locally, but to enable us successfully to compete with the rest of the world. If we lack the character to accomplish this, then we can look to the future with a different kind of certainty, that a stronger people will one day take over our land and riches which we are squandering today in the name of liberty.

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, JUNE 1, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10:30 a. m., in the caucus room, Old House Office Building. Congressman Arthur D. Healey (acting chairman) presiding.

Present: Congressmen Arthur D. Healey (presiding), J. J. Dempsey, H. Jerry Voorhis, Noah M. Mason, and J. Parnell Thomas.

Also present: Rhea Whitley, counsel to the committee.

Mr. HEALEY. The committee will come to order, and we will proceed with General Moseley.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE VAN HORN MOSELEY—Resumed

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Whitley, will you proceed?

Mr. WHITLEY. General, reading from a letter dated December 12, 1938, addressed to you by Mr. Campbell, he states as follows in that letter:

I have just completed reading your address to be delivered on December 14. Permit me to extend my congratulations and heartiest commendation on as ably a prepared address, covering the situation confronting our Nation, as I have ever read.

I believe, General during your testimony yesterday you indicated that although Mr. Campbell might have sent out some of your speeches, it was not at your suggestion or with your cooperation?

General MOSELEY. I didn't use the word "cooperation." I told you that he often wrote me for copies, and I think you will find, probably, in his carbons requests to me. He would say, "Will you please send me a copy of so-and-so?" I saw it referred to in the press.

Mr. WHITLEY. In this instance, at least, it would appear that you had sent Mr. Campbell a copy of your proposed address before you made it. In other words, he is complimenting you on your address to be delivered on December 14?

General MOSELEY. I think you will find, though, that he asked for it. He never made regular distribution of my remarks at all, but occasionally I would send him a copy, and in that case generally on his request, and I think always on his particular request.

Mr. WHITLEY. This address referred to here, I presume, is your board of trade speech; in other words, he says that it is to be delivered

on December 14, and that was the date, I believe, that your speech before the board of trade in New York was delivered?

General MOSELEY. I believe so.

Mr. WHITLEY. I find no correspondence here wherein he requested that particular speech, and as I say his correspondence indicates that you had sent it to him in advance of actually making the address.

Did you know, General, that in addition to sending out, mailing out, the so-called music scores or the reports which he received from Mr. Gilbert, Mr. Campbell also mailed out very frequently copies of Father Coughlin's addresses?

General MOSELEY. I don't know that he distributed them in any way. I do know that occasionally he would send me a clipping of the Brooklyn Tablet containing references, perhaps about Father Coughlin, perhaps about somebody else.

Mr. WHITLEY. Apparently—and this is on Mr. Campbell's own admission—the principal material he sent out were the reports he received from Gilbert, Father Coughlin's speeches, and your speeches. Now, he did distribute at least three or four, as I recall the record, of your speeches?

General MOSELEY. Three or four; yes. But those——

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). Four is all we have, General.

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. He mimeographed those himself and sent them out?

General MOSELEY. Yes; and I have no idea where he sent them.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't know they were going out with Father Coughlin's addresses and with these reports, to the same mailing list?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, I show you for identification letter dated December 30, 1938, Atlanta, Ga., addressed to Capt. J. E. Campbell, and signed by you. Do you identify this letter, General, as being your letter?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you say you did identify it, General?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. That is your letter?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. Your signature?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY (reading):

MY DEAR CAMPBELL: Again I wish to thank you for your many courtesies to me yesterday while I was a guest in the city of Indianapolis.

that was in conjunction with the talk which you made there——

Your advice was very helpful and I want to keep in touch with you in the work we have in hand.

What was the nature of the advice Mr. Campbell had given you with reference to your Indianapolis address, General.

General MOSELEY. I don't know of anything in direct connection with that meeting. Mr. Campbell knew all the leaders of these patriotic organizations, and I often referred to him for information on that subject. I don't remember anything specific that I can give you there.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, didn't he write you a letter before you went to Indianapolis, a rather lengthy letter, suggesting the type of talk that he thought would be appropriate?

General MOSELEY. I believe Campbell on several occasions wrote me letters suggesting that a certain idea would be a good topic for a certain locality, and I think probably he did in the case of Indianapolis. I don't recall what that suggestion was.

Mr. WHITLEY. Continuing this same letter, General:

You have had many discouraging months in connection with this work. Even those who should have assisted you failed to do so. But in 2 years I believe you will witness a house-cleaning in which you took a very important part.

What do you mean by "house-cleaning," General?

General MOSELEY. I was referring to the political situation as I had hoped it might develop in 1940.

Mr. HEALEY. What situation which you hoped might develop in 1940? Can you amplify that statement? How did you hope it might develop in 1940?

General MOSELEY. Well, we had quite an example of it in 1936, last fall, and probably I had the same thing in mind.

Mr. HEALEY. You don't explain yourself sufficiently. Just what did you mean, what did you hope for? You can tell the committee what you hope for in 1940, can't you, what you referred to there?

General MOSELEY. Probably I had in mind a change in leadership which would correct all these unfortunate conditions which we have discussed.

Mr. HEALEY. And was that one of the objectives of your activities along these lines?

General MOSELEY. No, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. That hasn't been one of the things you have been shooting for?

General MOSELEY. No, sir; I don't belong to either political party and never have.

Mr. HEALEY. All right, Mr. Whitley; proceed.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, during January of this year—

General MOSELEY (interposing). Would you let me amplify that, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. HEALEY. Yes.

General MOSELEY. Might I tell this committee that I was appointed to West Point by a Democrat. I have been in both administrations repeatedly, both Republican and Democratic. The Democratic administrations have always been very friendly to me. I admired Mr. Wilson 100 percent; so that I have no feelings one way or another.

Mr. HEALEY. But you have been working to bring about a change in leadership in 1940; that is one of your objectives in connection with this work you have been doing?

General MOSELEY. I have been working for a change in policies in Government, regardless of whether that change comes from a Democratic leadership or a Republican leadership. It makes no difference to me which party does the cleaning up.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, during the early part of January of this year, did Mr. Campbell suggest to you that you accompany him on a trip, an automobile trip, to the west coast?

General MOSELEY. He did.

Mr. WHITLEY. A trip which I believe was to take in a great many cities?

General MOSELEY. He did.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he proposed that you go along and meet his contacts and make speeches while on that tour?

General MOSELEY. He did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you accept that offer?

General MOSELEY. I did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. There was an exchange of correspondence about it over a period of time?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, reading from the letter——

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). Let me break in there for one question.

Did he say anything about finances for that trip, who was going to finance that trip?

General MOSELEY. No, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. Didn't talk over finances at all?

General MOSELEY. No, sir; and if I had made the trip I would have made it on my own.

Mr. HEALEY. You would have spent your own money?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Did you spend your own money to go to these various towns or cities to make the speeches that you have already mentioned?

General MOSELEY. Not always.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Who financed your trip to Springfield?

Mr. HEALEY. The speech you made at Springfield?

General MOSELEY. I think in the case of Springfield they gave me transportation both ways.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Who did?

General MOSELEY. I think the money came from a man whose name I don't recall, but he was the head of their publicity office with an office in the hotel there, where their meeting was held.

Mr. DEMPSEY. When you say "their publicity office," what do you mean?

General MOSELEY. Well, this was a political group.

Mr. DEMPSEY. A political group?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Was it Democratic—a Democratic organization?

General MOSELEY. No; it was a Republican organization.

Mr. DEMPSEY. At Springfield?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Who financed your trip to Philadelphia?

General MOSELEY. It was only very partially financed.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Well, partially?

General MOSELEY. The head of that patriotic organization gave me a check for \$35, which was about one-third of my expenses or one-half.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That was not a political organization but was one that you term a patriotic organization?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Who financed the trip to Indianapolis?

General MOSELEY. Isn't that the question you asked me a few minutes ago?

Mr. HEALEY. No; prior to that he asked you about Springfield.

General MOSELEY. I beg your pardon, I thought you had asked me about Indianapolis.

Mr. DEMPSEY. No; Springfield.

General MOSELEY. At Springfield they paid my expenses both ways.

Mr. HEALEY. Who did?

General MOSELEY. It was given to me by the committee in charge of the meeting.

Mr. HEALEY. Can you recall who they were?

General MOSELEY. I can recall the chairman of the committee.

Mr. HEALEY. And how much did they give you on that occasion?

General MOSELEY. They gave me expenses both ways.

Mr. HEALEY. What did it amount to?

General MOSELEY. It was about \$70, I think.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Was that a patriotic organization that sponsored that meeting?

General MOSELEY. I think it started out to be sponsored by patriotic organizations, and it finally was handled by a combined committee.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Composed of what groups?

General MOSELEY. There were religious people in the group, as I remember it, the committee was small; I can give you the name of the chairman of the committee and I can't remember the others.

Mr. HEALEY. Who was the chairman?

General MOSELEY. Colonel Ogden.

Mr. HEALEY. A retired Army man?

General MOSELEY. No; he is a Reserve officer; he was chairman of the committee and in his committee I think he had men of the Legion, men of the church, and different ones.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Now the Indianapolis meeting you say was sponsored by the Republican committee?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What did they pay you to make the Indianapolis speech?

General MOSELEY. I think they paid my expenses; that may be one of the meetings where they didn't pay me a thing, but I am inclined to believe they paid my expenses both ways.

Mr. HEALEY. You can make a little surer answer than that, can't you? You ought to be fair with this committee—

General MOSELEY (interposing). I am trying to be fair.

Mr. HEALEY. You can make a little surer answer. You said "I think." Do you know whether or not, as a matter of fact, they paid your expenses—the Republican committee?

General MOSELEY. I am just using my own memory now. Some of these organizations didn't pay me a cent. Some of them paid part of my expenses, with apologies, and I imagine they paid me, if they did pay me anything, just my transportation, perhaps about \$60 or \$70.

Mr. HEALEY. Can't you tell me what they did pay you?

General MOSELEY. I don't remember.

Mr. HEALEY. Your recollection doesn't go back that far?

General MOSELEY. If you want those figures, I will be glad to submit them.

Mr. DEMPSEY. General, yesterday you said that the Republican State chairman, as you recall, did not invite you. Mr. McWhirter testified that that is where your invitation came from.

General MOSELEY. From Mr. McWhirter?

Mr. DEMPSEY. No; from the Republican State chairman, Mr. Bobbin?

General MOSELEY. Perhaps it did, that is all right.

Mr. HEALEY. Do you recall how much money you received to go up to Boston?

General MOSELEY. They paid my expenses to Boston and I remember in Boston they paid me my expenses, \$86, and they gave me an honorarium of \$100.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Who paid that?

General MOSELEY. I think that was handed me by one of the officials of the organization, the secretary or the treasurer.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What organization was that?

General MOSELEY. The Sentinels of the Republic.

Mr. HEALEY. And they paid expenses and in addition gave you an honorarium?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Did that occur many times, did you get many honorariums for these speeches?

General MOSELEY. No; as a matter of fact I used that to make good the expenses of the Philadelphia trip, where, with apologies, they gave me \$35.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, is it now clear in your mind that you didn't have to make up for the expenses to Indianapolis?

General MOSELEY. I am not positive whether or not they paid me expenses at all, but if they did it was simply railroad fare and limited expenses, there was no honorarium or anything like that. Mind you, I have spent my own money at all these things. Very seldom have I had any honorarium.

Mr. HEALEY. Now, for the record, I think we can clear this up. In what order did you make these speeches, where did you go first, these principal speeches?

General MOSELEY. The first place, I think, in order, was Cincinnati, to a so-called Christian convention. They did not pay me a cent.

Mr. HEALEY. Didn't even pay expenses?

General MOSELEY. No; nothing.

Mr. HEALEY. And then where did you go?

Mr. THOMAS. Let's have the approximate date of these.

Mr. HEALEY. I would like to have that.

Mr. THOMAS. Why don't you ask for them? I will ask for them now.

General MOSELEY. I can't give them to you absolutely.

Mr. THOMAS. Can you recall what month and what year?

General MOSELEY. Yes; I can do that; but the exact date I wouldn't be able to give you. That was in November.

Mr. HEALEY. November of last year?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Now where was the next speech?

General MOSELEY. I think the next one in order of date was before the New York Board of Trade, later in December.

Mr. HEALEY. Then where did you go, where was your next speech, your next big speech?

General MOSELEY. I say the New York Board of Trade.

Mr. HEALEY. But after that?

General MOSELEY. The next one after that was the Boston speech, I think.

Mr. HEALEY. All right.

Mr. THOMAS. What organization was that?

General MOSELEY. Sentinels of the Republic.

Mr. HEALEY. Then where did you go?

General MOSELEY. I think the next one in order was Philadelphia.

Mr. THOMAS. That was before what organization?

General MOSELEY. That was before this Council of National Defense. I think it is Women's Council of National Defense, as they call it.

Mr. HEALEY. Then, what next?

General MOSELEY. Then, sometime in there I spoke at Decatur, Ga.

Mr. THOMAS. Before what organization?

General MOSELEY. That was the American Legion group of that vicinity—Atlanta and vicinity.

Then Springfield would be, I guess, the next one in order of date.

Mr. HEALEY. Springfield, Ill.?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Who did you speak before there, under whose auspices did you make that speech? Do you know the organization that sponsored that meeting?

General MOSELEY. The invitation, as I recall, read that a number of patriotic organizations invited me to come. They had some difficulties in getting a hall. It then was organized under this committee that I speak of, the chairman of which was Colonel Ogden.

Mr. MASON. That was kind of a public committee, a community committee?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir; it was a community committee representing the American Legion, I believe; one or two religious organizations, and so on.

Mr. HEALEY. When did you go to Indianapolis; did that follow?

General MOSELEY. No; I went to Indianapolis—I missed that one. I went there before I went to Springfield.

Mr. HEALEY. Now, can you say to the committee whether or not, on the whole, you were out of pocket making these trips throughout the country, and these speeches, or were your expenses taken care of and the honorariums which you received sufficient to take care of those where you didn't receive expenses?

General MOSELEY. No; I am still very considerably, I think, out of pocket. I could give you a statement showing that.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, you can't from memory right now?

General MOSELEY. No, sir.

Mr. MASON. General, you have given us seven different speeches listed as you made your speeches. According to the testimony, as I gather it, there was only one instance where it was sponsored by a political organization, and that was Indianapolis?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MASON. Is that right?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir; and may I say there that I accepted that with the distinct understanding that I was coming as an individual citizen and had no interest in either party, and you can see by my telegram to that effect, and I got a reply accepting me under those conditions.

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Whitley, you had a copy of his Indianapolis speech; you were reading from it yesterday?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir; I have that.

Mr. HEALEY. All right; you may proceed.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, in a letter dated January 27, 1939, addressed to you by Mr. Campbell, he states as follows:

I have had comments about your speech from New Mexico, Arizona, California, Idaho, Colorado, Nebraska, and Illinois. Since I have a field survey trip that will cover all of this territory, it looks as though we may also have the opportunity of going on a most enjoyable sightseeing tour, besides doing a lot of work to combat the forces we wish to see defeated.

You and Mr. Campbell agreed as to what those forces were, did you, General?

General MOSELEY. They were communistic, not political forces; communistic forces, not political. And I declined that invitation.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you and Mr. Campbell agreed generally on a program to be followed in combatting those forces that you were opposed to?

General MOSELEY. Only in a very general way. Now, mind you, I don't know whether Campbell is a Republican or a Democrat. This committee may know; I don't.

Mr. HEALEY. You didn't know about his interest in forming political clubs throughout the country, did you?

General MOSELEY. No; I never accompanied him on a single trip.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, I show you a letter dated January 31, 1939, addressed to Mr. Campbell signed by you. Do you identify that as your letter?

General MOSELEY. Yes; that is my letter; it is a personal letter.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading from this letter, General:

I am sure you listened to Mr. Hitler with a great deal of interest. While we do not agree with him in many things, some of his remarks were reassuring and confirming. He pointed out how ridiculous it is to talk of Germany's attacking America. He also had several very appropriate remarks to say about the Jews and their international intrigue.

In other words, you were entirely in accord with Mr. Hitler in his viewpoint in that respect?

General MOSELEY. No; I am not.

Mr. WHITLEY. You are commending his statements here?

General MOSELEY. No; he was faced with a very definite problem; he has solved it.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't imply by your remarks here that you think that the same problem exists in this country or should be met in the same way?

General MOSELEY. No; I have pointed out in my evidence here that we have a problem of that kind in America, but I—

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). I would judge, possibly, from the wording of your letter here that you at least have some admiration for Mr. Hitler?

General MOSELEY. In listening to Mr. Hitler there I was looking for a hope of peace, and I think he held it out in that speech.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What problem do you think he solved that they had in Germany, General?

General MOSELEY. He has solved, Mr. Congressman, the difficulty of international finance entirely independent of the rest of the world.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Is that due to his efforts or due to the remainder of the world refusing to finance Germany?

General MOSELEY. He has also solved the problem of international trade without an ounce of gold. They are trading down in the Caribbean now where we used to trade; we used to send to Mexico all heavy material, mining material, electric material, all that manufactured stuff. We are not sending any of it today. The Germans are bringing it over and swapping their manufactured goods for minerals, raw materials, a little cotton, and lots of oil.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Was that the problem that you had in mind that he solved?

General MOSELEY. That is one of them, and also the financial problem at home, reconstituting his government.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Now, there is no other problem that he solved that you had in mind?

General MOSELEY. He has solved the racial problem.

Mr. DEMPSEY. How?

General MOSELEY. In his own way. I am not saying before this committee that I approve of his methods.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do you disapprove of them?

General MOSELEY. I approve of his taking back and placing in the hands of the German people the control of that nation.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Did he take back from the German people to give to other German people? Do you look upon a Jew, born in Germany, as an alien to that country, people whose ancestors have been there for hundreds of years?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do you think he should have taken their property to give to other German people; is that solving it along your ideas?

General MOSELEY. I don't know—you can't expect me to place myself in Mr. Hitler's position and solve those problems. I don't know what confronted him.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I am simply trying to get your opinion of the matter.

General MOSELEY. I had rather not state my opinion; you are asking me to state my opinion on a great question, and I don't want to do that.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Apparently you have had some views on that question that you expressed, and that is why I want to get your opinion.

General MOSELEY. I don't want to express my opinion on that subject.

Mr. HEALEY. You said that, in your letter to Campbell, Hitler made some very appropriate remarks concerning the Jews; that is an ex-

pression of approval, you approved his remarks that he made, didn't you?

General MOSELEY. Yes; I approved Mr. Hitler's remarks insofar as he referred to certain international interests and controls; yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, you said he made some appropriate remarks concerning the Jews. Now, do you recall what particular appropriate remarks they were?

General MOSELEY. I think his particular remarks were in reference to the international control of organized Jewry.

Mr. HEALEY. And you approved whatever he said about that subject?

General MOSELEY. I am not saying that because I don't know whether you remember his remarks; I don't, so I am not going to approve something I can't remember.

Mr. HEALEY. I mean, does the letter refresh your recollection at all, the reading of the letter, does that indicate that you approved his remarks concerning the Jews, whatever those remarks were?

General MOSELEY. I don't know the particular remarks that I was referring to.

Mr. HEALEY. All right. The letter will have to speak for itself, I guess.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, in a letter dated January 31, 1939, addressed to you by Mr. Campbell, he is discussing plans for your appearance at Nashville on February 7?

General MOSELEY. Yes; and I forgot the Nashville meeting, Mr. Chairman. I didn't get any pay for that.

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Campbell arranged for you to go to Nashville to make that address?

General MOSELEY. Yes; he often travels to that city and he told me those lads wanted me to come there, and I finally said I would go.

Mr. WHITLEY. How many of your speaking engagements did Mr. Campbell arrange?

General MOSELEY. Perhaps those two only.

Mr. WHITLEY. Indianapolis and Nashville?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. He endeavored to arrange some others for you?

General MOSELEY. He endeavored to arrange that western trip, but I said "no."

Mr. WHITLEY. In this letter of January 31, Mr. Campbell states as follows:

I expect to arrive in Nashville Tuesday morning, and this will give us an opportunity of formulating some plans, and at the same time, enough privacy to discuss in detail some of the reports which I have been sending you, as well as another action which has recently developed in line with your often-mentioned ideas.

I presume the reports referred to there are the reports which he sent you?

General MOSELEY. Those secret reports, I imagine.

Mr. WHITLEY. Those reports which he received from Mr. Gilbert?

General MOSELEY. But doesn't the record also show that he didn't go to Nashville?

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, we will get to that later.

General MOSELEY. I don't think he went to Nashville.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; I think he was there.

General MOSELEY. Was he?

Mr. WHITLEY. What was this discussion of "another action which has recently developed in line with your often-mentioned ideas" that he wanted to discuss with you?

General MOSELEY. I haven't the slightest recollection.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have discussed plans or expressed your ideas to Mr. Campbell?

General MOSELEY. Only in connection, as I have repeated before, with his patriotic endeavors.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, Mr. Campbell's letter, dated February 13, 1939, at Owensboro, Ky., addressed to you, reads as follows:

I am enclosing a paragraph taken from a letter received, which I will discuss in detail with you upon arrival next week.

That paragraph reads as follows:

Well, last Sunday afternoon I got a call from Moriarity, who told me he was speaking at Bristol at some Italian Holy Name Society and invited me down.

Who is Moriarity referred to there, General, do you know?

General MOSELEY. Moriarity, I think, comes from the vicinity of Boston. I think I met him when I was in Boston. I know nothing further about him. I think he is one of the patriots of that locality.

Mr. WHITLEY. He belongs to one of these groups that you described as being patriotic?

General MOSELEY. Yes; from New England.

Mr. WHITLEY. Continuing the same quotation, General:

I was not interested until he said he was corresponding with General Moseley and that Moseley said the Legion was alive to the situation and the West and South were being organized and that the general told them to be ready to seize the power and water plants.

Apparently you had been in contact with Mr. Moriarity by correspondence?

General MOSELEY. I think Mr. Moriarity was at the meeting in Boston, previously referred to, and I will guarantee that if Mr. Moriarity ever wrote me he never wrote me but one or two letters, which I don't remember the contents of at all. You can come and see my files if you wish. I don't think you will find but perhaps one letter; I don't remember the man.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you advocating the seizure of power and water plants?

General MOSELEY. Can I answer that?

Mr. HEALEY. Yes.

General MOSELEY. In going around to these cities, Mr. Chairman, the question has come up often of safety. I think I said yesterday, in connection with strikes, that the strikers often say; that is, the higher-ups, I understand, that every strike is a rehearsal, and I have read a plan some place showing how, by seizing 12 or 15 critical points in any city, they can control the city, throw it into disorder and then do what they damned please.

So, when I was in Boston, I remember I said one of the principal things to do is for the city fathers to investigate that phase of the present-day situation because it is their responsibility to protect life and property in their cities and if you haven't sufficient force in your police force, then I said you should deputize certain citizens, so that in the event of emergency, the proper protection can be given

to those critical points in the city. What are they? The water supply, your electric-light supply, your police department, system of communications, your fire department, a few critical points for the protection of the city, lawfully, and I pointed out in Boston—if he is referring to that—how all that could be done lawfully.

I noticed in the press, after I was in Boston, that some man sent a telegram to the Secretary of War saying that I should be tried because I had gone up there and recommended an organization of vigilantes to take over the city.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, did you do that in substance?

General MOSELEY. I did not; what I have done always is to point out the necessity in every community for the responsible officers to have a plan——

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). Who did you mean by “responsible officers”?

General MOSELEY. The mayor and the city fathers.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you also include the Army?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. HEALEY. Didn't the Army form some part of your plans?

General MOSELEY. Not at all; that was a situation that will come later; the Army is far off.

Mr. HEALEY. That was somewhere within the scope of your plans?

General MOSELEY. No; the law is very clear, Mr. Chairman, how the Army comes in.

Mr. HEALEY. But you advocated martial law?

General MOSELEY. Where?

Mr. HEALEY. At the very outset of this meeting, yesterday, you said that you approved martial law.

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir; in answering your question in reference to the article in the Saturday Evening Post, the man asked me what could be done in an extreme case and I told him how martial law could work lawfully under our system of government. But that has nothing to do with this case.

Mr. HEALEY. Will you just read that statement from the letter again, with reference to that, Mr. Whitley?

Mr. WHITLEY (reading):

I was not interested until he said he was corresponding with General Moseley and that Moseley said the Legion was alive to the situation and the West and South were being organized and that the General told them to be ready to seize the power and water plants.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you tell the Legion to be ready to seize the power and water plants?

General MOSELEY. No, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. Then that statement is incorrect?

General MOSELEY. The only statement that I made in that connection in Boston was just as I have stated before this committee, and in a letter to him I may have pointed out how necessary it was all over the United States to see that the city fathers had such a plan that could be lawfully employed. Now I have just come from Imperial Valley, where they have such a plan, and it is fine. I wish you could go down there and breathe that pure, loyal, American air. God, it was refreshing to me. Ah, you go down there, Imperial Val-

ley, the only place where the Constitution is 100 percent in operation—

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). General, I think you have answered the question.

Mr. HEALEY. General, you have a good audience this morning.

General MOSELEY. Oh, yes; I have just been there; now I want to talk to you, you brought that up.

Mr. HEALEY. You made a pretty good speech, General, please get back to the inquiry.

General MOSELEY. They have vigilantes down there, I will tell you about them, but they are lawful.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, in several of your addresses, in your speeches other than your Boston speech, you advocated the same thing, which, in effect, was that the city set up an organization, a group of vigilantes—

General MOSELEY (interposing). I never used the word "vigilantes."

Mr. WHITLEY. But in effect that is what you meant?

General MOSELEY. Deputies, lawful constituted deputies, the same kind of lawful deputies that they have got in Imperial Valley.

Mr. WHITLEY. You just referred to the Imperial Valley as "vigilantes" didn't you? Didn't you just use that word yourself, you said they had lawful vigilantes down there?

General MOSELEY. Well, they have lawful deputies.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, you are not shying away from the word "vigilantes," are you?

General MOSELEY. The trouble is, Mr. Chairman, that when these people use the word "vigilantes" in connection with me, they mean some unlawful man with a weapon who is going to do something unlawful. But what I have talked about is not the word "vigilante," but is a lawful, deputized, civil official.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, reading from a letter dated March 9, 1939, addressed to you by Mr. Campbell:

My congratulations on your address in Boston last Saturday. Will you please send the copies of those other speeches, as several people from various parts of the country have written me for same, and I will be glad to mimeograph anything here to help you.

Now that is in line with the arrangement whereby Mr. Campbell was sending out—

General MOSELEY (interposing). Always on his request.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you did comply with his requests?

General MOSELEY. I imagine so.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you didn't know that when you complied your speeches were going out with these reports and with Father Coughlin's speeches?

General MOSELEY. No; as I stated a few minutes ago, it was always in compliance with a special request.

Mr. WHITLEY. Continuing the quotation:

What was the outcome of the New York and Long Island interviews? I can come down any time after the 25th of this month. I will meet you any place you say.

What interviews does he refer to there, General?

General MOSELEY. That was the interview you referred to in the testimony yesterday, I think.

Mr. WHITLEY. No; this letter is dated March 9, 1939. I think the Long Island conference that we discussed yesterday was May 5. He says, "What was the outcome of the New York and Long Island interviews?"

Does that refer to Mrs. Uzzell?

General MOSELEY. It must refer to that, because——

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). I believe you said yesterday, General, that May 5 was the first time you had met Mrs. Uzzell?

General MOSELEY. The first time.

Mr. WHITLEY. This letter was dated March 9. Did you have the Long Island interview referred to in this letter?

General MOSELEY. I told you the only time I met Mrs. Uzzell was on the dates that we discussed yesterday.

Mr. WHITLEY. But from the wording of this letter, apparently you had planned, at least, to go by and see Mrs. Uzzell when you were up there in March; is that correct?

General MOSELEY. Mr. Campbell, on several occasions previous to my meeting with Mrs. Uzzell, had suggested that when I was in New York I should see her, and I never did, except that time.

Mr. WHITLEY. Except when you made the trip up from Atlanta for that purpose?

General MOSELEY. That was not entirely for that purpose; I had to go to New York, and what I said was that the next time I go to New York, I will take time out to see her, because it is a nuisance to go away over on Long Island; it takes all day.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Mr. Campbell ever suggest that you get in touch with Fritz Kuhn while you were in New York?

General MOSELEY. He may have; I never followed out his suggestion if he made it to me.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he suggest to you that you might meet Mr. Kuhn through Mrs. Uzzell, or that they were friendly?

General MOSELEY. If he suggested that I meet Mr. Kuhn, he probably gave me the method of getting in touch with him; I assume that he did, but I never did.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you finally met Mrs. Uzzell and Fritz Kuhn?

General MOSELEY. As brought out yesterday.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, I show you a letter dated March 14, 1939, Atlanta, Ga., addressed to Capt. J. E. Campbell, signed by you. Do you identify that as your letter?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading from this letter, General:

However, I accomplished a great deal on the trip, and the Jews will find they made a great mistake in stirring up such an issue. As you and I well know, they are doing everything they can to take the words "Christ" and "Christian" out of the spoken and written word in America.

The trip referred to here, General, was your Boston trip, was it?

General MOSELEY. No; that was when I just made an appeal for patriotic Christian leadership, and that is why they protested.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say, "However, I accomplished a great deal on this trip." What trip do you refer to?

General MOSELEY. He is referring to the Boston trip.

Mr. WHITLEY. To the Boston trip?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And this statement of yours in this letter to Mr. Campbell about the Jews was a result of your Boston trip and your predictions here about their activities?

General MOSELEY. The secretary or someone in that organization made a protest, and I think they made a protest to Washington.

Mr. WHITLEY. About that speech?

General MOSELEY. Objecting to my appeal for the patriotic Christian leadership.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading further from this letter:

Mr. Stanley High is writing an article for the Saturday Evening Post. He spent one afternoon with me here, and I fear he may make me out very much of a Fascist, all of which will be manifestly unfair.

That is the article which the chairman read excerpts from yesterday?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Why did you fear he was going to make you out a Fascist as a result of the interview, General?

General MOSELEY. It seems to me that I had heard that he had written several articles of this nature, and I got the impression that if he did come to see me he was just going to try and put me in a false position, don't you see, and that is the reason, when I talked to him, that I tried to make my explanation very thorough and careful.

Mr. WHITLEY. Apparently you had quite a talk with him. You say he spent one afternoon with you?

General MOSELEY. Well, he came after lunch, about 2, and I think he left about 3:30.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, in your conversation with him in which you exercised caution not to say anything that might give him any ground to label you as a Fascist, did you make the statements, the quotes, that were read to you yesterday from the article?

General MOSELEY. I think I explained that thoroughly to the chairman yesterday. Wasn't that to your satisfaction?

Mr. HEALEY. Well, the record will speak for itself.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading further from this letter, General:

I was particularly interested in the report of March 1 that you sent me. It strikes me that it would be well to let General Craig to read that report, but if I send it on to him, I should like to be able to tell him briefly and confidentially something of the source and probable reliability of the information given. Would there be any objection to this?

I believe you testified yesterday that you had discussed certain of those reports—

General MOSELEY (interposing). Yes; I felt that that information ought to be known regardless of the credence that should be placed upon it.

Mr. HEALEY. Was that one of those reports?

General MOSELEY. These secret reports; yes.

Mr. HEALEY. That appeared in the newspapers before it was sent out?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; March 1. I think that had some prediction.

Mr. HEALEY. That had already appeared in the newspapers before it was sent out by Gilbert?

Mr. WHITLEY. I don't recall the particular report, and I don't have a copy with me.

General, relative to those reports which you received and were interested enough in to call to the attention of various persons——

General MOSELEY (interposing). Not various persons.

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, you named two or three that you had called these reports to the attention of Army officials?

General MOSELEY. Just very confidentially to officials of the War Department, and I asked for Campbell's permission before I did that.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is the only circumstance under which you ever showed or discussed those reports with anyone?

General MOSELEY. I may have in some exceptional case showed one, but I can't remember it.

Mr. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, General, you showed those reports to Mr. George Deatherage when he was down there conferring with you regarding the Nation-wide organization, didn't you?

General MOSELEY. Perhaps so, but didn't he get them direct anyway?

Mr. WHITLEY. He testified that he did not, and Mr. Campbell testified that he did not send them to him.

General MOSELEY. Well, I did not at any time ever place those reports fully in Mr. Deatherage's hands. I may have referred to one or two incidents in those reports.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, you didn't just get them out and show them to him?

General MOSELEY. No; but I was under the impression that Deatherage had them.

Mr. WHITLEY. He testified that you, I believe, got them out of a trunk and showed them to him, and that to the best of his, or rather his best estimate, it would be that you had about 35 or 40 of them, he said you had a stack of copies which were on thin paper and he thought they were about 35 or 40?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir; I think I testified 15 or 20.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe you did.

Mr. HEALEY. You had a trunk full of them?

General MOSELEY. No; I have one file case that I have had for several years.

Mr. HEALEY. Were you able to put all of the——

General MOSELEY (interposing). All of this goes in there and there is a lot of room left over for more.

Mr. WHITLEY. After seeing those reports, or after you had showed Mr. Deatherage those reports, he wrote to Mr. Campbell and inquired concerning the source and advised Mr. Campbell that you had shown them to him.

General MOSELEY. I didn't know that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you show them to anyone else, do you recall anyone else now that you might have shown them to?

General MOSELEY. I don't recall, and if I showed them to him, as I say I thought he probably already had them.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, reading from letter dated March 16, 1939, addressed to you by Mr. Campbell, in this letter Mr. Campbell states as follows:

I believe this offense can be carried on by the coordination of the individuals and groups in this country who still believe in the sacred obligation of citizenship. I believe the time has arrived to start, and I would like to have you send me a copy of the Macon speech. Then, with your permission, I am going to put it, and the address delivered at Boston, on the mimeograph and send them to every loyal contact that I have in this country.

Did you mention the Macon speech in naming the speeches you had made, General?

General MOSELEY. The Macon speech—

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). No; I don't believe you did, General.

General MOSELEY. Macon was more or less an informal speech, as I recall. You see some of these were very informally given.

Mr. THOMAS. Let's have the information about that Macon speech. When was that made, General, approximately?

General MOSELEY. I don't remember, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Was it 1938 or 1939?

General MOSELEY. It was this year, this spring some time.

Mr. THOMAS. And who sponsored that meeting?

General MOSELEY. Are you sure you got that word "Macon" right, or was that Canton? You see I often spoke at Rotary Clubs, or sometimes the assembled luncheon clubs would ask me to come, and I would go, and that Macon speech, as I remember, was just a group of that kind, as I recall.

Mr. HEALEY. Was that a prepared speech, General?

General MOSELEY. I think not.

Mr. HEALEY. How did he know about that?

Mr. WHITLEY. He asks you to send him a copy of the Macon speech so he could send it out.

General MOSELEY. When I went to any of these luncheon clubs it was never a prepared speech.

Mr. HEALEY. You have no clear recollection of the Macon speech?

General MOSELEY. No; I tell you why I am quite sure, because I have the ones that were mimeographed and those were only a few, and I am quite sure in that file there is no Macon speech or no notes of any Macon speech.

Mr. THOMAS. General, can't you recall who sponsored the Macon speech, the Macon meeting?

General MOSELEY. No; I can't. I think that was a luncheon, as far as I can remember now, but I have been invited to many of these little organizations, and lots of them I have declined, and it is awfully hard to keep them straight. I have had hundreds of invitations and I have accepted very few.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading further from Mr. Campbell's letter. He has just made the request for your Macon speech, so that he could send it out to all of his contacts throughout the country:

And that means each State and in those States individuals and organizations who can and will resist actively and forcibly the efforts of those subversive forces now in control of our Government and those international assassins of

character, such as the secretary of the executive committee of the Sentinels of the Republic.

They might as well for once and all time understand that this country was founded as a Christian Republic and as long as those of us who are still Christians and believe in that Republic breathe and are able to handle that weapon which we are best qualified to handle, by the grace of God, it shall remain so. And I want to take this opportunity of assuring you of my complete and loyal support of all efforts you make.

General, did you, in response to this request and for the purposes stated, send copies of your Macon speech and your Boston speech to Mr. Campbell to be distributed in accordance with his ideas as expressed here?

General MOSELEY. I don't recall about the Macon speech, but if he requested the Boston speech and I had a copy, I would have given it to him.

Mr. HEALEY. Don't you know whether you did or not?

General MOSELEY. I do not; but if he requested it and I had a copy of it, I would have sent it to him. I received hundreds of inquiries of that character.

Mr. HEALEY. But this man is in a different relationship than just casual letter writer. You and Campbell kept up a pretty good correspondence.

General MOSELEY. Yes; but I have seen him very seldom.

Mr. HEALEY. And he is not just a casual letter writer?

General MOSELEY. No; I have known him several years, and I always complied with his requests for information if I had it.

Mr. WHITLEY. He kept you rather fully informed, did he not, concerning his viewpoints and his ideas and his plans? He is stating here very definitely what he wants your speech for and why he wants it. He wants to spread it all over the country.

Mr. HEALEY. In every State in the country—48 States.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he says, “* * * as long as those of us who are still Christians and believe in that Republic, breathe and are able to handle that weapon which we are best qualified to handle” et cetera. What weapon is that that he refers to?

General MOSELEY. I haven't the slightest idea.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is including you in here; he says “those of us.”

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Continuing, he says:

About 3 years ago, I was written up in New Masses, along with Felix McWhirter, and I know that sooner or later that they and their damnable means of propaganda would be putting your picture in Life. There is nothing honorable or decent about them. The sooner we recognize this and quit trying to treat them as human beings, but give them the treatment which they deserve, the better it will be for our country.

Who does he mean by “them,” there?

General MOSELEY. I don't know, that is his letter.

Mr. WHITLEY. I was wondering what your interpretation would be of that, you received it.

General MOSELEY. I know, but have you got my answer?

Mr. WHITLEY. I don't know whether it is in here or not. We will find it if it is. You don't know what he is referring to there?

General MOSELEY. I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't put any interpretation on it when you received this letter?

General MOSELEY. That is his personal letter, and he had better be called here to interpret it himself.

Mr. HEALEY. We have had him here.

Mr. WHITLEY. Continuing, he says:

I would like very much for you to reserve June 8, 9, and 10, and attend the department convention of the V. F. W. here in Owensboro as my guest and speak before men who served overseas under you and with you. Men who are loyal and will again prove it, if necessary, in the same manner in which they offered their service 22 years ago.

Did you attend that meeting?

General MOSELEY. No, I have never been in his home town, I never accepted his invitation to go to his home town or to travel with him.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Was there any particular reason for that, General?

General MOSELEY. I am not conducting any campaign and—

Mr. DEMPSEY (interposing). What do you mean by "campaign"?

General MOSELEY. And his suggestion to go to a great many places in the West didn't appeal to me.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That was the reason you didn't accompany him?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading further, General, from this letter:

Now, relative to General Craig. As discussed with you in Atlanta, I am leaving this matter entirely to your discretion. You know the source of this G-2 reports. You know the personnel comprising the meetings, you know that subsequent events have proven every single report correct. If General Craig can be given this in the utmost confidence so that it does not reach the Administration, because I believe he should be so advised. Because a time may come when a demurrer will have to be taken by the Army. But in the event that this information gets beyond him, it means the life of the operative now situated within their center.

That was in reply to your inquiry as to whether it would be all right to advise General Craig about the material in that report of March 1?

General MOSELEY. Some particular one: yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he says here that he has discussed with you the source, that you know the source of that information?

General MOSELEY. Only in a very general way, I didn't know it for a long time, and I don't know now about the thing in detail.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, he says in here, "You know that subsequent events have proven every single report correct?"

Did you know that?

General MOSELEY. No; I wouldn't go quite that far with Campbell on that because while he may have information in verification of all of them, I certainly have not. It was only when I saw something that checked up.

Mr. HEALEY. You mean something in the newspaper?

General MOSELEY. Oh, no.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you notice in some instances the predictions or statements contained in those reports were subsequently confirmed?

General MOSELEY. Only in one or two cases, perhaps. I wouldn't go quite as far as Campbell does. Of course, those were reports that he spent a lot of time on, and perhaps he gathered a lot of information on every paragraph. I didn't. I read them with great interest.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, as a matter of fact, it was brought out in examination of Mr. Gilbert and Mr. Campbell, previously before this

committee that when Mr. Gilbert sent Mr. Campbell a report setting out a prediction, he always wrote right under that prediction, the proof, as confirmed in the press; so that the proof was in his hands before the prediction was made. You, of course, wouldn't know about that?

General MOSELEY. That didn't come to me.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, General, the inquiry that we are conducting developed the fact that in every instance there was a newspaper item affecting this subject, that the report was supposedly written about. The newspaper item appeared before the report was sent out by Gilbert. So after all there was nothing that was so mysterious about these reports. Information had already appeared in the press before they were ever sent out at all.

General MOSELEY. Well, you see I know nothing about that phase of it.

Mr. MASON. General, in view of the fact that you have been very cautious in your dealings with this man Campbell, and have refrained from becoming involved too much, would the reason for that be that such letters as that written by Campbell to you, if you read them carefully and thought what was suggested in them would mean that you would consider Campbell to be somewhat neurotic along this line?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. MASON. You didn't consider him so?

General MOSELEY. No; I think Campbell is a good honest-to-God patriot.

Mr. MASON. Well meaning, but perhaps rather neurotic.

General MOSELEY. Oh, no; he is quiet and he is level-headed, I believe. I think he is dependable. I still have faith in him. He wrote me often but my actual physical contacts with him haven't been very many, I have seen him rarely.

Mr. MASON. Well, the writer of such a letter as that which he has been reading excerpts from, to an ordinary, normal, person would indicate a kind of a neurotic condition, it seems to me.

General MOSELEY. Oh, no; I don't think you would feel that way if you had spent a lot of time studying these various things. I think you would accept that letter, especially if it was a personal letter to you.

Mr. VOORHIS. Studying them from what sources, General?

General MOSELEY. Sir?

Mr. VOORHIS. You said if you had spent a lot of time studying these things. My question was from what sources would you get your information?

General MOSELEY. Probably all sources. It is just like a preparation for battle, you get news from all sources, then you study and analyze it and you find that a certain thing checks up, and a lot of it is worthless, and you throw that out, and finally you get down to a little 2 percent that is some good.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, General, are you familiar with Mr. Campbell's proposal where he said in one letter that the thing has gone so far now that we should have military courts set up in the different States?

General MOSELEY. Military what?

Mr. VOORHIS. Military courts.

General MOSELEY. Did he ever suggest that?

Mr. WHITLEY. I will read the letter to you, General.

General MOSELEY. We have got Jewish courts. It might be a good thing to pair them off.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Where are those, General?

General MOSELEY. Advertised in the paper; I don't know.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You are making the statement.

General MOSELEY. I have got a picture.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Where are the Jewish courts you are referring to?

General MOSELEY. Here is one, a picture of it in operation in New York City, and if you want the picture, I will be glad to give it to you. I have got several copies.

Mr. DEMPSEY. We are not here to look at pictures; we are here to listen to testimony.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you mean there is a Jewish judge there, or what?

General MOSELEY. I take that as it is. You brought up the question.

Mr. HEALEY. You can answer the question; do you mean it is a Jewish judge lawfully appointed by the duly constituted authorities?

General MOSELEY. Of organized Jewry, appointed, but not by United States authorities. They have a complete set-up, you know.

Mr. VOORHIS. Dealing with their own people?

General MOSELEY. Dealing with their own people.

Mr. VOORHIS. I understand.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, the question which Mr. Voorhis just asked with reference to Mr. Campbell's suggestion that military government be established, in his letter dated December 13, 1938, addressed to Mr. Deatherage, he states, as follows:

Frankly, I say to you that this thing has gone so far that there is only one remedy and that is a military action which will put a military court in charge of the United States Federal Government and each State government, and let them operate under the Constitution until each State proves itself worthy of the right of self-government.

Mr. HEALEY. Do you approve of that plan?

General MOSELEY. Why, no.

Mr. HEALEY. You don't approve of that?

General MOSELEY. No. Then there is another thing, that doesn't follow the law. I have never heard of that.

Mr. WHITLEY. He never expressed that idea to you?

General MOSELEY. No; that is in a letter to Deatherage.

Mr. WHITLEY. But Mr. Campbell apparently, from his correspondence with you, expressed himself very freely and stated his ideas and plans.

General MOSELEY. Never any suggestion like that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Nothing of that kind?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. HEALEY. We will recess now until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 11:30 a. m., a recess was taken until 2 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The hearing reconvened at 2 p. m.)

Mr. HEALEY. The committee will come to order, and will you proceed, Mr. Counsel?

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE VAN HORN MOSELEY—Resumed

Mr. WHITLEY. General, going back for a moment to your Philadelphia speech, which was made March 28, 1939, page 2 of that speech—

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). Does he have a copy? Do you have a copy of that?

General MOSELEY. I think I gave him my copy.

Mr. WHITLEY. The General furnished me with his copy, I believe. In that you state as follows:

Why is the world so surprised at Hitler's action? His plans to reshape Middle Europe have been stated openly and repeatedly. Not so very long ago Mr. Hans Luther, the German Ambassador in Washington, was at my home. He stated frankly how Hitler desired peace—

and so forth.

What was the purpose of that visit, was it just a social visit, General, or to discuss plans?

General MOSELEY. The Ambassador was an official visitor in the city of Atlanta, and I was the commanding general of the Third Army in that Fourth Corps Area. When visitors like that came to Atlanta, invariably they would be brought out to my house by pre-arrangement when they were official visitors. The President has been there and many other officials. He came there in that way.

Mr. HEALEY. When was that?

General MOSELEY. Well, Mr. Hans Luther ceased to be Ambassador probably over 2 years ago.

Mr. HEALEY. What was his official business in Atlanta at that time, do you know?

General MOSELEY. I do not know. He spoke at some meeting that night, I don't know what.

Mr. HEALEY. You don't know what the meeting was?

General MOSELEY. I went to a luncheon that was given to him of about 30 of the prominent businessmen of the city.

Mr. HEALEY. Then did you invite him to your home?

General MOSELEY. No, sir; I did not. The arrangements for him to come to my home were made prior to his coming, and that is just in keeping with our practice in the Army. When any official visitor of that kind comes to an Army headquarters, he often comes out to the headquarters to pay his respects and that call is returned.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, during that visit you discussed the movements of Hitler and apparently went into the Versailles Treaty and many other matters, you talked about other economic matters, particularly as they referred to Germany?

General MOSELEY. No, Mr. Chairman; I don't think he was in my house more than 15 or 20 minutes. Those official calls are short, but while we were standing there we discussed that problem stated in my remarks.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, now, let's see. You were impressed enough with that call to quote a statement that the Ambassador made to you. You went on to say in that speech:

Not so very long ago Mr. Hans Luther, the German Ambassador in Washington, was at my home. He stated frankly how Hitler desired peace, but that Germany must have elbow room in Europe for her development, and that the

powers must not interfere with Hitler as he reshaped middle Europe to the advantage of the German people.

That message went out to the nations possessed of colonies in many places in the world. Some of them were possessed originally by shooting down the native inhabitants armed only with bows and arrows.

You were trying in that speech, weren't you, to plead the cause of Germany?

General MOSELEY. Oh, no.

Mr. HEALEY. And Hitler?

General MOSELEY. Oh, no.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, you didn't say unfavorable things about Hitler, did you?

General MOSELEY. I have no feelings of hate for Germany.

Mr. HEALEY. But isn't the language contained there most friendly toward Hitler?

General MOSELEY. Is there any reason why I, as an individual, should not be friendly?

Mr. HEALEY. We won't go into that. I asked you whether you did or not?

General MOSELEY. Did I or did I not do what?

Mr. HEALEY. Did you make a speech that was favorable to the German cause?

General MOSELEY. If that is considered favorable; yes.

Mr. HEALEY. No; you know whether it was, what your intention was in making that speech, don't you, you know what your motive was in making that speech. Now, I ask you whether it was to make a speech that was friendly to Hitler and the German cause?

General MOSELEY. It was probably friendly, because I had no feelings of hate.

Mr. HEALEY. And you intended it to be friendly?

General MOSELEY. Yes; why shouldn't I be friendly? I am friendly with France—

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). That is all we wanted to know; you have answered my question. You may proceed.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, in a letter dated April 12, 1939, addressed to you by Mr. Campbell, he states as follows:

From very reliable information just received and herewith transmitted, I understand you are being very thoroughly shadowed. Suggest you take a countermove to ascertain sources and why. Would advise personal caution, as the forces are at work.

What did you do about that, General?

General MOSELEY. Nothing.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever have any reason to believe that you were being followed, shadowed?

General MOSELEY. I have received a number of letters of various kinds containing threats, but I have never seen any individual chasing me.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you take this statement of Mr. Campbell seriously? He said that he has very reliable information that you are being shadowed. Did you take that seriously or do anything about it?

General MOSELEY. I don't remember that distinct report, but I took no action whatsoever.

Mr. WHITLEY. In the latter part of that paragraph he said:

Would advise personal caution, as the forces are at work.

What was your interpretation of that statement, this was a letter to you?

General MOSELEY. Probably he referred to the letters that I had received at various times, threatening letters, that is all.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you didn't take this seriously, and you didn't do anything about it, and you have no reason to believe you have been shadowed?

General MOSELEY. I have often thought seriously about that problem, but I have never taken any action to protect myself.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Did Campbell have copies of the letters you received threatening you?

General MOSELEY. No, sir; as I explained, I think, yesterday, when anything like that came I invariably destroyed it.

Mr. DEMPSEY. How did Campbell know about it?

General MOSELEY. I don't know; he didn't get that report from me, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he ever tell you where he got this information?

General MOSELEY. As far as I remember, no. I destroyed all those letters for this reason—because I have no feelings of enmity towards any individual in this world, and if you gentlemen seized my records, as you have done Campbell's, you wouldn't find any of those reports, so you couldn't make any trouble for any of those individuals. I hold nothing against them.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't keep correspondence or reports of that type?

General MOSELEY. In the statement that I would have read, had I been permitted, I covered that point exactly, and I said I destroyed those as they were received, and always have done that.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, I show you for identification a letter dated April 13, 1939, addressed to Mr. J. E. Campbell, and signed by you. Is that your letter?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading from the letter, General:

My correspondence is increasing tremendously, and it is difficult for me to keep up. On the 26th of this month, I am speaking in Illinois. Then I return here for a few days and then make the trip to the west coast, where I have several very important engagements.

What were those important engagements, General?

General MOSELEY. For several months I had been invited to go to different places on the west coast for the purpose of just seeing the conditions out there. I hadn't been on the west coast for several years, although I used to be stationed there, and so I was going to make a trip and combine just a personal investigation of conditions as they were written up in the Post. I mean the Saturday Evening Post, and then take a rest. I was on that trip, trying to take a rest, when your telegram came.

Mr. WHITLEY. You say:

* * * where I have several very important engagements.

Were those speaking engagements?

General MOSELEY. I had no speaking engagements then, but they said if I came out they wanted me to meet different groups, for instance——

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). Who said that, you say "they said"?

General MOSELEY. I corresponded with several people, I corresponded with General Van Deman.

Mr. WHITLEY. Whom you mentioned yesterday?

General MOSELEY. Yes. I corresponded with Mrs. Jewett, who lives in Pasadena. I had a letter from one of the officials of the Federated Farmers Association, asking if I did come to the coast, to contact them, that they would like to go over the situation with me and show me what they had accomplished.

Mr. WHITLEY. Whom did you visit out there, General, in whose home did you visit?

General MOSELEY. I stayed with Mrs. Jewett. She has a beautiful home and she insisted upon my staying there, in Pasadena.

Mr. WHITLEY. What type of activity is Mrs. Jewett engaged in?

General MOSELEY. Mrs. Jewett——

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). Is she connected with any of these patriotic organizations you have referred to?

General MOSELEY. Yes, and in a very fine way. I consider her a wonderful, outstanding, American woman.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was her principal contribution to these organizations her time, or does she finance them?

General MOSELEY. It is always claimed that Mrs. Jewett has lots of money and that she contributes to these various activities. However, I know of no large contributions that she has made. She has helped certain people in a very small way and I think she helps the organization to which she belongs on the Pacific coast.

Mr. WHITLEY. What organization is that, General?

General MOSELEY. It is this organization of Christian women, the name of which I can't give you perfectly.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that the organization Mrs. Fry is affiliated with?

General MOSELEY. I cannot identify the name, it is some Christian organization.

Mr. HEALEY. Is Mrs. Jewett a wealthy woman?

General MOSELEY. I don't know whether she has a large income. She belongs to a very wealthy family, but I think she just simply gets an income from a trust fund, because I remember in reference to her beautiful home there, I believe that is kept up by a trust fund.

Mr. HEALEY. Is she a friend of Campbell also?

General MOSELEY. She knows Campbell pretty well.

Mr. HEALEY. Has she ever contributed to the work he is doing?

General MOSELEY. I don't believe so; if so, I don't know.

Mr. HEALEY. She was one of Campbell's wealthy contacts, is that right?

General MOSELEY. She was one of Campbell's; yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Gilbert was another?

General MOSELEY. Gilbert; yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I think there you are drawing a conclusion.

Mr. HEALEY. Let me finish—

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). I think the conclusion that the Chair is drawing is that Mrs. Jewett is wealthy and that perhaps for that reason helped Campbell just the same as Gilbert is wealthy, and for that reason helped Campbell, and for that reason all wealthy people might perhaps have helped him.

Mr. HEALEY. That isn't a justifiable inference at all. I asked him if Mrs. Jewett was a wealthy woman, and he said she was.

Mr. THOMAS. What difference does it make?

Mr. HEALEY. You ought to be able to draw the inference as to what difference it makes.

Now, she was one of Campbell's contacts and Gilbert was one of his contacts, that is true, isn't it?

General MOSELEY. I believe so.

Mr. HEALEY. And we know as a matter of fact that Gilbert financed the dissemination of these reports and other antiracial activities that Campbell was engaged in?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. That over a period of years he gave him something like \$8,000?

General MOSELEY. But, Mr. Chairman, I don't believe that same thing would apply to Mrs. Jewett.

Mr. HEALEY. You don't know whether she contributed anything or not?

General MOSELEY. I don't know.

Mr. THOMAS. The answer is that you do not know whether she contributed a cent or not?

General MOSELEY. I do not know.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, is the organization with which Mrs. Jewett is affiliated the Christian Free Press?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it the American Christian Defenders?

General MOSELEY. That sounds more like it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is it the organization which Mr. Sanctuary headed, Mr. E. N. Sanctuary?

General MOSELEY. I don't know; I know very little about the organization. It has the word "Christian" in it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Would it be the Christian American Crusade, headed by Mr. Martin Luther Thomas?

General MOSELEY. I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. Would it be the Militant Christian Patriots, headed by Victor de Kayville?

Mr. THOMAS. Has it got the name "Woman" in it?

General MOSELEY. It has the name "Christian" and the name "Woman," I think it is a women's Christian organization, I know that.

Mr. WHITLEY. And that was one of the important engagements you had on the west coast, to see Mr. Jewett?

General MOSELEY. To see Mrs. Jewett.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that Mrs. W. K. Jewett?

General MOSELEY. Mrs. W. K. Jewett; yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you were visiting in her home when you came back here?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Mrs. Fry, Mrs. Leslie Fry, also a guest in the home or a visitor there?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you see her on this trip?

General MOSELEY. Yes; Mrs. Fry, I think, spends part of the time in Pasadena.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Mrs. Jewett discuss with you plans for a national organization to consolidate all of these groups, or to head all of these groups?

General MOSELEY. She did initially, months ago, but she knows how I feel about it personally and so there has been no discussion on that subject for a long time, after I turned it down.

Mr. WHITLEY. That has been settled?

General MOSELEY. As far as I am concerned, and she understands that. Mrs. Jewett is a very active woman physically and mentally; I think she is about 61 years old.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you attend a meeting in the home of C. Tenant Lee at San Diego, while you were on the west coast?

General MOSELEY. No meeting as you call it. I went to Mr. Lee's home. He is an invalid in his bed; he can't move; and for some little time I stood by his bed and talked to him. There were a few other people came and went and then I left.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who else was present on that occasion?

General MOSELEY. Mrs. Jewett came in. There was Mr. Lee's wife. There was a clergyman whose name I do not recall who came in and went out while I was there. There was a woman there who came in just for a minute or two, and then left, but I don't remember her name.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Mrs. Curtis there?

General MOSELEY. That doesn't register with me now; I don't remember.

Mr. WHITLEY. Was Mrs. Wilson there?

General MOSELEY. I don't think I know Mrs. Wilson.

Mr. WHITLEY. There were several other people in and out?

General MOSELEY. I don't think at any time there were more than two or three people there. I had never met Mr. Lee before.

Mr. WHITLEY. You met him through Mrs. Jewett?

General MOSELEY. Either through Mrs. Jewett or General van Deman.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you discuss your plans or activities with Mrs. Jewett or any other person out there?

General MOSELEY. My plans were not involved in this at all. When I met a contact like that I listened and this dear patriot on his back there told me of the situation as he understood it on the Pacific coast.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, do you know whether Mrs. Jewett has financed or been active in any anti-Jewish activities or groups?

General MOSELEY. I haven't the slightest idea what her contributions have been.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know whether she is interested in the subject?

General MOSELEY. I don't know what her feelings are; I think she is just like these others; she is a fine patriot; she feels she is working for her country.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did she ever furnish you any material on the subject of any kind, literature?

General MOSELEY. Yes; Mrs. Jewett has at various times mailed me things and has said, "Read this; I think you will find it of great interest."

Mr. WHITLEY. General, while you were a guest in Mrs. Jewett's home on this recent visit—recent trip—did she give you a printed chart supposed to represent a Jewish intrigue?

General MOSELEY. Give me what?

Mr. WHITLEY. A printed chart, a chart drawn up allegedly representing Jewish intrigue or activities?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. She did not?

General MOSELEY. No; she didn't give me any copy of the chart.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you see the chart?

General MOSELEY. They took me to the home, I think, of a Mrs. McCullough or Mrs. Fry, one or the other—I don't know which home it was—and they have a great many documents there, Government documents, that they have been working on, and they are building up this chart of various organizations in our Government, don't you see, and studying them there from bottom to top.

Mr. HEALEY. Does that chart reveal some Jewish intrigue, as counsel has asked you? Can you recall whether or not that does, or alleges Jewish intrigue?

General MOSELEY. They hadn't completed the work there, and the idea, as it was explained to me—I stood there looking at the wall—was to show how these various organizations were interlocked and how the control finally got down into the hands of a few. That is the object.

Mr. HEALEY. What organizations?

General MOSELEY. Well, the various planning agencies of our Government, generally. I am not a student on that; I have done no work on it, so I don't know.

Mr. HEALEY. But, General, you must have some clearer idea than you have given the committee here as to just what that chart depicts. Can't you tell us something more about it, more clearly, more specific?

General MOSELEY. I can only say this, Mr. Chairman, that definitely that chart involved a tremendous amount of work, and I was only shown it. I can't answer questions on that; I don't know anything about it.

Mr. HEALEY. You saw the chart?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. And all you can tell us now is that it represented a great deal of work; that is the only impression it made on you?

General MOSELEY. Yes; and it represented a great many organizations; and it represented research work down to the basic law.

Mr. HEALEY. Now let me ask you again, did it point out any activities of Jewish people for the purpose of controlling or overthrowing the Government?

General MOSELEY. Not of overthrowing the Government, as I understand it; but the interlocking directorates were shown and it was

pointed out, as I recall, on that chart who these principal directors were; don't you see?

Mr. HEALEY. Well, now, for what purpose; what was the purpose of the chart?

General MOSELEY. It was to show how control was being concentrated in the hands of a very few.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, who? Who were the few that were exercising this control?

General MOSELEY. The interlocking directorates.

Mr. HEALEY. Are they Jewish organizations?

General MOSELEY. The Government organizations are certainly not Jewish.

Mr. HEALEY. But you hadn't told us before that these were Government organizations.

General MOSELEY. I said that it was the interlocking organizations of the Government.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, now, who was supposed to control them as depicted in this chart, can you tell us that?

General MOSELEY. I can't answer questions on something I don't know anything about.

Mr. HEALEY. But you read the chart and you are a man with Army experience, and you have seen many technical charts before?

General MOSELEY. I don't know all about the fundamentals and intricacies of this Government.

Mr. HEALEY. And yet you saw this chart and say it represented a great deal of work and research, and you can't give us any specific information as to the purpose of that chart?

General MOSELEY. I told you the purpose of it was to show, as I understand it, the interlocking directorates of these various organizations and how, carrying it up, the power remained in the hands of a few.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Of what organizations are you speaking now?

General MOSELEY. I am not going to attempt to answer that.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Well, you say of various organizations, what are they, what organizations are they?

General MOSELEY. Suppose I should take you to a big chart over here with all the blueprints, and you took one or two looks at it, could you remember it?

Mr. THOMAS. I will ask you a specific question——

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). We will get around to you in a moment.

Mr. THOMAS. I will ask you a specific question——

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). Don't answer that. We are going to conduct this hearing in an orderly manner and I think that out of deference to the Chair that you ought to request the Chair to permit you to ask the questions. You have had that opportunity and will have the opportunity, but don't break in like that. It happens that Mr. Dempsey hadn't asked a question, and you interfered.

Mr. THOMAS. It always happens that way.

Mr. HEALEY. Proceed, Mr. Dempsey.

Mr. DEMPSEY. General, you say that you saw this map?

General MOSELEY. The chart.

Mr. DEMPSEY. And that chart indicated or showed a number of interlocking directorates?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is what it showed?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Interlocking directorates of what?

General MOSELEY. Interlocking directorates, as it was explained to me, of planning agencies of the Government.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Of planning agencies of the Government?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Now were there certain persons in the Government who were on these various bodies, who were represented in more than one agency?

General MOSELEY. Yes; I believe so; I think that was the purpose of it.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Can you name one person in the Government?

General MOSELEY. No; not a one.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Can you name any of the people, the heads, that eventually controlled?

General MOSELEY. Not a one.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Not a single one?

General MOSELEY. No; I took a look at this thing, as I might look at the Washington Monument. I am going to study that, I will tell you, because it is most interesting to me, and I am going to make a study of it because there is a lot of ammunition right there.

Mr. DEMPSEY. The persons that showed it to you, what explanation did they give you when they said they were going to show you this chart?

General MOSELEY. They were getting that up for publication. I assume they would be glad to come in and submit it to you gentlemen, right on this table, and discuss it with you; I assume so.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I think we will be very glad to have it.

General MOSELEY. By jove, they will be ready for you with all the ammunition.

Mr. THOMAS. Now, the question that I have been trying to ask for some time is this: Do you recall whether that chart revealed the communistic influence in our present New Deal Government?

General MOSELEY. I think it did.

Mr. THOMAS. We would be glad to see the chart.

Mr. HEALEY. The question that Mr. Thomas asked you helped to refresh your recollection, is that correct?

General MOSELEY. I think various organizations were represented on this chart, don't you see.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Were they communistic organizations; what was the purpose—was that the purpose of it?

Mr. THOMAS. Communistic influences.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I didn't ask you. This witness was sworn and you were not. Were those organizations communistic organizations?

General MOSELEY. Some of them evidently were.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What did you mean by "evidently"? A few minutes ago you couldn't recall anything about this, you just took a glance at it.

General MOSELEY. That is all, I just took a glance at it and it was pointed out to me how we are trying to build a chart here to show our Government organization, how the directorates of all these various organizations in the United States are locked up this way, and how the control gets in the hands of a very few, and they will bring it here and I think those are honest women and they will put it on the table and give you all the references behind every point.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Did they tell you that the few were Communists?

General MOSELEY. That the few——

Mr. DEMPSEY (interposing). Where the control eventually landed, were Communists, was that the purpose?

General MOSELEY. I think the purpose was to show how the control got up and up in the hands of a very few.

Mr. HEALEY. Who were the few, Communists? Were the few Jews, or what?

Mr. THOMAS. Or were they friendly to the Communist cause?

General MOSELEY. No; they were not.

Mr. HEALEY. They were not?

General MOSELEY. They were not friendly to the Communist cause, as I understand those ladies.

Mr. THOMAS. I don't mean the ladies; I mean the chart.

General MOSELEY. Oh, the chart. Oh, I think the chart is going to state some very interesting facts, painted right up there, and those ladies are going to try and give you a definite reference behind everything that is put on that chart. Bring them here.

Mr. MASON. General, I want to ask a question about that chart. Can you remember whether there were any names of people in this interlocking directorate, or were the names left out and it just said these various departments. You have been asked, General, whether you could remember any of the names of these directorates?

General MOSELEY. I can't remember any of the names, but, as I told you, the purpose of it was to show the few in control of each, and then how they interlocked, and so I think the names were on the chart.

Mr. MASON. If a name were given to you of a high Government official who has several functions, several interlocking functions in the Federal Government, would you recognize whether that name was on that chart, and would you remember the name then?

General MOSELEY. I would not, and in all this work I have been trying to stick to a principle. Great Scott, there are thousands of names in this thing.

Mr. HEALEY. You have answered the question; you would not, you said. All right, now, will you proceed, Mr. Whitley?

Mr. WHITLEY. General, did Mrs. Jewett invite you to come to the coast; was it at her instance or as a result of her invitation that you went out there?

General MOSELEY. To the coast?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

General MOSELEY. Principally her invitation, as I recall, but she represented also others who were in contact with her on the west coast who had expressed a feeling, "I wish General Moseley would come out here sometime," and that is why I went to the Imperial Valley. I had something to say about Imperial Valley this morning.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Mrs. Jewett ever offer to finance an organization which you would head, or if you would head it, to finance it?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did she ever offer to finance your activities or speaking engagements in any way?

General MOSELEY. No; the only thing that Mrs. Jewett ever did to help me in that respect was to pay for some stenographic work.

Mr. WHITLEY. That you had done on the coast?

General MOSELEY. No; that I did in the East here, and the money didn't come to me; I didn't see a cent of it. It went to the woman who did the work.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you compiling some material or data for her?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. HEALEY. Why did she pay for it?

General MOSELEY. She knew the condition of my finances; I am busted, and she wanted to help me to the extent of that, and I told her she could do it if she wanted to, directly with the stenographer, that I wouldn't take a cent from her or anybody else.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were your expenses to the coast paid, General, by anyone?

General MOSELEY. I got a check before I went out there of \$220, which is about the expenses of the trip I was going to make, until you gentlemen called me back.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who was that check from, General?

General MOSELEY. I don't know.

Mr. WHITLEY. You just received a check?

General MOSELEY. Yes; but it wasn't from Mrs. Jewett. On the envelope there was a return address, and I wrote to that return address to try and find out who it was, because it wasn't from Pasadena but from San Diego.

Mr. WHITLEY. Who signed the check?

General MOSELEY. It was a cashier's check.

Mr. WHITLEY. From San Diego?

General MOSELEY. From San Diego; you can trace it and probably find out.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you make any inquiries out there after you arrived to find out who sent the check?

General MOSELEY. I didn't have the time; you gentlemen called me back. I would like to have found that fellow, whoever he is, and thanked him, but I didn't have a chance. You did not give me a chance.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't know whether that was the head of any of these organizations, groups, or organizations out there?

General MOSELEY. I haven't the slightest idea.

Mr. WHITLEY. Just an anonymous contribution is what it amounted to?

General MOSELEY. The check was a bank check, but I told you that in the upper left-hand corner of the envelope was a return address. I wrote to that return address to try and find out who sent me that check, and I got an acknowledgment that said that that information could not be given me.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ask Mrs. Jewett if she had sent it?

General MOSELEY. No; I never had any conversation with Mrs. Jewett whatsoever about that check.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ask Mrs. Fry if she had sent it?

General MOSELEY. No; why should I go over the west coast and ask everybody on the street about that check?

Mr. WHITLEY. Well, after all, General, you were going out there at the instance of a few people, you say?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And certainly one or more of those few people must have sent that check?

General MOSELEY. Let me tell you, I used to live in San Diego. They don't smear me out there. They are friends of mine, and when they heard I was coming out they probably got together and got \$220 and sent it to me. I don't know who they are; you can't hang them for that.

Mr. WHITLEY. No; I was just interested——

General MOSELEY (interposing). Good God Almighty.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you receive many anonymous contributions of that kind?

Mr. HEALEY. Just calm down, and relax a little.

General MOSELEY. No; unfortunately that is the first one I ever received. I would like some more.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did Mrs. Jewett, after you received notice to come to Washington to appear before this committee, offer you any material or make any suggestions with reference to your testimony before this committee, General?

General MOSELEY. Yes; she did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did she offer you any material to present here?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. She didn't?

General MOSELEY. No; she did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, reading further from your letter of April 13, which you have already identified:

Before going, however——

You mean before going to the west coast——

I may make a hurried trip to New York City. The lady from Jamaica came to Philadelphia, and I had a very interesting meeting with her.

To whom do you refer, the lady from Jamaica?

General MOSELEY. Mrs. Uzzell. That is the first time I saw her, and I didn't know she was going to be there.

Mr. HEALEY. Does Campbell also know Mrs. Uzzell?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. Is she a wealthy woman?

General MOSELEY. Oh, no; the humblest person in the world.

Mr. WHITLEY. It was more or less at the instance of Mr. Campbell that you were interested in her, was it not?

General MOSELEY. As I stated this morning, as you will remember, Mr. Campbell asked me often in going through New York to see her, but I never did.

Mr. WHITLEY. Continuing:

She wants me to make the trip to New York before going west, and I shall try to do so, for I want to spend some time with her. I have an invitation to address a large gathering in New York City on May 12, but I must decline, for I do not want to delay my departure further on the western trip.

And, in accordance with your suggestion in this letter, you did go to New York before you went west, and had the meeting at the home of Mrs. Uzzell which you described yesterday?

General MOSELEY. Yes; but I did not accept that invitation referred to there.

Mr. WHITLEY. That was the speaking engagements?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Who was that invitation from? What organization was sponsoring that meeting where the large gathering was going to be?

General MOSELEY. As I recall, it is an organization headed by a man by the name of Allen Zoll. I think that is his organization.

Mr. THOMAS. And you declined that invitation?

General MOSELEY. Yes; now I am not positive that that was the invitation, but I think—there are several groups of the same kind—I think that was Allen Zoll.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, I show you a telegram dated April 13, 1939, at Atlanta, Ga., addressed to Mr. Campbell, and signed "Moseley." It reads as follows:

Mailed you letter today. Your letter, 12th, received tonight. Impossible to be in Nashville Saturday. Could you come down here for day next week? Events in national situation moving fast. Regards.

General MOSELEY. What date is that?

Mr. WHITLEY. April 13; that came out of Mr. Campbell's files.

General MOSELEY. I don't recall that telegram, but I guess it is all right.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't recall sending it?

General MOSELEY. I don't recall sending it at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you recall what you might have meant by the statement, "Events in national situation moving fast"?

General MOSELEY. I don't recall now what that refers to unless there was some particular news of the day in the public press.

Mr. WHITLEY. It didn't have to do with the plans for the national organization?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. That you had been discussing with Mr. Deatherage and Mr. Campbell?

General MOSELEY. No plans at all; I have never had anything to do with them.

Mr. WHITLEY. You had discussed them with a great many people?

General MOSELEY. A long time ago.

Mr. WHITLEY. Plans for a national organization?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And many people had discussed that with you?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. And you said you were interested in that, in a national organization to coordinate the activities of these others?

General MOSELEY. But not for me to head.

Mr. HEALEY. But you were interested in getting together an organization?

General MOSELEY. No; you are trying to lead me into an alley that I won't go up.

Mr. HEALEY. No. Didn't you say that you were interested in forming a small organization to coordinate all these activities?

General MOSELEY. That was their purpose. I told you I think the first day, they came down and said, "Don't let's get an organization, but let's get a little controlling board." I wouldn't have anything to do with that.

Mr. HEALEY. You weren't even interested in that?

General MOSELEY. No; not as far as I was personally concerned. This man Allen Zoll, that is the man, he is a fine patriot in New York City. He has been down to see me once and I have seen him when I went through New York. He has come to me repeatedly and said, "Won't you change your mind? It seems to me that this little organization I have got are fine patriots"—and they are fine patriots, evidently. He asked me if I wouldn't head that coordination group, and I have always declined, and he knows that perfectly, I would like to have you call him.

Mr. HEALEY. Proceed.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, the letter dated April 22, 1939, addressed to you by Mr. Campbell, reads as follows:

I have made arrangements to send out 200 copies of your Philadelphia address.

I am receiving comments every day from all over the country on some of the others that were sent out, and I want you to know that your efforts were not only appreciated, but are beginning to make themselves felt.

General MOSELEY. I beg your pardon, but you have taken that letter up with me before.

Mr. WHITLEY. I don't think this letter, General.

General MOSELEY. Yes; you did.

Mr. WHITLEY. I read another letter this morning that had something to do with that.

Mr. HEALEY. Proceed, if you want to ask him some questions based on that letter.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe in previous testimony you have indicated that if Mr. Campbell sent out your speeches or asked for them, you sent them to him and you didn't know the extent of his distribution or to whom he sent them or anything else?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of course, this letter does advise you that this particular speech, at least, was sent to 200 people throughout the country, and that the speeches "are beginning to make themselves felt," that is, they are having an influence?

General MOSELEY. Yes; I read that letter.

Mr. WHITLEY. You saw that?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, I ask you to identify a letter dated April 24, 1939, Atlanta, Ga., addressed to Capt. J. E. Campbell, and signed by yourself?

General MOSELEY. Yes; that is my signature and my letter.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading from that letter, General, the last paragraph:

Mr. Strauss, senior partner now of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., wishes to see me, but I declined the invitation. Remind me to show you the correspondence when I see you in New York. The feeling against the Jews is growing from coast to coast and rightly they are becoming alarmed.

I believe you have indicated in your previous testimony that you had no anti-Jewish feeling?

General MOSELEY. I have no feeling against any individuals.

Mr. WHITLEY. Just against the whole group?

General MOSELEY. But I stated that as a fact, and that is a fact, the feeling against the Jews is growing.

Mr. HEALEY. And you said "and rightly," you believe that it should grow?

General MOSELEY. That will be answered when I read the letter to Mr. Strauss referred to there.

Mr. HEALEY. No; as evidenced by your letter you at that time, at least, had an animus against the Jewish people?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. HEALEY. Doesn't your letter say so?

General MOSELEY. Oh, no.

Mr. HEALEY. You say that the feeling is growing.

General MOSELEY. How would you feel if you were treated——

Mr. HEALEY (interposing). I am not on the witness stand, you are, sir.

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEALEY. And you are under oath. Now you have made a statement in the letter in which you have said that feeling against the Jewish people is growing from coast to coast "and rightly" so. You add, "and rightly"?

General MOSELEY. Yes; unless they change their present tactics.

Mr. HEALEY. All right, at the time you wrote that letter you believed that it was right to have that anti-racial feeling grow throughout the length and breadth of this country, didn't you?

General MOSELEY. No; it was a question of changing their methods.

Mr. HEALEY. What other interpretation is anyone with common sense going to put on a letter of that sort when you add "and rightly" so? That is an expression of your opinion and views?

General MOSELEY. Yes; in a personal letter.

Mr. HEALEY. It doesn't make any difference whether it is a personal letter or however else it is conveyed. That certainly conveys to any person with any sense at all that you approved of this feeling that was growing throughout the country and apparently were having something to do in your own way with the spread of this feeling that was going up throughout the country.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, reading from the letter dated April 26, 1939, addressed to you by Mr. Campbell, and this is in reply to your letter of April 24, from which I have just read, Mr. Campbell states as follows:

I agree with you heartily that the feeling against the Jews is growing from coast to coast and rightly so.

He is using your own words. He is agreeing with your view.

It is all of their own doing, and unless they stop attempting to use our country as a cat's paw for their internationalism, they are going to be surprised, because it will be the biggest liquidation of all mongrels they have ever known.

I believe you have previously stated that you didn't consider Mr. Campbell to be anti-Jewish in his viewpoint and activities. How would you interpret that statement, General?

General MOSELEY. Of course, I don't remember that letter right now, but now that you refresh my memory I remember having received such a letter from him.

Mr. WHITLEY. In other words, his reply was in keeping with the statement contained in your letter. He is agreeing with you, is he not?

General MOSELEY. Apparently.

Mr. WHITLEY. And having received that letter from him, you still have previously testified that you didn't consider he was anti-Jewish in his attitude or attempting to stir up any racial hatred in this country?

General MOSELEY. I think he agreed with me that all our activities should be done according to American policies and American principles, anything that was done in a corrective way should be done properly and lawfully, because I pointed out that to Mr. Campbell many times.

Mr. WHITLEY. But you don't consider him to be anti-Jewish in his attitude or in his activities?

General MOSELEY. He is pro-American and wants all our problems solved in the interests of America.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see.

General MOSELEY. And he knows from me, because I have repeated this to all these lads, that no matter what is said these things must be done according to basic American principles.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of course, Mr. Campbell probably didn't follow your advice then when he recommended that a military court be set up to run this country because that wouldn't be in keeping with your idea?

General MOSELEY. Not at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Of doing the thing legally?

General MOSELEY. That isn't the way to establish martial law. If he had martial law in mind, that isn't the way it is set up. That is not the way.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading further from that same letter, General, which was Campbell's letter to you?

To those of us who know the background and plan of these people, it is almost disgusting to see the apparent indifference with which our people view this intolerable situation.

That reference there to the background and plan of these people?

General MOSELEY. He refers probably to the basic background and plan of the Communists, starting way back in Russia and coming right up to date.

Mr. VOORHIS. General, this morning I believe you made mention of the organization of vigilantes in the Imperial Valley; is that right?

General MOSELEY. If I used the word "vigilantes" I didn't mean to use that word in the sense that it is sometimes used. I meant deputies.

Mr. VOORHIS. Deputies?

General MOSELEY. Yes. Now in the Imperial Valley they have a very high-class sheriff and he has deputized three or four hundred selected Americans as deputies. That is what I mean.

Mr. VOORHIS. You didn't have any reference this morning, then, to the organization of vigilante bands in the ordinary understanding of the word?

General MOSELEY. Not at all; these are all legally deputized assistants to the sheriff, and when he has any difficulty he can telephone and say, "I want 25 men," and they will come over, don't you see. Then he may not have any need for them for a month or two.

Mr. VOORHIS. You don't believe, then, that it ever solves problems to have the law taken out of the hands of the duly constituted authorities?

General MOSELEY. I do not; and that is in reference to my Boston speech again, I am glad you brought that up, because I objected strenuously when they used the word "vigilante" in that sense, because all I said was, "Why don't you reinforce your police force, if necessary, with legally deputized assistants?"

Mr. VOORHIS. General, when you were on the west coast, was there a meeting out there where you called together a number of people, including various Army officers?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. There wasn't any such meeting?

General MOSELEY. No; Mrs. Jewett in her home one evening when I was there had some guests come in after supper to meet me, that was all. I went to no formal meetings.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, were the people there largely officers?

General MOSELEY. Of the Army?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

General MOSELEY. No; there was not a single active officer there. I think there was one retired officer there, an old gentleman about 70 years old.

Mr. VOORHIS. General, you have made mention a number of times of a "Christian American."

General MOSELEY. Of a what?

Mr. VOORHIS. Of a Christian American?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Now I have tried to be Christian. I still do. I wonder if you would tell me what you mean when you use that term?

General MOSELEY. I mean that as I understand America——

Mr. VOORHIS (interposing). No, I mean the "Christian" part?

General MOSELEY. Haven't we been brought up to accept the Christian religion and Jesus Christ? I have.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes; but doesn't it imply a certain good will for people, doesn't it imply an effort to improve the conditions of people that are in distress?

General MOSELEY. Absolutely.

Mr. VOORHIS. Doesn't it imply a lack of prejudice; doesn't it imply a lack of hatred?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Aren't those the very bases of that religion?

General MOSELEY. Yes, that is the reason I like to have the word "Christian" used.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, I do too, but I don't like to have it misused. [Laughter.]

Now then, in following along that same line, because I am concerned, as I think you know, about some of these things, in connection with this chart and a lot of other things that have been discussed here, it has been said that it would be a good thing if we could get rid of all the influence of Communists.

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. And if that means the influence of the Communist Internationale, telling people what they should do and trying to work out an international movement, I agree. On the other hand, I find that many people are included in that category for ulterior purposes, when it isn't right.

Now who is going to decide who is a Communist and who isn't? Whose judgment, for example, would you take about that? If a man tells you, "General Moseley, I happen to disagree with you about the things that are best to be done to solve this country's problems, but I am not a Communist, I am as anxious as you are to solve America's problems in an American way," would you take his word for it?

General MOSELEY. I get lots of letters like that.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, do you take the man's word for it or not?

General MOSELEY. I am awfully glad to hear his opinion and I read it carefully.

Mr. VOORHIS. But I mean——

General MOSELEY (interposing). For instance, you showed me a rotten picture here, and I say that was a rotten picture of a Jew, yes, but I can show you pictures of myself. I am not handsome, normally, but you ought to see me in the Daily Worker, and the picture is much worse than that.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, General, I frankly don't think that is just on the point I was trying to make. What I want to get at is, if we are talking about "eliminating" people and things like that, I want to know how far this thing is going to go, I want to know whether we are really going to try to make our democracy a success or whether we are going to take all the people who happen to disagree politically with a certain philosophy and say, now these——

General MOSELEY (interposing). I think the philosophy of communism violates all the traditions of our basic Republic.

Mr. VOORHIS. I agree with you, and I think the philosophy of nazism and fascism violates it equally.

General MOSELEY. Just as bad.

Mr. VOORHIS. All right, but the point I am trying to make is, in one of these liquidation efforts, or whatever you want to term it, a thing of that kind, once turned loose, and that kind of a philosophy once turned loose, can be utilized by clever people, could be utilized, I will say, for the complete ruination of every decent attempt to have a labor movement, for the complete elimination of any progressive movement in politics, and all the rest of those things?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir, and that was the reason that I have always laid stress on the one word "security"—and peace. What I would like to see over this Nation right now is a feeling of peace and security.

Mr. VOORHIS. So would I.

General MOSELEY. And so that, under that feeling, we get together and solve our problems. But I can tell you there is not that feeling

in many places in the United States today, and it is unfortunate and I agree with you.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is true, because we have certain groups of people who are seeing to it that that feeling doesn't exist. Now then, General—

General MOSELEY (interposing). So that I always start with security, and you will see that I preach that lawfully too.

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, General, some of these groups that you have described as patriotic organizations, I get their literature and I read it, and I find in there the names of a lot of people who are accused of things that I know from my own certain knowledge the accusation is on a false ground. Now how do you stand on a proposition of that kind?

General MOSELEY. I agree with you, I don't believe anybody should be accused falsely. Certainly there ought to be something—

Mr. VOORHIS (interposing). Supposing that you should find that one of these publications of what you termed a fine patriotic organization, did that, what would be your position about it?

General MOSELEY. I think I have been accused falsely by Communists.

Mr. HEALEY. But his question was, what would you think of an organization that was deliberately making false accusations against people, would you still hold the view that that was a patriotic organization?

General MOSELEY. I would not hold to that view, and that is the reason that I haven't identified myself with them. As I stated, their general mission may be fine, but they do a lot of things I don't agree with. I have stated that repeatedly here.

Mr. HEALEY. I want to ask you one question here at this juncture.

You stated in one of your speeches something to the effect that the Jews very seldom took an active part in the armed forces, that they were behind the lines, and that they shared in all the emoluments that might come as a result of war, but very seldom gave a real service in the armed forces.

Now, I have a statement of protest, a telegram of protest, from Isidore S. Worth, national commander of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States. He says in this telegram that in the World War there were 250,000 Jews who served under our flag; that over 1,100 Jews were cited for valor; that Jewish casualties numbered 15,000, of whom 3,400 made the supreme sacrifice.

Do you agree that those figures are correct, from your own knowledge?

General MOSELEY. I am glad to have those read into the evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, now, in view of that information do you still believe that the statement that you incorporated in your speech was fair?

General MOSELEY. We discussed that yesterday.

Mr. HEALEY. We are discussing it again now in the light of those figures. Do you think you made a fair statement in your speech?

General MOSELEY. I am here under oath, that fellow is not.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, if you accept those figures, and you don't say that they are wrong, do you—

General MOSELEY (interposing). I also said, Mr. Chairman, that I was speaking historically, I wasn't speaking of the World War. I will accept those in reference to the World War.

Mr. HEALEY. And if you do accept them, do you still think that the statement that you made in your speech—I think it was delivered at Boston—in which you accused, indicted this whole race for lack of patriotism, lack of valor and courage, do you still think that that was a fair statement to make?

General MOSELEY. I think that was based fairly on history, but not on the World War.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, that is part of history, of course.

General MOSELEY. A very small part.

Mr. HEALEY. All right, you may proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, I show you for identification a letter dated April 21, 1939, at Atlanta, Ga., addressed to Capt. J. E. Campbell, and signed "Moseley." Is that your letter?

General MOSELEY. That is my letter.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading from the letter. General, it says:

There have been no further reactions to my remarks in Boston, but there are many repercussions in connection with my appearance in Philadelphia. Perhaps I sent you a copy of my remarks, but anyway, I am mailing you a few copies as they were printed by Pelley.

That is William Dudley Pelley?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Head of the Silver Shirts?

General MOSELEY. I believe that is his organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. With headquarters in Asheville, N. C.?

General MOSELEY. I believe so.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever met Mr. Pelley?

General MOSELEY. No; never.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did he ever come to Atlanta to see you?

General MOSELEY. Never; I have never seen him.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. Was it with your permission or knowledge that he reprinted one of your speeches?

General MOSELEY. I knew nothing about it.

Mr. WHITLEY. For distribution?

General MOSELEY. I knew nothing about it until I saw them printed. I wouldn't have asked Mr. Pelley to print my speech.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is that a copy [indicating]?

General MOSELEY. That is a copy.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is a pamphlet printed by him?

General MOSELEY. Yes; that is a sample.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is in the same form that most of Mr. Pelley's literature is prepared, in pamphlet form for distribution?

General MOSELEY. I think most of his stuff comes out about like that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you know how many copies of your speech were printed and distributed by Mr. Pelley?

General MOSELEY. Doesn't it say there?

Mr. WHITLEY. It says:

I did not know that Pelley planned to publish it, and I learn that it has also been published and distributed in New York City. Pelley wrote me that he had had 5,000 copies printed.

By whom was it published and distributed in New York City, General?

General MOSELEY. Perhaps Mr. Allen Zoll; I am not sure; I think he wrote me for that.

Mr. WHITLEY. He wrote you for the speech?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. So he could publish it?

General MOSELEY. Yes; he said he wanted a few copies. I think it is Mr. Allen Zoll, but I am not positive.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you send him the speech so he could reproduce it?

General MOSELEY. Yes; I sent him one copy.

Mr. WHITLEY. And he published it and distributed it?

General MOSELEY. I imagine so; I am not sure of that, because that is a detail I cannot remember; but Allen Zoll would be the only logical one that would ask me for that speech that I know in New York, unless you have some evidence to the contrary.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he the head of what you refer to as a patriotic organization?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir; he is the man who has this little coterie of fine people, I think they all are, who set themselves up to coordinate activities of various groups, not only in New York City but, I think, beyond New York City.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever heard Mr. Allen Zoll referred to or described as being violently anti-Jewish?

General MOSELEY. I don't think so, I am quite sure that in that organization there is no such plan.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have seen literature distributed by Mr. Zoll and his organization?

General MOSELEY. I don't remember anything right now that I have ever seen from him. Perhaps I have in my files, and I could identify it if you have it there. I don't remember.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you make any protest, either public or private, with reference to Mr. Pelley?

General MOSELEY. No; I did not.

Mr. WHITLEY. Publishing this speech?

General MOSELEY. No; I may have written him a note and I think perhaps the only note I ever wrote him was in acknowledgment or in reference to that, in which I said, I may have said this, "I appreciate your encouragement," or something like that, "although it very much embarrasses me," because I didn't want him to distribute any of my literature, and he didn't write me asking for permission.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you consider Mr. Pelley to be the leader of one of these patriotic organizations, as you call them, General; do you consider his group a patriotic group?

General MOSELEY. I don't know anybody who is associated with him besides Mr. Pelley.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have seen his literature, have you not?

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you think that is the type of literature that would be put out by a patriotic organization?

General MOSELEY. But I think that he sends most of that literature out as an individual. You see he has his own printing plant and I think it is a business proposition with him.

Mr. HEALEY. He makes a livelihood out of it.

General MOSELEY. Yes; and I think most of that literature like that, he may have made some money out of that, I don't know. That is the way he maintains himself.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, you didn't answer my question as to whether you considered Mr. Pelley and his organization to be patriotic?

General MOSELEY. I don't know anything about his organization except Pelley as an individual printer.

Mr. HEALEY. What do you think about him, do you consider him a patriot?

General MOSELEY. I have never seen him.

Mr. HEALEY. Do you have any opinion about him at all?

General MOSELEY. I would rather withhold a statement of opinion.

Mr. HEALEY. My question was, Do you have an opinion of him? You can answer that.

General MOSELEY. It takes all sorts of men to make a world, and probably he thinks he is making a great contribution in his own way.

Mr. HEALEY. But do you have an opinion concerning him?

General MOSELEY. I don't approve of some of these things he has done.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, you wouldn't list him among your list of patriots, is that right?

General MOSELEY. I would want to investigate his case a lot more before I tried to pass judgment on somebody I don't know.

Mr. HEALEY. Before you would include him in your list of patriots?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, have you ever heard Mr. Pelley described as being violently anti-Jewish in his activities?

General MOSELEY. I have not heard any such description that I can remember, but I would assume that from his literature.

Mr. WHITLEY. You would assume that?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. And you made no protest though when he printed your speech and distributed it just as he does other literature.

General MOSELEY. You cannot offend a man who is trying to help you, and I suppose he felt that he was doing me a great favor in printing that thing. But mind you, he is in the business, as the chairman points out, that is how he is earning his meal ticket.

Mr. WHITLEY. I see. General, in the back of this pamphlet containing your speech, Mr. Pelley pays you quite a glowing tribute, and offers a few observations of his own with reference to the subject matter and the situation generally. Reading from those remarks:

To brand a man of Major General Moseley's outstanding and stainless record in two major wars as a "seditionist" because he reminds native Americans that the Constitution still gives them the right to bear arms and defend their cities and homes from Jewish spoliation, indicates the desperation of the Red bloc throughout the United States to find means for fending against a citizenry that may ultimately hang Jewish Sovietists to telephone poles before the present sequence of premeditated ruin is run.

Did you make any objection to your speech being included in the same pamphlet with remarks of that type, General?

General MOSELEY. I will tell you what I did. He sent me about 50 copies, and when I used them I tore the cover off and I tore all that back off, and then I took one of these stamping machines and bound it together.

Mr. WHITLEY. You removed those remarks from your copies?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. But, of course, they were included in the remainder of the 5,000 that were sent out?

General MOSELEY. Yes; but it is very plain that that is Pelley saying that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; it is.

General MOSELEY. He doesn't connect me with that at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is just his impression of that?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, you stated a moment ago that you thought Mr. Allen Zoll was the man in New York who printed and distributed your speech up there?

General MOSELEY. That is my impression.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you know that Mr. Zoll appeared before the Senate Judiciary Committee to oppose the nomination of Mr. Frankfurter to the Supreme Court on the grounds or because Mr. Frankfurter was Jewish?

General MOSELEY. I saw it in the public press.

Mr. WHITLEY. You knew that?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you know that at the time you sent Mr. Zoll a copy of your speech, so that he could publish it and distribute it?

General MOSELEY. I don't remember the relative dates. I don't remember when that was up.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, if you did know it, that wouldn't have kept you from sending him your speech?

General MOSELEY. I don't know his objection to Mr. Frankfurter.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What was your objection to him?

General MOSELEY. My only objection was, not that he was foreign-born, not that he is a Jew——

Mr. DEMPSEY (interposing). What was the objection?

General MOSELEY. The only objection was that I felt badly, as just one American citizen, that we had reached a period of history in the United States when a nominee for the Supreme Court of the United States had to be brought before an investigating committee and asked to affirm or deny the charge that he was a Communist.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, he successfully met that test, didn't he?

General MOSELEY. He said "No."

Mr. HEALEY. Are you satisfied that he successfully met the test?

General MOSELEY. I am quite sure he is probably not a Communist now.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Didn't you refer to him in one of your speeches as being a "red?"

General MOSELEY. I think not, perhaps I did, but I don't believe that I did.

Mr. HEALEY. But you don't think so now?

General MOSELEY. I said "Communist" in reference to him.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Is a Communist a "red?"

General MOSELEY. Yes and no.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, General, anybody can be asked a question, isn't that true, that anybody can be accused of this, that, or the other, isn't that true? The fact that somebody is accused of something, or asked to answer a question, it seems to me is carrying things pretty far to feel that that is a serious thing on that person's part.

General MOSELEY. It was a little different, wasn't it? When his name was heralded over the United States, there were a great many people who thought of him as being active in connection with the work of the Communists, and that went on and on, they weren't going to have any hearing, as I understand it, but finally they brought him before the committee and asked him to affirm or deny that charge. That was the only disappointment to me, not that he was a Jew, he is a distinguished lawyer.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, I think they always have hearings, don't they, before those committees when somebody is nominated to the Supreme Court?

General MOSELEY. But they didn't have to ask him that question.

Mr. WHITLEY. I show you, General, for identification, a letter dated May 12, 1939, at Atlanta, Ga., addressed to Mr. Campbell and signed "Moseley." Is that your letter?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. This letter reads as follows:

MY DEAR CAMPBELL: I am writing this in the midst of packing up to catch the 6 p. m. train for West. Yours of the 10th has just come. You had better not attempt to send me the reel of the May Day parade. It should do lots of good. I shall use your statement showing what the children shouted.

Yes; I sent S. a letter. He will have no difficulty in understanding.

That "S" refers to Mr. Strauss?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing):

I will mail you copies just as soon as I can have some made. There is not time this p. m. If the Jews bump me off, be sure to see that they get the credit for it from coast to coast. It will help our cause.

Best wishes always,

MOSELEY.

Did you have any reason, General, to believe that that might happen?

General MOSELEY. Yes; I have many reasons. I have been warned places not to go by perfectly reliable people. I have been warned not to go into certain places, and so forth. When I go to New York somebody invariably warns me, some friend; and the same way in Atlanta.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the basis for those warnings, General?

General MOSELEY. Apparently the basis that they have is that they have heard reports about people unfriendly to me, who have plans to get me out of the way, you know. A lot of people have dropped out of the way in the last few years, very quietly.

Mr. VOORHIS. What kind of places do they warn you not to go to?

General MOSELEY. Especially restaurants; that is the reason I asked yesterday if this water was all right. [Laughter.] I don't trust this committee too far, you know.

Mr. HEALEY. You don't think the committee has any designs on you, General, do you?

Mr. DEMPSEY. General, on that score, let me ask you this: After you arrived in Atlanta, from California, the press carried a statement in which you referred to the committee as conducting their affairs along the Russian method or something of that kind. Did you make that statement?

General MOSELEY. No; I made a statement in connection with the seizing of files, and I said, "That smells very much of Russia." By God, gentlemen, I was right down here on the lower floor, and I wanted to telephone, and a fellow said, "Don't use my telephone; I think it is tapped." [Laughter.]

Mr. DEMPSEY. General, I noticed in the press just a few days ago where the home of a high-ranking member of the Catholic faith, an archbishop, I believe—his home was seized in Germany. Was that all right, in your opinion?

General MOSELEY. I didn't understand the question.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I noticed in the press a few days ago that the home of one of the Catholic archbishops of Germany—his residence had been seized and his furniture taken out. Do you think that is all right?

General MOSELEY. I would have to know a lot more about it.

Mr. DEMPSEY. To be convinced that it was not all right?

General MOSELEY. Because I talked with several reporters some time ago who had recently been over to Germany, made a study of the situation, and they didn't tell me any stories about that.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You are convinced everything is all right over there?

General MOSELEY. No; I don't know any country in the world where everything is all right. They tell me we are going to get that when we go up there [indicating heaven].

Mr. DEMPSEY. You mean those that go.

General MOSELEY. Yes; those that go.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I also saw in the press in the past few days an article which said that it would no longer be possible in Germany, due to a rule made by Hitler, for religious ceremonies to be broadcast, and that sales of the Bible were stopped. Do you think that is all right?

General MOSELEY. I would want evidence on that before I would consider that as a fact.

Mr. DEMPSEY. But you don't have to have evidence when it comes to Russia; you are convinced about Russia but not about Germany?

General MOSELEY. I am going to read you something about Russia, if you will be patient.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I am very anxious, because let me say this to you: This committee, when they investigate the activities of the Communists, are accused of being very pro-Nazi. We have been accused of that. Now we are accused of being very pro-Communist. Now, I don't care anything about the Communists—I despise them, but I also despise the Nazis and the Fascists.

General MOSELEY. I agree with you on that.

Mr. DEMPSEY. My hatred for one is as great as the other.

General MOSELEY. Only one is diseased and the other the antitoxin.

Mr. HEALEY. They are all poison.

General MOSELEY. I have said that time and again.

Mr. HEALEY. And there is no difference in the degree.

General MOSELEY. That is right.

Mr. HEALEY. Go ahead.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, the El Paso Times, a newspaper at El Paso, Tex., in its issue of January 7, 1939, had an editorial in which it was stated as follows:

General Moseley's remark that the appointment of Professor Frankfurter to the Supreme Court gives encouragement to our enemies within our gates is more than a little absurd—

And so forth. Did you make that remark, General?

General MOSELEY. I don't remember any such remark connected with—what is that, El Paso?

Mr. WHITLEY. El Paso.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you make the remark?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't say his appointment gave encouragement to our enemies within our gates?

General MOSELEY. I told every reporter that I had made a statement at El Central as to what I wanted to say.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you make a statement—this statement that is attributed to you—at El Paso or any other place?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't say that his appointment gives encouragement to our enemy within our gates?

General MOSELEY. No; I don't remember that. When I got to El Paso there were two reporters there, one a woman and one a man. I told them I wasn't going to say anything more until I got to see you gentlemen.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, this has nothing to do with this hearing. This newspaper in which this editorial appeared is dated January 7, 1939.

General MOSELEY. I don't know anything about any connection with El Paso.

Mr. WHITLEY. And it attributes that statement to you, and all I want to know is, Did you make it?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't make the statement?

General MOSELEY. No. It might interest this committee to know that one of these newspapermen at El Paso tried to get me to comment on Mr. Dies, whether he was good or bad. I wouldn't answer the question. I said, "I don't have the pleasure of knowing him."

Mr. HEALEY. You have answered the question. Let's speed this up.

Mr. WHITLEY. Are you acquainted with Mr. William Kullgren, of Atascadero, Calif.?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. He issues a publication entitled "The Beacon Light," and in his February 1939 issue of the Beacon Light he devotes considerable space to material which is anti-Semitic material, which has been furnished to him by the World Service, of Erfurt, Germany. On page 23 of that issue he prints a letter from you expressing appreciation and thanks for the magazine. Do you recall receiving the magazine or writing that letter?

General MOSELEY. I remember this: Somebody, with a note enclosed, sent me a package of information. It was quite a large package, as I remember, about that tall [indicating approximately

6 inches], with a number of pamphlets, which had been translated into English, and I acknowledged that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you think that was Mr. William Kullgren?

General MOSELEY. I haven't the slightest idea who that was.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't know that he was formerly one of Mr. Pelley's chief lieutenants, but now he has his own organization and own publication?

General MOSELEY. No; I didn't know that; that is all news to me.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, I read from letter dated April 28, 1939, at Peoria, Ill. It is addressed to Lt. Col. Arthur Evans, 809 Shumacker Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif., and signed "Ives." The letterhead is L. C. Ives, M. D. In this letter Mr. Ives states as follows:

DEAR PAL: Colonel Moseley will be in Los Angeles on or about May 15. After a long talk with him at Springfield, I promised him I would write you regarding his visit.

He will be at the home of Mrs. W. Kennon Jewett, 1201 Arden Road, Pasadena.

The general is on a speaking tour attempting to arouse America to the sense of their responsibility, danger, and the activities of subversive organizations, including the Jew—or is that hyperbolic. Tremendous opposition is centered against his appearing on the platform.

* * * * *

Will you get in touch with Mrs. Jewett as to his exact date and meet him, with my compliments? Thanks; I know you will.

Do you recall having a conversation with Dr. Ives?

General MOSELEY. I met Dr. Ives in Springfield. I had met Dr. Ives before, some place. He told me, he said, "You are going to the Pacific coast?"

I said, "Yes."

He said, "I have a great friend there and I will tell him you are coming."

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you tell Dr. Ives you were going on a speaking tour to arouse America against subversive organizations, including the Jews?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't tell him that?

General MOSELEY. No; and I didn't meet that man out on the Pacific coast, either; didn't see him.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, did anyone help you prepare the speech which you delivered before the New York Board of Trade on December 14?

General MOSELEY. My memory is, I think, I saw it stated in the press, that Mr. Deatherage had helped me with that speech. I had forgotten that he had helped me, and I don't recall now anything in regard to his assistance. He was, however, in Atlanta at about that time, and I probably discussed the situation with him, don't you see. I remember he told me, he said, "You are going to run into a lot of difficulties up there that I want to tell you about."

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Deatherage states that he did help you prepare that speech.

General MOSELEY. I don't think he means he helped me word it, he probably discussed the subject with me.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading from his letter, dated December 11, 1938, addressed to Mr. Campbell, he states as follows:

The general is speaking before the New York Board of Trade on the 14th. I sent you a copy of his speech with which I helped him.

You say that he was there and he might have helped you with some of the material?

General MOSELEY. He was there about that time and I may have discussed it with him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading further from that letter, General:

He will speak with Coughlin in New York, at which time I expect all hell to break loose. Coughlin, as you know, has gone after the juice (in his testimony Mr. Deatherage identified that as a facerious word meaning Jews) both over the radio and in his paper, so he is to be smeared. They will start on the general as soon as he speaks with him for he too is going after them.

meaning after the Jews?

General MOSELEY. Yes; I got that invitation and I declined it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is Mr. Deatherage's statement that you too are going after the Jews correct?

General MOSELEY. No; I declined that invitation for many good reasons.

Mr. WHITLEY. He states further, General:

While in New York he will see about the financing and be prepared in his mind as to that—and, I think, sold on the policy that he will have to follow. For many reasons you should be on the job, but if you cannot come, drop me a line as to your suggestions for a national organization.

Did you make any plans or arrangements with reference to financing while you were in New York?

General MOSELEY. Not at all. You see at that early date I had just met Deatherage and he had come to me to head this organization of various types that he had in mind, and I had declined.

In that connection, if you are interested there is a Mr. Brooks up there who has a similar organization in New York, who wanted me to head it, and he said he thought they would be able to finance it. I declined that also. He is a very nice gentleman living on Park Avenue some place.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is connected with a patriotic organization?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, reading from letter dated December 14, 1938, addressed by Mr. Deatherage from Atlanta, Ga., to Mr. Campbell, Mr. Deatherage goes into considerable detail about his plans and arrangements and conversation with you. He states as follows:

However, he will decide on his return—

and the "he" there refers to you, General; Mr. Deatherage identified that—

just what procedure he will follow, and the plan now as he sees it, is to start a little G. H. Q. in Atlanta, where we will map the enemy—our friends, consolidate with us those that we know are right, and prepare the plans for the campaign. This, realizing that the situation is not yet where we can enlist the mass support of reaction. Many people are starting to react, but the main idea now is to build the framework of campaign, this army, and secure and qualify the leadership. The mass reaction will follow a leader when they are hurt bad enough. Now, we must have State and county leaders all over the Nation that we know without the shadow of a doubt are men that will stick under any kind of fire.

Did you discuss such a plan with Mr. Deatherage?

General MOSELEY. No; that was the plan that he had carried in his mind, probably for several years, and that is the plan that I turned down absolutely. I had nothing to do with it, he probably told you that when he was here.

Mr. WHITLEY. He told us that you had not accepted his proposition, but he also told us that it had been discussed in detail.

General MOSELEY. He came down there——

Mr. WHITLEY (interposing). Just one or two other excerpts. Reading from the same letter:

I believe as you do that it will take military action to get this gang out and the organization must be built around a propaganda organization now that can in a few hours be turned into a militant fighting force. That's the idea of the boss also, but must be kept on the Q. T.

The "boss" referred to, he stated, was you, General. Was that your idea?

General MOSELEY. That is the trouble with poor Deatherage. He has that idea all along. He is one of these two-fisted fellows and regardless of the law he wants to do something. That is the reason I broke with him.

Mr. WHITLEY. He states, "That's the idea of the boss also, but must be kept on the Q. T."

General MOSELEY. No, I turned Deatherage down from the start.

Mr. WHITLEY. This is not your idea?

General MOSELEY. Not mine at all.

Mr. WHITLEY. You didn't agree with that at all?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. He is just misstating when he says it was your idea?

General MOSELEY. You see, I was an innocent baby, with all the heads of these various organizations; I didn't know anything about them. You may have some letters from me at the outset when I thought they were all right. I may have said, "Yes; that sounds all right." But later when I came to investigate these people I found I couldn't go along with them.

Mr. HEALEY. Were you suspicious that some of these men might be just using you, General, for their own purposes?

General MOSELEY. Yes; using me, and also, not using me entirely in that sense, but they wanted to get somebody with the qualifications for that job, and they just picked on me, don't you see.

Mr. HEALEY. They wanted to get somebody that could ride a horse? [Laughter.]

General MOSELEY. Well, I was brought up in the Cavalry but it has been a long time since I have ridden a horse.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, there is a postscript on this 4-page letter from Deatherage to Campbell, and in that postscript he states as follows. The entire letter contains details with reference to his conversations with you, and alleged plans for a Nation-wide organization. In the postscript he states:

For the moment let us keep this correspondence on details, confidential between us, not that we are doing anything that the General would not approve, but we have to educate him as to what this is all about without his getting the idea that we are trying to influence him. We will have to direct him in a way which is not obviously trying to control him. He has been in the Army so long that he has his own definite ideas—that will have to be allowed for. I see now that we cannot give him all this in one dose without upsetting him. We do not want to force more food on a man that is already upset with indigestion.

General MOSELEY. That is good.

Mr. WHITLEY. This was an educational program that they were conducting with you?

Mr. DEMPSEY. General, have you reached any positive conclusion of your own, and frankly I have been disturbed by these subversive activities, very much so, as to how they could be stopped? You spoke about the Army being able to do it. Do you believe they could, if given orders of some kind, could they do it, could they stop this?

General MOSELEY. I am glad you asked me that question.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I want to know.

General MOSELEY. Because I am with you, I believe in this Government, and I believe in working these things out lawfully, as I repeat. I do believe, however, that the number one step of any national program is security at home and international peace. Won't you go along with me on that?

Mr. DEMPSEY. Yes.

General MOSELEY. O. K., then we start all right.

Then, having established security in the United States, let's get together and solve all these problems that disturb us, economic problems, and all peacefully. Now, to secure that peace, as I referred when the chairman asked me some questions about the article in the Post, I believe we ought to bring in the Army, not that the Army is going to do anything tomorrow or day after tomorrow, but let the American people know that there is going to be reestablished in this country, or continued in this country, basic law and order and that is going to apply to Mr. Deatherage and the Communists and me and everybody.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Would you set up, General, an intelligence division within the Army to get the information?

General MOSELEY. I should only say to Mr. Army, "You study this problem; there is a great deal of rumor going around as to insecurity; know all about it so that we can protect you just as much as they protect me."

Mr. DEMPSEY. So you would then have to set up an intelligence division?

General MOSELEY. We have it.

Mr. DEMPSEY. All right. Now, I am advised that in New York City we have a Communist headquarters, if you please.

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. And I understand that literature of all kinds, subversive, is being disseminated from there.

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What would you want the Army to do with that outfit, the intelligence division, now?

General MOSELEY. We can't stop the dissemination of all that literature, and the Army would take no part in stopping it. The only thing the Army would do would be to study these plans of any subversive groups very carefully to see if they were going to follow their leaders in any riot or revolution, and be prepared to meet that.

Mr. DEMPSEY. How would they obtain those plans?

General MOSELEY. It is difficult, but you can pick up a lot of information if you go after it.

Mr. DEMPSEY. How would you do it? Now, you have been in the Army and have been directing a branch of the Army.

General MOSELEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEMPSEY. How would you obtain the plans?

General MOSELEY. Answering for the Third Army District that extends over the South, I got from various sources considerable information.

Mr. DEMPSEY. If necessary, you would go there and seize them, wouldn't you?

General MOSELEY. No; we never had to seize them; I don't believe the Army should do that in times of peace. That is for some civil official. If you are going to seize a record, that should be done civilly.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Then through some official, civil official, you would get it?

General MOSELEY. Yes; but lawfully.

Mr. DEMPSEY. By subpoena, probably?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Now, wouldn't you begin to get the Army smelling of Russia or the Dies committee if you did that?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is what the Dies committee did, and you criticized that as being of the Russian flavor or odor.

General MOSELEY. No; but I have been given to understand that there have been cases often that you break into a lot of records, not after an individual paper mentioned in the subpoena, but just take everything. I don't think you can do that lawfully.

Mr. VOORHIS. General, don't you feel, as a matter of fact, that the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation is the proper agency to get information of this kind; aren't they the people that we have set up in our Government to do that?

General MOSELEY. But didn't this committee tell me yesterday that the Bureau of Investigation has done nothing in investigating communism?

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, I hope they didn't, because I understand quite to the contrary.

Mr. THOMAS. Right on that point, I have a letter signed by Mr. Hoover, which I received within the past 3 months, to the effect that the Department of Justice has not made any investigation of communism.

Mr. VOORHIS. In how long a time?

Mr. THOMAS. The letter was sent to me within the past 3 months.

Mr. VOORHIS. It can't mean that they never did, because I am positive they have.

Mr. THOMAS. I am not talking about never, but since 1924 they haven't made any investigation of communism.

Mr. VOORHIS. I don't believe that is true.

Mr. HEALEY. We can take that up at some later meeting of this committee.

Mr. THOMAS. Exactly.

Mr. HEALEY. And we undoubtedly will go into that.

The general is here to tell us what he knows about these activities, and lets get on with that.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, reading from letter dated December 23, 1938, which was addressed to Mr. Campbell by Mr. Deatherage, he states as follows.

This is with reference to the trip you made to New York for your board of trade speech:

All of this gang are hooked up with a new outfit in New York by the name of the American Federation Against Communism, headed by a chap by the name of Zoll, of American Patriots, Inc. Kelly is in with the gang, as well as Mrs. Dilling and others. Some are O. K. and some are wrong. I advised the general not to hook up with any outfit, but to build his own from the ground up.

Is that correct? Did he give you such advice?

General MOSELEY. He advised me to get clear of them all except his. [Laughter.]

Mr. HEALEY. There is a little rivalry, isn't there, among those organizations?

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Campbell stated that he also advised you to stay clear of all individuals and groups.

General MOSELEY. Well, I think they learned that I wouldn't go along with any organization, and they agreed with me, with my decision.

Mr. WHITLEY. Reading further, General:

He had practically promised this New York bunch to take the presidency of this federation, but after I talked to him he wired them that he wanted to look into it more.

Is that correct?

General MOSELEY. When they first came to me they talked with me at length. I got the names of the people who were associated with them. They seemed to be a fine outfit. I then told Allen Zoll when I left New York, I said, "That looks all right, and perhaps I could join that." When I got back to Atlanta, however—I thought it over on the train coming back—and I sent him a wire and said, "I am awfully sorry; no."

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you talk to Mr. Deatherage in the meantime?

General MOSELEY. Was he there then?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes; he was there in Atlanta while you were in New York, waiting for you to return.

General MOSELEY. Perhaps I did.

Mr. WHITLEY. He says that he talked to you, and you wired Mr. Zoll.

General MOSELEY. I don't know what he had to do with it.

Mr. WHITLEY. You don't know whether it was in connection with his advice or not?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, have you ever had any contact with Mr. Henry D. Allen, of the Gold Shirts of Mexico?

General MOSELEY. No; where does he reside.

Mr. WHITLEY. Southern California.

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever had any correspondence with him, received any of his literature?

General MOSELEY. As far as I know, not. Isn't that the man that got into a lot of trouble out there?

Mr. WHITLEY. I think he has been in trouble.

General MOSELEY. I don't know, I think he was arrested.

Mr. WHITLEY. I believe you have already stated, General, that you had contact with Mr. Sanctuary, Mr. E. N. Sanctuary, or had received

some of his literature. He is the head of the American Christian Defenders in New York City.

General MOSELEY. They may have sent me a circular or two. I don't subscribe to their literature, and I don't remember his name or the name of the organization.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever had any contact, either personally or by correspondence, with Mr. James True of America First, Inc.?

General MOSELEY. Yes; I have seen him once here in Washington.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you receive his literature?

General MOSELEY. Yes; I saw him, not early. I think I saw him the last time I was in Washington. I had never met him before that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever had any contact with Mr. Charles B. Hudson, of America in Danger?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. What has been the nature of that?

General MOSELEY. Just to receive his literature.

Mr. WHITLEY. Any correspondence?

General MOSELEY. Yes; probably. He is a fine soul, one of the outstanding characters of that kind in America.

Mr. WHITLEY. Is he head of one of the patriotic organizations?

General MOSELEY. No; I don't think he is the head of any patriotic organization; I think he gets out a weekly bulletin of facts.

Mr. WHITLEY. It is a patriotic bulletin?

General MOSELEY. Yes; it is rather an information bulletin, I think.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever had any contact of any kind with Maj. Frank Pease, of the American Defenders, Blue Shirts, and so forth?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. You have had contact?

General MOSELEY. I have never seen him, but he writes letters about 12 pages long.

Mr. WHITLEY. What is the subject matter of those letters, General?

General MOSELEY. Principally, he has gotten out recently a very good little pamphlet on a plan to be adopted in any city to protect itself in the event of an emergency or riot—a lawful plan, and it is a dandy, dandy contribution. He has been working on it some time, and I think it was completed perhaps a month or two ago. I have never seen him; never have seen him when I have been in Florida. He lives in Florida; I believe he used to live in New York City.

Mr. VOORHIS. May I interrupt? In connection with that, I suppose you would admit, would you not, that there are times when organizations of labor are justified in conducting a strike; would you admit that or not?

General MOSELEY. That depends on how they conduct it.

Mr. VOORHIS. Of course it does; but what I mean is that there are times when that may be a remedy, when conditions are very bad, and when that is the only remedy that those people have; is that correct?

General MOSELEY. Yes. Let me answer you further. The chairman took up with me the other day something in the Saturday Evening Post just in connection with what you said, when labor tried to step from Seattle to Portland. I am just giving this from memory, after reading that article. It stated how tragic was the situation there, and

they wanted to get somebody in charge of the murder squad; they have a particular name for that which they are trying to take over. They went where? The article said that they went right over to the attorney general and got him to parole a man—I think his name was Scott—and Mr. Scott was paroled and put in charge of the murder squad. Do you believe in that?

Mr. VOORHIS. No; and I don't believe the story either. {Laughter.}

General MOSELEY. Well, it was in the Saturday Evening Post.

Mr. VOORHIS. That isn't the point that I was raising.

General MOSELEY. No; that is the ordinary procedure; and this article said further that the man leading the strike, he is way above the thing; he is not supposed to know anything about the rough stuff.

Mr. HEALEY. General, you are getting away from his question.

Mr. VOORHIS. The Saturday Evening Post had an article in it more recently that we couldn't all agree was entirely accurate—I mean the one about you—so perhaps we can just leave the Saturday Evening Post out.

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, the point I wanted to make was, don't you feel there is some danger that ought to be very carefully guarded against in the case of the organization such as you said this man had described, lest efforts on the part of labor to improve their conditions should in all cases be termed revolutionary and riotous, and so on, and so forth; isn't that a very great danger about that?

General MOSELEY. Perhaps so; I am for labor 100 percent; sympathetic with them.

Mr. HEALEY. Do you think they have the right under some circumstances to strike?

General MOSELEY. You bet you; collective bargaining I believe in absolutely.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, have you ever had any contact of any kind with Mr. George W. Christians, head of the Crusaders for Democratic Liberty?

General MOSELEY. Once.

Mr. WHITLEY. Personally or by correspondence?

General MOSELEY. Yes; he is a neighbor of mine, lives at Chattanooga, doesn't he?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is right.

General MOSELEY. He wrote me a note one time and asked if he could come down and see me. He came down to see me about one time, and took lunch with me, and he went back after lunch and I told him, "You are all wrong in your methods." I assume you have read some of his papers, they are very unfortunate.

Mr. HEALEY. What?

General MOSELEY. Very unfortunate.

Mr. HEALEY. He is a man—I think I took that up with you before—who tries to emulate Hitler in appearance.

General MOSELEY. Yes; I repeat that is very unfortunate and his methods, as I told him, I said they were very unfortunate.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you, General, ever had any contacts of any kind with Lois de Lafayette Washburn, of the American Gentile Protective Association? She is in Chicago.

General MOSELEY. They may have sent me some literature, but I am not a subscriber; I don't even know them.

Mr. WHITLEY. You haven't had any personal contact or correspondence with them?

General MOSELEY. No, sir.

Mr. WHITLEY. How about Frank W. Clark, of the American Liberty Party; have you had any contact with him?

General MOSELEY. Not that I know of.

Mr. WHITLEY. Peter Starhemberg, of the National American organization?

General MOSELEY. I don't know anything about him.

Mr. WHITLEY. George E. Deatherage, Knights of the White Camellia, and the American Nationalist Confederation, you have already described your association with him.

Fritz Kuhn, of the German-American Bund. You have also previously related your experience with him.

Howard B. Rand, of the Anglo-Saxon Federation of America. Have you had any contact with him? He is in Haverhill, Mass.

General MOSELEY. I don't know anything about him.

Mr. WHITLEY. The American White Guard, East Pasadena, Calif., have you had any contact with that organization?

General MOSELEY. Never heard of it.

Mr. WHITLEY. Robert E. Edmondson, of the Awakeners?

General MOSELEY. We covered that, I think.

Mr. HEALEY. What is his organization?

Mr. WHITLEY. The Awakeners, I believe. He is the gentleman who published the tribute to you entitled "Heil Moseley"?

General MOSELEY. Yes; I have never seen him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Bessie Burchett, of the Anti-Communist Society, Philadelphia.

General MOSELEY. No; she may have sent me some literature at some time, but I can't identify them.

Mr. WHITLEY. Henry Hamilton Beamish, head of the Britons—have you had any contact with that organization?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Martin Luther Thomas, of the Christian American Crusade, have you had any contact with them?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. E. H. Rettig, Constitutional Government League—have you had any contact or association with them?

General MOSELEY. Not that I know of.

Mr. WHITLEY. Charles E. Coughlin, the National Union for Social Justice. Any correspondence with him?

General MOSELEY. Not that I know of.

Mr. WHITLEY. Do you receive his literature?

General MOSELEY. From Coughlin?

Mr. WHITLEY. Yes.

General MOSELEY. No; I have never seen him; he has never written to me and I have never written him.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has Mr. Campbell ever sent you any of his speeches?

General MOSELEY. As I testified before, I think Mr. Campbell sent me some speeches of his from the Brooklyn Tablet, not printed speeches, but just in the paper.

Mr. WHITLEY. Gerald Winrod, of the Defender.

General MOSELEY. No; I don't know him.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is his publication.

General MOSELEY. No; I don't know of that.

Mr. WHITLEY. Any correspondence with him, any literature from him?

General MOSELEY. Not that I know of.

Mr. WHITLEY. Any contact with Mr. Newton Jenkins?

General MOSELEY. Where is he?

Mr. WHITLEY. He is in Chicago?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. William Dudley Pelley of the Silver Shirts—you have already identified him and explained your contact. Joseph Hahn-Korff, League for Aryan Supremacy in America—any contacts with him?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Victor de Kayville, Militant Christian Patriots—any contact?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Donald Shea of the National Gentile League?

General MOSELEY. He is from this city and he has written to me several times. That is all.

Mr. WHITLEY. Has he sent you any literature?

General MOSELEY. Once or twice he has sent me something.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you met Mr. Shea?

General MOSELEY. I think he was here in this meeting once since we started.

Mr. WHITLEY. William Gregg Blanchard II, Nation and Race.

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Virgil Effinger, Patriots of America?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Dudley P. Gilbert, American Nationalists, Inc.?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Hal Walton, committee of witnesses?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Did you ever receive any literature from him?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. The White Front, a Florida organization?

General MOSELEY. Does it give you the name of the individual?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is Major Pease's group.

General MOSELEY. Well, Pease, as I said, has written me in connection with this plan of his, but I am not a subscriber to any of his stuff.

Mr. WHITLEY. Richard E. Gieben, German-American National Alliance?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. James H. Craig, Constitution Legion Herald?

General MOSELEY. Where?

Mr. WHITLEY. Los Angeles.

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Collis O. Redd, Constitutional Crusaders of America?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you had any contact with the American Ranger, an organization that was mentioned yesterday?

General MOSELEY. What city is that in?

Mr. WHITLEY. That is in Berkeley, Calif.

Mr. VOORHIS. Beverly Hills.

General MOSELEY. They may have sent me a sample of their literature once in a while, and asked me to subscribe, but I have never done so.

Mr. HEALEY. General, you don't have any other occupation now, other than this work you are doing in connection with these speeches you are making throughout the country?

General MOSELEY. No, I have none; no.

Mr. HEALEY. You do receive a great deal of this material from a number of the organizations that were in the list that Mr. Whitley just read to you?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. HEALEY. Did you really read all of that literature?

General MOSELEY. No; one of the greatest institutions that was ever discovered is the wastepaper basket.

Mr. HEALEY. And do you read in full these 12-page letters, these long letters that you get from some of these men?

General MOSELEY. I was brought up to be very careful about my correspondence and I try to acknowledge letters, that is all.

Mr. HEALEY. There is just one thing that I wanted to ask you, and then I am finished.

I wanted to ask you a question based on this speech that you made at Philadelphia. You said:

How, then, can we lick communism? First, by exterminating from the life of this Nation all traces of the New Deal, the principal backers of communism.

By "exterminating from the life of this Nation all traces of the New Deal", do you mean to repeal or eliminate all the social reforms that have been made under this administration?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. HEALEY. The things that have been done for labor?

General MOSELEY. No. Many of those things are fine.

Mr. HEALEY. Social security and that sort of thing?

General MOSELEY. A lot of those things are fine and are bound to stand.

Mr. HEALEY. When you say "exterminating from the life of this Nation all traces of the New Deal" you don't include those?

General MOSELEY. No; what I should have explained there, it was just unfortunate leadership here and there.

Mr. HEALEY. Your listeners could very well understand that you were opposed to everything?

General MOSELEY. Oh, no; that doesn't mean basic legislation that you gentlemen passed.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, you have a great state of animus against this administration, against the President of the United States.

General MOSELEY. I have no animus against him.

Mr. HEALEY. Well, your statements of that kind would indicate that that was so.

General MOSELEY. I have a great respect for that office, but I can't agree with a great many things that they have done.

Mr. HEALEY. That is your right, of course, not to agree. I am just trying to find your state of mind, sir.

General MOSELEY. No; I was brought up as a soldier and I will always respect that office.

MR. HEALEY. We hope so. I think you ought to.

MR. THOMAS. As I understand that remark, you are not casting any reflection on the office of the President of the United States?

General MOSELEY. Not at all.

MR. THOMAS. Your reflection is against the New Deal administration?

General MOSELEY. Absolutely.

MR. HEALEY. That is sort of splitting hairs.

MR. MASON. General, wouldn't you say that in the main the objectives of the New Deal are good and proper as the objectives of some of these so-called patriotic organizations, and that the trouble with the New Deal and these patriotic organizations, is the methods by which they try to achieve these objectives?

General MOSELEY. I think, Mr. Congressman, you have struck a fine point, comparing the New Deal administration with some of these organizations. I agree with you on that.

MR. MASON. General, I have stated that in my campaign—

General MOSELEY (interposing). That page that he just read there, those are some, perhaps some terrible organizations. Are you comparing the New Deal to those?

MR. MASON. Well, my comparison is between the methods and the objectives in all of these things, including those patriotic organizations.

General MOSELEY. Si, señor.

MR. HEALEY. Now we have arrived at the point, General, when the committee feels that they are in a receptive mood to hear your statement. Do you want to deliver it now or would you like 5 minutes' rest?

General MOSELEY. I am perfectly willing to deliver it right now.

MR. HEALEY. Well, let's go ahead.

General MOSELEY. May I ask you gentlemen to let me read the whole thing and then if you have any questions, to ask those questions at the conclusion.

MR. HEALEY. Well, now, General, you want to read your whole statement without interruption?

General MOSELEY. Yes; I ask that.

MR. HEALEY. Of course, there may be some objectionable parts of your statement which we don't believe are relevant to this issue. If that is so, we will have to interrupt and ask that they be deleted from the record. The committee will reserve that right. But otherwise you can go ahead and we won't question you until you are through unless that appears. If there is anything that we think is incompetent or irrelevant to the issue, we will interrupt.

General MOSELEY. Mr. Chairman, in complying with your instructions I have verified all references in the statement I am about to read. To save the time of the committee I found that I could cut out a number of pages referring to matters already fully covered in my answers to the questions put to me by the committee today and yesterday.

(At this point General Moseley read his prepared statement, at the conclusion of which, after a conference between members of the committee, the entire statement was ordered stricken from the record.)

MR. WHITLEY. General, were you associated with Mr. Campbell in any type of business enterprise or venture?

General MOSELEY. The only thing that I was interested in with Mr. Campbell in that connection was this: For many years I have been interested in a—in the great fight against syphilis. We have some-

thing like 12,000,000 syphilitics in the United States, and if you will investigate my record you will find that I have been interested in that for many years. At one time Mr. Campbell told me that in his travels he had met a doctor of the Middle West who had found a prescription that would be very useful in the Army if it proved out under tests. What we were trying to find was something in the Army that would take the place of the silver salts and would not get old. If you are familiar with silver-salts solution, it is all right for about 2 weeks, and then it is no good. This doctor had a solution which would serve the same purpose, a new discovery; and so I asked him to send me samples, and they are now being tested by the department of health in one of the stations in Atlanta.

MR. WHITLEY. You arranged for those tests to be made?

General MOSELEY. Yes; I just said, "I don't know whether this is good or bad or whether it is going to be a fine thing later on in the market."

MR. WHITLEY. Did you call that product to the attention of any Army officials?

General MOSELEY. Yes; I did.

MR. WHITLEY. With a view to having them test it or try it out?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. To see if it was practical?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. As a matter of fact, General, there has been a considerable exchange of correspondence between you and Mr. Campbell concerning this product?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

MR. WHITLEY. And the consideration of a proper name for it, and he has sent you samples asking you for suggestions as to what kind of a kit to have made up for the Army?

General MOSELEY. Yes; but what has that got to do with this?

MR. WHITLEY. It has to do with your association with Mr. Campbell, and, after all, it was Mr. Campbell that injected your name into this inquiry, General.

General MOSELEY. It would be a wonderful thing if we could find something like that.

MR. WHITLEY. In other words, you have been actively cooperating with him?

General MOSELEY. Since I heard he made that discovery.

MR. WHITLEY. In conjunction with this compound to cure venereal diseases?

General MOSELEY. No; it is not entirely to cure venereal diseases; that is just for gonorrhea.

MR. WHITLEY. Have you and Mr. Campbell planned, in the event this product was found practical and went on the market, to use the profits from the compound or from the sale of this compound to finance antisubversive activities?

General MOSELEY. Not at all.

MR. WHITLEY. General, reading from a letter dated April 26, 1939, addressed to you by Mr. Campbell, he states as follows:

I am very happy that Dr. Abercrombie is working with you.

Dr. Abercrombie is the public-health officer whom you arranged to have test this product?

General MOSELEY. I took him a bottle of this stuff and told him the history and said, "Will you find out for me if that is any good?"

Mr. WHITLEY (continuing) :

And I am anxious to see this project completed, not only from the standpoint of what it will do for humanity but also the good it will enable us to do in combatting subversive activities of this country.

That wasn't in accordance with your idea?

General MOSELEY. No.

Mr. WHITLEY. If that was Mr. Campbell's idea, you didn't concur in it?

General MOSELEY. As far as I know we never went so far as to make any arrangements about the distribution of this thing except that he said if it worked out, then he was evidently going to go into that as his principal activity.

Mr. WHITLEY. As his principal activity?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. The distribution of this compound?

General MOSELEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. But if he had any idea of using the profits from the sale of this to carry on his activities along subversive lines, or antiracial lines, you were no part of such plan?

General MOSELEY. As far as I know, he never mentioned it to me. I was interested primarily in its use in connection with the Army. It would be a wonderful thing.

Mr. WHITLEY. Were you to share in the profits of the sale of this compound?

General MOSELEY. I had nothing to do with that part of it. He was interested in some organization right near his home town, I think the headquarters was in Indianapolis.

Mr. WHITLEY. General, you have had several gentlemen with you the last several days. Do you mind identifying them for the record, the gentlemen who have assisted you and been present with you the last several days here? Do you mind identifying these people for the record?

General MOSELEY. George E. Sullivan.

Mr. HEALEY. Where does he reside?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Washington, D. C., a member of the bar. I have been one of the witnesses before this committee.

General MOSELEY. Mr. Charles B. Hudson, Omaha, Nebr.

And Mr. Thorkelson, a Member of Congress.

Mr. WHITLEY. That is all I have, thank you, General.

Mr. HEALEY. The committee will stand in recess, until further notice.

(Whereupon, at 5:10 p. m. the committee recessed subject to call.)

(By order of the committee the following communications from Rabbi David Marx are herewith incorporated in the record:)

COPY OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM RABBI DAVID MARX, MAY 31, 1939

Senator HEALEY,

Presiding, Dies Committee, Washington, D. C.

I am at the service of your committee whenever and wherever agreeable to you.

Rabbi DAVID MARX.

COPY OF LETTER WRITTEN TO RABBI DAVID MARX BY MR. RHEA WHITLEY

JUNE 6, 1939.

Rabbi DAVID MARX,
1589 Peachtree Street, NW., Atlanta, Ga.

MY DEAR RABBI MARX: Reference is made to your telegram dated May 31, 1939, addressed to Congressman Arthur D. Healey, acting chairman of the Special Committee on un-American Activities, in which you advise that you are at the service of this committee.

Since it will not be possible for the committee to hold any further hearings for some time, it is suggested that you submit a written statement concerning the allegations made with reference to you by Gen. George Van Horn Moseley during his testimony before the committee last week. The committee can then have your statement incorporated in and made a part of the record of the hearings.

Very truly yours,

RHEA WHITLEY,
Attorney for the Committee.

COPY OF STATEMENT SENT TO THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
 BY THE RABBI DAVID MARX

ATLANTA, GA., June 8, 1939.

HON. RHEA WHITLEY,
*Attorney, Dies Committee, House of Representatives,
 Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SIR: I am in receipt this morning of your kind official communication from the committee in reference to my telegram addressed to Congressman Arthur D. Healey, acting chairman.

I regret exceedingly that, due to the adjournment of your committee, I was denied the opportunity of confronting Gen. Van Horn Moseley in the presence of you gentlemen.

I would appreciate the incorporation in the records of my telegram and also of answer here given.

The only true statement the general made regarding me was that I sat next to him at the annual banquet of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce.

As to his assertion that I made disparaging remarks about our country's flag, there is not a scintilla of truth in his Munchausen tale.

It is too preposterous for words, and strains the imagination to the breaking point, that I should confide such a thought to a man, whom I had met but once before—and that when he addressed the brotherhood of my congregation in March 1938.

It is passing sad that a general in the Army of the United States, sworn to defend the flag, should admit that he permitted an insult to that flag to go unchallenged by word or deed and continue to sit beside such an offender throughout an entire evening, and wait these many months before denouncing that man, and that not in the Southland—the life-long home of that man—but in places far removed.

For your information, may I say that the annual banquet of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce took place Monday evening, December 5, 1938.

Although I condemn and deny the charges made by General Moseley, nevertheless I can but pity the man whose mind can harbor such vagaries.

As I am unknown to you, I offer for your scrutiny my record of 44 years' public service and participation in the civil and religious life of Atlanta and the South.

With thanks for your courtesy, I am,

Respectfully yours,

DAVID MARX.

12/1

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